THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH MADRAS

VOLUME VIII

1934 1934

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

MADRAS
PRINTED AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE
1934

EDITORIAL BOARD

PRESIDENT

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, LL.D., K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

MEMBERS

M.R.Ry. V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.
" P. V. Naganatha Sastri, B.A., B.L.
" K. G. Sesha Aiyar, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.
Professor M. Hiriyanna, M.A., L.T.
Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, *Kt.*, B.A., B.L.
Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
M.R.Ry. C. A. Seshagiri Sastri, B.A., B.L.
" R. Krishnaswami Sastri, B.A.
" Dharmarakshamani K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
" T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., L.T., Dip. in German and French.
" V. Doraiswami, B.A.
" T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph. D.
" A. Sankaran, M.A., Ph. D., L.T.
" Vidyasagara Vidyavacaspati P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Madras).
Mahamahopadhyaya Vidyavacaspati Darsanakalanidhi Kulapati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mahamahopadhyaya, Vidyavacaspati Darsanakalanidhi Kulapati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S.
M.R.Ry. Vidyasagara Vidyavacaspati P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Madras).
" A. Sankaran, M.A., Ph. D., L.T.
" Dharmarakshamani K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., B.L. *Managing Editor.*
" T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D. *Correspondent.*
" V. Doraiswami, B.A., *Manager.*

All Communications should be addressed to the Correspondent, Journal of Oriental Research, 5, North Mada St., Mylapore, P. O., Madras, South India.

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Reasearch I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . . . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— . . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— . . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . . . . .

CONTENTS

	PAGES
The Date of the Accession of Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., PH. D. ...	1
The Cross, the Svastika and related Emblems. C. P. S. Menon, B.A. (Hons.), M. SC. (Lond.), F. R. A. S. ...	9
Nārttāmalai and its Temples. S. R. Balasubrahmanyan and K. Venkataranga Raju ...	24, 205
The Artist in Ancient India. C. Sivaramamurti, B.A. (Hons.) ...	31, 168
Writing of Books in Siddhi-yoga. A. Venkatasubbiah ...	46
Nāṭya Dharmī and Loka Dharmī. V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.) ...	57
Sumantu Dharmasūtra. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., PH. D. ...	75
A Note on a Greek Text bearing on the Aśvamedha. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, M.A. ...	89
Substance and Attribute in Śaiva Siddhānta. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A. ...	97
Pūrṇabhadra and his Pañcatantra. A Venkatasubbiah ...	104
A Tamil Inscription from Sucīndram. S. Desikavinayakam Pillai ...	123
Kriyākalpa, a Pre-Bhāmaha name of the Alaṅkāra-Śāstra. V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.) ...	128
Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds. C. R. Sankaran, B.A. (Hons.) ...	135
The Reḍḍi Kingdom of Rajahmundry. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., PH. D. ...	149
A Note on Nṛpatuṅga. M. Somasekhara Sarma ...	165
Artist's Jottings from the Nalacampū. C. Sivaramamurti, B.A. (Hons.) ...	217
Time Analysis in the Śākuntala. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil. ...	235
Semantic Divergences in Indo-Āryan Loanwords. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L. ...	252
Prakāśavarṣa's Rasārṇavālaṁkāra. V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.) ...	267
A note on the Rūpāvatāra. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, M.A.	277

A Note on "Abhinava's Polymathy". V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.) ... 281
Antiquity and Evolution of Art in India. C. Sivaramamurti, B.A. (Hons.) ... 291
Foreign Trade under the Kākatīyas. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, M.A. ... 315
Bahurūpamiśra's Commentary on the Daśarūpaka. V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.) ... 321
Five Stages of the Pre-Vedic Determinative Compound-Accentuation. C. R. Sankaran, B.A. (Hons.) ... 335
Some Terms of Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra. G. Harihara Sastri ... 352
Sūktaślokāḥ. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. PHIL. ... 358
Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakośa. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., PH. D. ... 372
Reviews and Notices of Books. 92, 200, 284, 381

SUPPLEMENTS—

Citrapaṭa of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita ... 1-24
Tolkāppiyam ... 73-80

INDEX.

A

Abdur Razak, 163 f-n.
Abhaya pose, 24.
Abhidhāna Kośa, 132.
Abhidhānavastukośa, 112 f-n.
Abhidharmakośaṭīkā, 372, 374.
Abhilaṣitārtha Cintāmaṇi, 57, 220, 221.
Abhinavabhāratī, 66, 281, 282, 283, 327, 329, 333.
Abhinavagupta, 60, 66, 128, 130, 281, 282, 283, 300, 327.
Abhinayas, 60, 68.
Absolute Idealism, 101.
Abu, Mt., 174 *et. seq.*
Abu Zayd, 317.
Ācāra, 83.
Ācārya, P. K., 133.
"Accentuation of Nominal compounds in Lithuanian", 135, 136 f-n., 137 f-n., 143 f-n., 146 f-n.
Acyutarāya-Vīrappoḍeya, 48.
Āḍhyarāja, 267.
Ādipurāṇa, 48.
Āditeya I, 1.
Āditya Cola, 29.
Aesthetics, 132.
Āgama, 372.
'Ages' (Aristotle), 70.
Agnicayana, 90.
Agnipurāṇa, 273, 323.
Ahamed Shah, 160.
Āhārya-abhinaya, 60, 66.
Ahobalam, 154.
Ajaya, 372.
Akalaṅka āśāri, 212,
Alābu (for Varṇas), 44.
Alaka, 170.
Alaṁkāra, 67, 267 *et. seq.*
Alaṁkāra (name of the Śāstra), 128, 129.
Alaṁkāra age (of Skr. Poetics), 129, 132.
Alaṁkāras, 129, 131.
Alaṁkāras (of voice), 68.
Alaṁkāra-sāmānya-lakṣaṇa, 131.
Alaṁkāra śāstra (propriety of the name), 128, 130.
Alā-ud-Dīn, 151, 163.
Ālīḍha (sthāna), 222.
Allāḍa, 151, 158 *et. seq.*
'*Altindische Grammatik*', 135.
Āḷupa king, 3.
Āḷupas, 3.
Aḷuparasar, 3.
Āḻvār, 3.
Amaradatta, 372.
Amarakośavyākhyā, 353, 372 *et. seq.*
Amaramālā, 372.
America, 9.
Amitasāgara, 279.
Amṛtamathana, 328.
Amulets and Superstitions, 11 f-n., 20, 22.
Analogy, 144-146, 264.
Ānandavardhana, 65 f-n., 71, 128, 131, 132.
Anantabhaṭṭa, 121.
Anantanātha Purāṇa, 50.
Anapōta, 150, 151.
Anargharāghava, 327, 328.
Ānatis, 3.
Anatomy (in Painting), 57.
Āṇava, 103.
Anayema, 151, 152, 157.

'*Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*', 207 f-n.
Ancient India, 35 f-n.
Ancient India (Artist in), 32 *et. seq.*
Ancient Indian Coin, 12.
Āndhranāmasaṅgraham, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Āndhranāmaśeṣam, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Āndhras, 64.
Anekārthakośa, 372, 374.
Aṅgaracanā, 67.
Aṅgas (of speaking), 68.
Āṅgika (abhinaya), 60 *et. seq.*
Aṅgiras, 76.
Aṇimata ēri (lake), 208, 210.
Anitalli, 156, 160.
Annadēva Cōḍa, 154-156, 158.
Annahomas, 90.
Aṇṇal-vāyil-kūṟṟam, 210.
Annapota Reḍḍi, 320.
Anṛju (sthāna), 222.
Antiquity of Art, 291.
—of the Hindu Temple, 298.
Anu, (Sky god), 11.
Anubhūtisvarūpa, 53.
Anudātta, 68.
Anugrahamūrti (Śiva), 206.
Anukaraṇa (Imitation), 58, 59, 73, 74.
'Anukīrtana' (Representation), 71.
Anunyāsa, 277.
Anupamā, 175.
Apāṅkteya, 84.
Aparājita, 1.
Aparārka, 76, 76 f-n., 78 f-n., 79 f-n., 80 f-n., 81, 82 f-n., 83 f-n., 86 f-n., 88 f-n.
Āpastamba Mantra Pāṭha, 143.
Āpiśali (Grammar), 112.
Appayya Dīkṣita, 131, 218.
Apsu, 14, 21.
Apte, 15 f-n., 16 f-n.
Ārabhaṭī (Vṛtti), 63.
Arcanābhoga, 29.
Archæologia, 23.
Arch. Sur. of India, 11 f-n., 22.
Architecture in the Bhārata, 309.
—in the Rāmāyaṇa, 303.
Ardhacandra (Hasta), 72.
Ardhamaṇṭapa, 24, 25
Ardharju (Sthāna), 222.
Ardhasamapada, 222.
Ardhavilocana, (Sthāna), 222.
A. R. E. (Madras), 123 f-n.
Aristole, 70, 128.
Aristotelian System of Spheres, 10.
Arjuna (a Painter), 33, 178.
Art and its Producers and other Lectures, 32 f-n.
Art-Criticism (in Ancient India), 178 *et. seq.*
Artha (in poetry), 129.
Arthālaṅkāras, 130.
Artha Śāstra, 197, 352 *et. seq.*
Arthaśāstra and state protection of Śilpins, 314.
Art in the Vedas, 292-300.
Artistic and Industrial Revival in India, 31 f-n.
Artists' Notions (in Anc. India), 178 *et. seq.*
Art of Water Colour Drawing, 186 f-n.
Aruhar-dēvar, 211.
Arumaikkulam, 208, 210.
Aryanism (symbol of), 19 f-n.
Ārya Siddhānta, 54.
Asaṁyuta (Hasta-abhinaya), 71.
Āsanas, 227.
Āśauca, 84.
Āścaryamañjarī, 372, 374.
Asceticism of Buddhism and Painting, 198-9.
Aśoka Inscription, 354.
Assembly of the Nagarattār, 26.
A. S. P. P., 156 f-n., 157 f-n.
Aṣṭapada, 21.
Astrological Books, 46.
Astronomical Objects, 12.
Astronomical Symbolism, 12.
Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians, 14 f-n., 23.
Asuravijaya, (the first play), 59.
Aśvaghoṣa, 45.
Aśvamedha, 89-91.
Aśvamedhaparvan, 75.
Atharva Veda, 75, 138, 143, 293.
Athens, 18.

Attili, 156.
Avabhṛtha, 90.
Avaloka (on the Daśarūpaka), 321, 329.
Avasthā (Mental State), 67, 70, 71.
'Avasthānukṛti', 59.
Āvantī (Pravṛtti), 63.
Avantisundarī, 35.
Avantisundarīkathā, 33, 42, 43 f-n., 171 f-n.
Avantisundarīkathāsāra, 34 f-n., 36 f-n., 43 f-n.
Avinayanār, 279.
Aucitya, 65, 70 *et. seq.*
Aufrecht, 104, 105, 118.
Authorities on Dharma, 75.
Aztecs (of Mexico), 16.

B

Babhru, 75.
Babylonia, 11.
Babylonian and Oriental Records, 13 f-n., 23.
Babylonian Cross, 10.
Babylonian Ideogram, 13, 22.
Babylonian Solar Disc, 22.
Babylonian Symbolism, 13.
Babylonian Temples and Tombs, 9.
Bādāmi, 3.
Bādarāyaṇa, 330.
Bahmini Sultan, 149, 154.
Bahurūpamiśra, 321 *et. seq.*
Bahuvrīhi Compound, 137, 148.
Bālipīṭha, 29.
Bālamanoramā, 337.
Bālarāmāyaṇa, 301, 302.
Bāṇa, 33, 183, 187, 200, 201, 220, 231, 234, 267, 282, 305, 377.
Bāṇa, King, 6 f-n.
Banerjee, 218.
Bāpaṭla, 155.
Bāpaṭla Tq., 316.
Barnard Lintott, 185, 186 f-n.
Bāruha, 161.
Basava, 57.
Basava Purāṇa, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Basis of Abhinaya in Nature, 72.
Batra Giwārgis, 20.
Beautiful, 130, 132.
'Beauty', 130, 131.
Beḷatāru (Inscription at), 47.
Beṇḍapūḍi, 153.
Beṇḍapūḍi Anna, 160.
Bhadrā, 46.
Bhagavadajjuka, 327.
Bhagavad Gītā, 40.
Bhagavadgītāppāṭṭu, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 75.
Bhāgavata-vyākhyā, 133.
Bhāga-Vṛtti, 372.
Bhāguri, 372.
Bhaktirāja, 150, 151.
Bhāmaha, 128, 132, 133, 267, 282, 325.
Bhāṇa, 61.
Bhandarkar (R. G.), 104, 105, 118.
Bhaṅgavara, 161.
Bhānuji, 372.
Bharata, 59, 62 *et. seq.*, 91, 267, 329, 330, 333, 372.
Bhārata, 372.
Bharata Dauṣyanti, 91.
Bhāratī (Vṛtti), 63.
Bhāravi, 372.
Bhartṛhari, 279 f-n.
Bhāṣāvidhāna, 62.
Bhāṣāvṛtti, 372.
Bhāṣyakāra, 372.
Bhāṣyaṭīkā, 372.
Bhaṭṭācārya, B. C., 296.
Bhaṭṭabhāskara, 294.
Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, 130, 325.
Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṁha, 321.
Bhaṭṭaputra (a Dabbler in Art), 43.
Bhaṭṭasvāmin, 352 f-n.
Bhaṭṭi, 372.
Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, 337.
Bhāvas, 58.
Bhavabhūti, 33.
Bhāvaprakāśa, 323 *et. seq.*
Bhilsa-Topes, 11 f-n., 22.
Bhikṣuprabhāmati, 353 f-n.
Bhīma, 152.
Bhīmaparākrama, 47.
Bhīmarāja, 157.
Bhīmavikrama, 328.
Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam, 157 f-n., 159 f-n. *et. seq.*

Bhittika (Sthāna), 222.
Bhoja, 107 f-n., 128, 129, 131, 171, 267 et. seq. 321 et. seq., 372, 375.
Bhoja's theory of Rasa, 274, 324.
Bhojya-abhojya, 84.
Bhōngir District, 151.
Bhramarakīṭa Nyāya, 179.
Bhūpāla Caritra, 372, 375.
Bhūtagaṇas, 28, 206.
Black Yajurveda, 90.
Bodhisattvas, 15.
Bombay Skt. Series, 105.
Bopālita, 372, 380.
Bopp, 345 f-n.
Bo-Tree, 15.
Brahmagupta, 49, 52 f-n., 54.
Brahmakuṇḍi, 149.
Brahma Siddhānta, 52 f-n., 54.
Brahmasūtra, 222.
Bṛhaddevatā, 141.
Bṛhadīśvara Temple, 189.
Bṛhatkathā, 372.
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, 44, 44 f-n., 117 f-n.
Bṛhatsaṁhitā, 180 f.n., 181 f-n.
Brigg, 154 f-n.
British Gallery, 173.
British Museum, 11.
Brugmann, 137, 144 f-n., 147 f-n., 335, 336 f-n., 347 f-n.
Bronze Period, 12, 16.
Brown, C. P., 253 f-n.
B. Time (in Drama), 239 et. seq.
Buddha, 19, 22.
Buddha-pada, 12, 15.
Budddhist "Divinatory diagram", 11.
Buddhist Statuaries, 15.
Budge, 11, 12, 16, 17 f-n., 20, 22.
Budhaśataka, 372, 376.
Buhler, 111 f-n., 116 f-n., 354.
Burhāni Ma'asir, 151.
Burke, 132.
Burnell, 111.
Butterworth, 3.

C

Cala (Sthāna), 222.
Çāḷukiaraśar, 3.
Cāḷukyan Style of Architecture, 208.
Caḷukya Subordinates, 3.
Camatkāra, 131.
Camatkāra Candrikā, 131.
Cambridge History of India, 159 f-n.
Campūrāmāyaṇa, 107 f-n.
Cāmuṇḍarāya (Author), 49.
Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa (Kannaḍa), 49.
Cāṇakya Tīkā, 352 et. seq.
Caṇḍa, 282.
Caṇḍasena, 201.
Candra (Image), 207.
Cāndra (Grammar), 112.
Candragomin, 372, 373.
Candragupta I, 201.
Candrāpīḍa, 36.
Candraprabhā Carita, 192 f-n.
Candrāvalī Inscription, 200.
Cārutva, 130.
Catalogus Catalogorum, 104.
Catalogue of Mss. in the Tanjore Library, 111.
Catalogue of the De Clerq collection, 11 f-n.
Caturbhāṇī, 32 f-n.
Catuṣṣaṣṭi Kalās, 132.
Cave-Temples, 24 et. seq.
Celt, 21.
Cembūdi, 208.
Chaldæan Symbol for heavens, 14.
Chandojñāna, 132.
Chandaḥpariniṣṭhitas, 134.
Chandoviciti, 279.
Chartre, 230.
Chiaroscuro, 189.
China, 9, 19, 21.
Chinese Custom, 13.
Chinese Hieroglyphics, 16.
Chinese Mystic Diagram, 18.
Chinese Philosophers, 18.
Chintamani, T. R., 218.
Christ, 9.
Christian Origin of Cross, 9.
'Chronology of the later Pallavas', 165.
Cilka Lake, 161.
Çitra, 217.

Citrācāryas, 37, 39, 184.
Citra in Works on Grammar, 310-311.
Citrakara, 33, 178.
Citralekhā, 372, 376.
Citra Mīmāṁsā, 131.
Citraśālā, 217, 233-4, 301, 312.
Citra Śāstra, 35, 59.
Citra Sūtra, 57, 58, 171, 172.
Citra-unmīlana, 170.
Citravidyopādhyāyas, 35.
Cittapa, 372, 375.
Classification of Characters, 64.
Classification of Man's nature, 64.
Claude, 173.
Clothes, 67.
Cōḷa Chief, 150.
Cōḷa empire, 317.
Cōḷa coins and Sculpture, 221.
Cōḷa Inscriptions in the Pudukōṭah State, 210 *et. seq.*
Cōḷa Inscriptions mentioning the Rūpāvatāra, 277 *et. seq.*
Cōḷas, 201.
Cōḷas of Tanjore, 205, 209.
Cōḷa Princes, 152.
Colour Boxes, 44.
Colour Drawings in the Caves of Altamira, 291.
Commentary on Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, 153 f-n.
Commentary on the Meghadūta of Merutuṅga, 50.
Com. on Muhūrta Cintāmaṇi, 55.
"Comparative Accentuation of the Gr. & Skt. Languages", 345 f-n.
"Comparative Grammar of Indo-Germanic Languages", 147 f-n.
'Condition' (Aristotle), 70.
Constable, 173, 179.
Coptic Christians, 12.
Coptic Cross (St. George's), 10, 13.
Copts, 22.
Courtezan's Speech, 62.
Cross, 9.
Cross (North American), 23.
Cross, Svastika and Related Emblems, 231.
Crucifixion of Christ, 9.
Crux Commissa, 12.
Cunningham, 11, 22.
Cupholding Colours, 32.
Cuttack (King of), 149, 158, 162.

D

D'Alviella, 11, 12 f-n., 13, 16, 23.
Dabblers in Art, 32, 42.
Dakota Pictograph, 12.
Dakota (Sun God from), 70.
Dākṣinātyā (Pravṛtti), 63.
Dākṣinātyas, 63.
Damayantī, 372, 374.
Dāmodara gupta, 39, 168, 169 *et. seq.*
Dance, 66, 69, 71 *et. seq.*
Dancing Sculptures of Bhūtagaṇas, 28.
Daṇḍin, 63, 64, 129, 131-134, 267, 269, 333.
Daṇḍiyamaka, 372.
Daṇḍyalaṅkāra, 372.
Dantiga, King of Kāñcī, 5, 7.
Dantivarman, 2, 165.
Danube, 16.
Daśabandha (A Kauṭalīyan term), 354, 355.
Daśakumāracarita, 44, 193.
Daśarūpaka, 60, 61, 321 *et. seq.*
Daśarūpaka Vyākhyā, 321 *et. seq.*
'Das, Pferd im arischen Altertum', 89.
Dattila, 372.
De, Dr. S. K., 267 *et. seq.*
Decorative Design (Cross), 9.
Decorative Patterns in the Ancient World (by Petrie), 11 f-n., 23.
Definition of Poetry, 128, 129.
Dekkan States, 149.
Dependent Determinative Compounds, 135, 140.
Deśa (Country), 67, 71.
Descriptive Determinative Compounds, 135, 140.
Determinative Compounds, 135 *et. seq.*
Determinant Sketch, 169.
Devadāsīs, 123.
Dēvaṉ Periyāṉ, 26, 27.
Devaṟakoṇḍa, 151, 155.

Devarāya (I of Vijayanagar), 154-156, 160.
Devarāya II, 163.
Devarāyadurga Copper plates, 48.
Devagiri, 315.
Devapāṇi Ṭīkā (on the D. R.), 321.
Devīpariṇaya, 327.
Devarāya Mahārāyar, 215.
Devarāya Uḍaiyar, 320.
Devavijaya Gaṇi, 51.
Devībhāgavata, 180.
Devīpurāṇa, 180.
Design, 227.
Dhanañjaya, 321, 372.
Dhanapāla, 33, 231.
Dhanika, 321, 328, 330, 333.
Dharaṇi, 372.
Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pośar, 8.
Dharaṇikoṭa, 150, 151, 155.
Dharmadāsa, 32 f-n., 372.
Dharmakīrti, 277 *et. seq.*
Dharmāmṛta, 49.
Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, 169, 199.
Dharmasūtra, 75.
Dhātupradīpaṭīkā, 372.
Dhavalakkaka, 175.
Dhoyi, 41.
Dhruva, father of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, 5, 7.
Dhruvā Songs, 71.
Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda, 39.
Dhvani, 129, 131.
Dhyāna Ślokas, 179.
Dialects (used in Drama), 62.
Difference in emphasis of semantic aspects, 252.
Differences among men, 64.
Ḍima, 61.
Ḍiṇḍins (Inferior Artists), 33, 41.
Dīpaka (Alaṅkāra), 129.
Dīpāvalī, 233.
Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 172 f-n.
'Disposition' (Aristotle), 70.
Doḍḍa, 157.
Ḍombī, 60.
Dominicians of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, 176.
Donti, 161.
Drākṣārāma (Temple), 150, 163.
Drama, 58, 129.
Draviḍas, 64.
Dravidian Style of Architecture, 208.
Dravyaśuddhi, 87.
Drypoint, 218.
Dubreuil, 1.
Dumont, 89.
Durga (on Yāska), 141.
Durgasiṁha, 107.
Durghaṭa, 373.
Duṣyanta's Portrait of Śakuntalā, 43.
Dvādaśa Liṅgatobhadra, 229.
Dvādaśa Sāhasrī, 329, 330.
Dvandva Compounds, 144, 147.
Dvārapālakas, 28.
Dvigu Compounds, 140, 141.
Dvyardhākṣī (Sthāna), 222.
Dyaus, 17 f-n.

E

Earle, 140.
Early Astronomy and Cosmology, 9 f-n., 23.
Early Cōḻa Temple Architecture, 207.
Early Cosmology, 9.
Early Pallava Period, 28.
Eastern Cāḷukya Princes, 3.
Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, 162.
Edgerton (Franklin), 104 f-n., 105 *et. seq.*
Egypt, 9.
Egyptian Ankh, 12.
Egyptian Art, 15.
Egyptian 'Key of life', 12, 13.
Egptian Statues, 221.
Egytian Temples and Tombs, 9.
E. I., 153 f-n.
Ekādaśa liṅgatobhadra, 229.
Eka-kārya, 61.
Element of beauty in Art, 35.
Ellora, 42, 207.
Eḻuttaśśaṉ's Bhāgavatam, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Eḻuttaśśaṉ's Bhāratam, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*

Encyclopædia of Religion & Ethics, 11 f-n., 13 f-n., 15 f-n., 23.
England (Painter in), 32.
England (Painting in), 173.
Eṇṇāyiram Inscription, 277, 278.
Emotional Context and Modification of Abhinaya, 70.
'English Renaissance of Art' 73 f-n.
Epigraphia Carnatica, 2 f-n., 6 f-n., 7 f-n., 47, 48.
Epigraphia Indica, 1 f-n., 2 f-n., 7 f-n., 8 f-n., 50 f-n.
Etching, 218.
Ethiopian Book-amulet, 20.
Ethiopian Magical Diagrams, 22.
Etymology of Svastika, 16 f-n., 18 f-n.
'*Evolution in Art*', 229.
Evolution in Modern Art, 32.
Europe, 9.
Experimental Sketches, 168.
Expiratory Accent, 147.

F

Facial Tint, 67.
Fa Hian, 317.
Ferdin and Sommer, 136.
Fergusson, 20 f-n., 23.
Ferishta, 154 f-n., 163.
Figures of Speech, 130.
Fine Arts, 58, 132.
Firoz Shah, 154-156.
Fisher, 173.
Fleet, 1, 4-6.
Form of Composition, 129.
Fortunes (Aristotle), 70.
France, (Painter in), 32.
Fylfot, 229.

G

Gadādharapaddhati 78 f-n., 83 f-n., 85 f-n., 88 f-n.
Gaekwad Oriental Series, 66 f-n., 67 f-n.
Gajapati, 149, 158, 160, 162.
Gajapati-daḷa-vibhāḷa, 158.
Gamana (Pose), 226.
Gamma, 15.
Gammate Cross, 15.
Gaṇapati deva, 315, 316, 318, 319.
Gaṇapati Śāstri, Dr. T., 352 *et. seq.*
Gāndharvas, 134.
Gaṇeśa (Symbols), 17 f-n.
Gaṅgā, 91.
Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsa, 164.
Gaṅgādhara Kṛṣṇa Draviḍa, 107 f-n.
Gaṅgadiyarāyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar, Chief of Kaṟakaṭṭūr, 5 f-n., 6 f-n.
Gāṇga Grants, 5.
Gāṅgavaṁśānucaritram, 162.
Ganjam Dt., 161.
Garga, 49.
Garalapuri Śāstrin, 107 f-n.
Gaspar (Poussin), 173.
Gāthāsaptaśatī, 169, 305 f-n., 314.
Gati (Actor's gait), 65.
Gauls, 12.
Gauraṇārya, 277.
Gaya, 15.
Gayā Clay seal, 200.
German Nazis, 19 f-n.
Germany, 19 f-n.
Ghaṭikāyar, 8.
Ghosh Manomohan, 281-283.
Goblet, 23.
God (in Saiva Siddhānta), 98, 103.
Godāvarī, 149, 152, 156.
Godāvarī Delta, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155 *et. seq.*
Godavari District, 150.
Gomin, 372.
Gomin Dhātupāṭha, 372.
Goosens (M. Roger), 89.
Gopalan, 1.
Gopālapura (Inscription at), 47.
Gopālita, 372, 380.
Gopinatha Rao, 225 f-n.
Gothic Jewels and Weapons, 16.
Govardhana, 372, 376.
Govardhana Uṇādi Vṛtti, 373, 376.
Govardhana Vṛtti, 373, 376.
Government of India (repairs of moments), 42.
Govinda Daivajña, 46 f-n., 47.
Gratt (Willem L.), 136 f-n., 137 f-n.
Grahas (of Soma), 90.
Grahavarman, 201.

'Grammaire des langues romances', 136 f-n.
'Grāmaśatabhuk'(a painter's status) 34.
Greek (Determinative compounds), 136.
Greek Cross, 10.
Greeks, 90.
Greek Statues, 221.
Greek Text (on Aśvamedha), 89, 90 f-n.
Greg, 12, 17, 23.
Grundriss, 335 f-n., 336 f-n.
Guḍaea, 14.
Gulburga (Sultan of), 160.
Guṇacandra, 328.
Guṇakāṅkiyam, 279.
Guṇasāgara, 279.
Guṇas (Philosophy), 129.
Guṇas (Poetics), 98 *et. seq.*
Gundlagamma, 149, 150.
Gundert, 253 f-n.
Guntur Dt., 316.
Gupta Period, 32, 171.
Guzerat (Architecture in), 174 f-n.. 176.

H

'Habits' (Aristotle), 70.
Habits of Artists, 168.
Haddon, 229.
Hal, 14.
Haḷēbid (Temple at), 120 f-n.
Halāyudha, 373.
Hammurabi, 14.
'Handbuch der lateinischen Lautund Formenlehre.', 136 f-n.
'Handled Cross', 10, 12, 13.
Haradatta, 85 f-n., 277.
Hāralatā, 78 f-n., 84 f-n., 88 f-n.
Hārāvalī, 373.
Haravijaya, 170, 226 f-n.
Haravilāsa, 372, 376.
Haricandra, 199.
Hariharāmbā, 160.
Hariprabodha, 373.
Harivāhana, 35, 36.
Harṣa, 200.
Harṣa Carita, 33, 38, 44, 184, 200, 220, 280, 305 f-n., 373 f-n., 377 f-n.
Harvard Oriental Series, 54, 104.
Hastābhinaya, 61 *et. seq.*, 71 *et. seq.*
Hastas (of Abhinaya), 72, 73.
Hastalekha, 168.
Hastoccaya, 41.
Havell, 31, 32, 42, 207 f-n.
'Health in Art', 73.
Hemacandra, 44, 54, 111, 112, 304, 306.
Hemādri, 82 f-n., 84 f-n., 87 f-n., 88 f-n.
Heras (Rev. H.), 200.
Herodotus (on Persians), 89, 90.
Hertel, (Prof. Johannes), 104, 105 *et. seq.*
Hewitt, 12 f-n., 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23.
Hofland, 173.
Horus (Star), 13.
Hieroglyphic, 12, 16.
Hindu Architecture, 17.
Hindu Astronomy, 19 f-n.
Hindu emblem (Triratna), 20.
Hindus, 15, 19.
Hindu Sects, 20.
Hīrānanda Śāstri, 296.
Hiraṇyavarma Mahārāja, 8.
Hīrasaubhāgya, 168, 169.
Hissarlik (Terracotta Articles at), 16
'History of Chess', 12 f-n., 23.
History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 20 f-n., 23.
History of Orissa, 218.
History of Svastika, 230.
History of Viśvakarman, and Maya, 302, 307.
Hitopadeśa, 107, 110.
Hittite Monuments, 15, 16.
Hiuen T-siang, 317.
Hjaltalin, 230.
Hṛdayaṅgamā, 133.
Hultzsch, 280, 319 f-n.

I

Idealism (Philosophy), 102.
Idealism (of Skt. Stage), 57 *et. seq.*
Iḷaikkōlam, 187 f-n., 232.
Īḷam, 212.
Iḷaṅgoḍi Araiyar, 208.

"Image Worship in India' 296 f-n.
Imitation, 58.
Imperial Guptas, 200.
India, 9, 11, 12.
Indian Antiquary, 2 f-n., 3 f-n., 4 f-n., 5 f-n., 13, 51, 54.
Indian Art, 57.
Indian Historical Research Institute, 200.
Indian Historical Quarterly, 133, 267, *et. seq.*, 281, 323 f-n.
Indian Images, 296.
Indian Origin of Svastika, 15.
Indian Painting, 57.
Indians, 89.
Indo-Āryan Loan words in the Dravidian Languages, 252 *et. seq.*
Indra (Emblem), 17 f-n.
Indra (Grammar), 112.
Indra Vṛtrahan, 91.
Indulekhā, 328.
Indumatī, 372, 374, 375.
Indus, 89.
Inscriptions of the Pudukōṭah State, 29 f-n., 210.
Introduction to Modern Philosophy, 102 f-n.
Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa Cōḻavaḷanāḍu, 211, 212.
I-tsing, 317.

J

Jacobi, 50 f-n., 54.
Jaganmohana, 47.
Jagannātha Paṇḍita, 132.
Jaimini, 75.
Jaimini Bhārata, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Jaiminīyas, 75.
Jaina Cave (Śamaṇa Kuḍagu), 24.
Jain dictum against Painting, 199.
Jains, 19.
Jain Style of Architecture, 174 f-n.
Jain Versions of Pañcatantra, 105.
Jakkana Vikramārkacarita, 151 f-n.
Jalhaṇa, 375.
Jambūdvīpaprajñaptivṛtti, 51.
Jānakīharaṇa, 373.
Jānakīrāghava, 373, 377.
Janna (Author), 50.
Janna (Kannaḍa poet), 120 f-n.
Janturnāḍu, 161.
Jātakamālā, 373.
Jaṭāmakuṭa, 28.
Jaṭāvarmaṉ Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 215.
Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya, 123, 124.
Jayā, 46.
Jayāditya, 277, 373.
Jayadeva (Prosody), 282.
Jayamaṅgalā, 132, 133.
Jayasiṁha, 111, 112.
Jayaswal, 354.
Jensen, 13, 23.
Jhāḍiya, 161.
Jiḍikōṭa, 161.
Jinendra, 277, 373.
Jñāpakasamuccaya, 373.
Jñānavimala gāṇi, 51.
Joad, C. E. M., 102 f-n.
Journal of the American Oriental Society, 345 f-n.
Journal of the Andhra Historical Society, 154 f-n. *et. seq.*
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 163 f-n.
Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, 135 f-n.
Journal Asiatique, 89.
Journal of Indian History, 279 f-n.
Jupiter, 17 f-n.
Justi, 136, 138.
Jyeṣṭhādevī (Image), 207.
Jyotissāgara, 46.
Jyotis-sāra-sāgara, 42.

K

Kādambarī, 184, 187, 231, 305 f-n., 373.
Kaḍambūrdeva, 209.
Kaḍambūr Malai, 209.
Kailas Temple (at Ellora), 207.
Kākatīya Kingdom, 315.
Kakṣyāvibhāga (on the Stage), 63.
Kākus, 68.
Kāla, 71.
Kalāmātrāvibhāgajñas, 134.
Kalāvilāsa, 40 f-n., 174 f-n.
Kale, 237.
Kali (Symbols), 17 f-n.

Kālidāsa, 193, 234 *et. seq.*, 291, 305, 373.
Kalikā, 232.
Kaliṅga, 158, 161.
Kaliṅgarājaparameśvara, 161.
Kaliṅgasañcikā, 162.
Kallinātha, 66, 69.
Kaluvacēru (Grant), 156, 157.
Kaluvapalli, 161.
Kalyāṇavarman, 201.
Kāmadattā, 328.
Kāmadhenu (on Vāmana's K. A. S. and Vṛ.), 133.
Kāmadhenus, 25.
Kāmandakīya, 373.
Kāmanīyaka, 130.
Kāma Śāstra, 32.
Kāma Sūtras, 132.
Kampita, 68.
Kanakavarṣa (a City), 38.
Kanarese Anthology, 262 f-n.
Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Kāñcī, 4. 211.
Kāñcīpuram, 316.
Kañcukam, 161.
Kaṅkaparti, 156.
Kant, 132.
Kaṇṭaka, 231.
Kapileśvara, 162-164.
Kappakoṇḍa, 161.
Kappaṇābhyudaya, 373.
Karanda Coin, 11 f-n., 19.
Karikālas, 201.
Kārikā (Vyākaraṇa), 279.
Karma, 99.
Karmadhāraya Compound, 138, 141, 142.
Karṇapārya, 112 f-n.
Karṇāṭa, 160, 161.
Karṇāṭakas, 155.
Karpūracaritabhāṇa, 39 f-n.
Karumāṇikka Āḻvar, 25.
Kāruvara, 178.
Karuvūr, 212.
Kāśakṛtsna (Grammar), 112.
Kashmir, (Sarasvatī Temple), 111.
Kāśikā, 277, 279 f-n., 353, 373.
Kāśīkhaṇḍam, 157 f-n., 159 f-n. *et. seq.*
Kāśikāvṛtti, 63, 277, 379.
Kasimkōṭa, 161.
Kassite Cross, 16.
Kassite Period, 11.
Kaśyapa, 75.
Kātantraviśeṣa, 373.
Kātantra Vyākaraṇa, 373, 377.
Kāṭaya Vema, 150 *et. seq.*
Kathāsaritsāgara, 34, 35 f-n., 37, 37 f-n., 38 f-n., 117 f-n., 169, 177, 185 f-n., 234, 311-314.
Kaṭibandha, 28.
Kātya, 373.
Kātyāyana (Grammarian), 140, 141, 142 f-n., 337.
Kātyāyana 373.
Kātyāyana (Prosody), 282.
Kaumudīmahotsava, 200.
Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, 299.
Kauṭalya, 352 *et. seq.*
Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, 303.
Kavivyāpāra, 130.
Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, 375.
Kāvyādarśa, 129, 133, 373, 377.
Kāvyakriyā, 132.
Kāvyalakṣaṇa, 132.
Kāvyalakṣaṇakārins, 132.
'*Kāvyālaṅkāra*' (of Bhāmaha), 128, 129.
'Kāvyālaṅkāra-sāra-saṅgraha', 129.
Kāvyālaṅkāra Sūtra and Vṛtti, 133, 377.
Kāvyamīmāṁsā, 38 f-n., 128, 183, 198, 302, 323, 332.
Kāvyānuśāsana, 304.
Kāvyavits, 134.
Kaye, 19 f-n.
Keith, 272, 273, 280 f-n.
Keraḷāntaka Vaḷanāḍu, 210.
Keraḷōlpatti, 253 f-n. *et seq.*
Keśa, 151.
Kīcakavadha, 373.
Kielhorn, 50 f-n., 51, 54, 104 f-n., 111 f-n.
Kīḻattāyanallūr, 210.

King making a dancing girl his queen, 123-4.
King of Assyria, 11.
Kirīṭa Makuṭa, 24, 25.
Kittel, 253 f-n.
Kohala, 330.
Kolala (Battle of), 7.
Kōlam, 187 f-n., 227.
Kollippakkai, 201.
Komaṭīndra, 150, 151.
Komaṭi Vema, 155, 158.
Kommana, 149, 152 f-n., 157 f-n., 158 f-n., 159 f-n.
Kōṉāḍu, 210.
Koṇḍavīḍu, 149, 152, 153, 155, 157.
Konigsberg, 89.
Kosegarten, 105, 110, 112, 113.
Kosmologie der Babylonier, 13 f-n., 23.
Koṭa-kulaja, 201.
Ko-vijaya Nṛpatuṅgavarman, 28, 29.
Kōvirājakēsari Tribhuvana Cakravartigaḷ Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadēva, 25, 27.
Kramrisch (Dr. Stella), 171.
Kriyākalpa, 132-134.
Kriyā-karaṇa-vidhi, 133.
Kriyāvidhāna, 133.
Kriyāvidhi, 133.
Kriyāvikalpa, 133.
Kṛṣṇā, 150, 155, 164.
Kṛṣṇa I (Rāṣṭrakūṭa), 207.
Kṛṣṇagāthā, 253 f-n. et. seq.
Kṛṣṇā-Godavarī Delta, 149.
Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā, 149.
Kṣayavṛddhi, 189, 195.
Kṣemendra, 39, 40, 44, 117 f-n., 173, 174, 273, 303.
Kṣīrasvāmin, 280.
'Kuḍinīṅgā Devadāna', 25, 27.
Kuḍuga-nāḍu, 48.
Kulamallar (Chief potentates), 8.
Kulaśekhara Kaḍambaiyarāyaṉ, 215.
Kulḍikki Epigraph, 5 f-n., 6 f-n.
Kullūkabhaṭṭa, 35 f-n., 84 f-n.
Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa Paṭṭiṉam, 212.
Kulōttuṅga III, 209.
Kumāradatta (a Painter), 37.
Kumāragiri, 151-154.
Kumāragiri, son of Kāṭayavema, 156.
Kumārapālacarita, 44.
Kumārasambhava, 373.
Kumārasvāmin, 130.
Kuñjan Nambiar Pañcatantram, 253 f-n. *et seq.*
Kuñjan Nambiar's Ōṭṭanduṭṭal, 253 f-n. *et seq.*
Kuntaka, 128-130, 190, 306.
Kuppuswami Sastri, S., 122.
Kūrmacakra, 13.
Kushite race of Kings, 13, 16.
Kusumaśekharavijaya, 328.
Kusumāvatikā, (a Courtezan loved by a Painter), 39.
Kuṭṭanīmata, 39 f-n., 41, 41 f-n., 168 *et seq.*

L

Lacadæmonians, 70.
Lacouperie, 13, 14, 14 f-n., 23.
"Lady of Shallot", 231.
Lakṣaṇadīpikā, 277.
Lakṣaṇas, 129.
Lakṣmaṇa, 33.
Lakṣmaṇasena, 41 f-n.
Lakṣmī, 42.
Lakṣmīnṛsiṁha (Image of), 48.
Lalitanāgara, 327.
Lalitavistara, 133.
Landscape Painting, 236.
"Language and Languages", 136 f-n., 137 f-n.
'Language Dissertation' (of the Linguistic Society of America), 135 f-n., 146 f-n.
"Last Supper" (Painting), 176.
Latā, 232.
Later Vedic Language, 143.
'L' Aśvamedha', 89.
Later Pallava period, 28.
Latin (Determinative Compounds), 136.
Latin Cross, 10, 11, 19.
Lefmann, 133.
Leonardo, 176.
Life of Appollonius of Tyana, 89.
Life-symbol, 12.

Līlātilakam, 264.
Liṅgam, 28.
Liṅgānuśāsana, 373, 379.
Liṅgatobhadra, 228.
Lithuanian, 136, 145-147.
Locana (on Dhvanyāloka), 130, 300.
Logical Accentuation, 136, 146, 147.
Loka (Nature), 59.
Lokadharmī, 57 *et seq.*
Lokamahādevī, a queen of Vikramāditya, 4.
Lokasādṛśya, 60.
Lokasvabhāva, 59.
Lollaṭa, 333.
Loginus, 132.
Lorraine Cross, 10.
Lōtagadta, 161.
'*Lowell Lectures*', 102.
Lunar mansions, the, 10.

M

Māca, 155.
Macdonell, 137 f-n., 141, 143 f-n.
Mackenzie MSS, 315.
Madalekhā, 327.
Madanapārijāta, 82 f-n., 84 f-n., 86 f-n., 87 f-n.
Mādhava, 75, 78 f-n., 80 f-n., 81 f-n., 82 f-n., 83 f-n., 373.
Mādhavabhaṭṭa, 135 f-n., 146, 147.
Mādhavī, 327.
Mādhavikā, 373, 377.
Mādhurya (sweetness in action), 69.
Madura, 211, 212.
Maduvār, 3.
Māgha, 373.
Magadha (People of), 63.
Māghavyākhyā, 373.
Maginnis, 186 f-n.
Mahābhārata, 34 f-n., 75, 170, 303-305.
Mahābhāṣya, 139 f-n., 144 f-n., 145, 279 f-n., 310, 335.
Mahādevar, 209.
Mahāmaṇḍapa, 25.
Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas, 218.
Mahārṇava, 373.
Mahāvaṁśa, 277.
Maheśvara, 51.
Maheśvara (Author of a Prosody-text), 279.
Mahiman Grahas, 90.
Maitreyarakṣita, 277.
Makara, 24.
Makarakuṇḍalas, 25.
Mākavara, 161.
Mākkōlam, 187 f-n., 232.
Makledi Kimmūru, 153.
Mālatikā Vīthī, 327.
Mālavikāgnimitra, 37, 179 f-n., 312.
Malayālam Commentary on the Artha śāstra, 352 *et seq.*
Malla, 151.
Mallabhūpāla, 163.
Mallam, 3.
Mallam Epigraph, 4.
Mallaṉ Anantaṉ, 29, 210.
Mallaṉ Vīḍumaṉ, 208, 210.
Mallappa Voḍeya, 163, 164.
Mallikārjuna, 164.
Mallodeya, 47.
Maltese (rayed) Cross, 10, 13.
Mālatīmādhava, 15 f-n., 231, 373.
Mālatīmādhavavyākhyā, 330.
Māmallapuram, 42, 42 f-n.
Mānameyodaya, 358.
Mānatuṅgasūri, 52, 53.
Maṇḍapa, 25, 26 f-n.
Maṅgala ālekhyas, 183.
Maṇi Jōdiyāṉ Marudaiyāṉ, 211.
Maṇimegalai, 252 f-n. *et seq.*
Mankad, 281.
Manne Plates, 2 f-n., 6.
Manu, 84 f-n., 300, 355 f-n., 356 f-n.
Manusmṛti, 35 f-n., 197.
Maoris, 16.
Maoris (People), 17.
Maori Symbolism, 16 f-n., 23.
Māpāḍiyam, 100 f-n.
Māravarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya, 26, 208, 209, 212-214.
Marco Polo, 315, 316, 318.
Mārkaṇḍeya, 58.
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 373.
Marshall's Vols. on Mohenjodaro, 11 f-n.
Masks, 67.

Massing, 136 f-n.
Masterpieces in colour series, 31 f-n.
Material world (in Śaivasiddhānta), 98.
Mātrās, 7, 8.
Mātṛgupta, 333.
Matsya Purāṇa, 180 f-n., 181 f-n.
Maukharis, 200, 201.
Max Müller, 16.
Maya Ms., 12.
Mayan pictures, 14.
Māyurāja, 329.
M'crindle, 35 f-n.
Medhātithi, 355 f-n.
Megasthenes, 35 f-n.
Meghadūta (Kālidāsa), 305 f-n.
Meghadūta (of Meratuṅga), 50.
Mēlaikkaḍambūr-dēvar, 210.
Mēlamalai, 24 *et. seq.*, 213.
Memoirs of the life of J. Constable R. A., 173 f-n., 179 f-n.
Menakānahuṣa, 327.
Menon, 9 f-n., 14 f-n., 19 f-n., 20 f-n., 231.
M. E. R., 5 f-n., 154 f-n., 157 f-n.
M. E. R. A., 149 f-n. *et seq.*
'Meridian-pole', 13, 15.
Merutuṅga, 50.
Metre, 129.
Mexican pictures, 14.
Mexicans, 12.
Mexico, 16.
Migration of Symbols, 11 f-n., 23.
Mīṉavaṉ, 210.
Mīṉavaṉ Tamiḻaraiyaṉ, 29.
Miśra (Citra), 57, 194.
Mitramiśra, 80 f-n., 84 f-n.
Modern Inscriptions, 215.
"*Modern Printers*", 183 f-n., 193-194, 194 f-n.
Mohenjo-daro, 11.
Mood and change in gait, 65.
Morris (William), 32.
'Mother-mountain', 13.
Mōṭupaḷḷi, 316, 318, 320.
Mōṭupalli Inscription, 318.
Mṛcchakaṭika, 39, 43, 61, 170, 193 f-n., 313.
Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḷa Teluṅgaiyarāyaṉ, 26, 27.
Mudrās, 71.
Muhammadan Historians, 149.
Muhammadans, 150, 151.
Muhūrtacintāmaṇi, 46, 46 f-n., 55, 56.
Muhammadan invaders, 26.
Mukuṭa, 372.
Mukhamaṇḍapa, 28, 29.
Mūlaprakṛti, 98, 101.
Mūlaprakṛtis, 7, 8.
Müller, 108 f-n., 109.
Mummaḍicoḷavaram, 152.
Mummaḍiprolavaram, 150.
Mūndru yugam kaṇḍa Ammaṉ Temple, 123.
Murāri, 373.
Murray, 12 f-n., 23.
Mussalmans, 151.
Music, 132.
Musical accentuation, 147 f-n.
Mutfili kingdom, 315-317.
Muttarayar, 26 f-n.
Mūvar-koil, 207.

N

'Naḍai' (gait and style), 65.
Nāḍapit, 91.
Naḍattai (behaviour), 65.
Nāga Chief, 4.
Nāgadeva, 121.
Nāgara (Citra), 57, 194.
Nāgaraka, 32, 184.
Nagarasvāmin, 34.
Nagarattār, 26.
Nāgavarman, 112 f-n.
Nāgavijaya, 328.
Nāgeśa, 335.
Naigamas, 134.
Naiṣadhīya Carita, 43, 168 *et seq.*, 306 f-n., 313.
Nakṣatras, 46.
Nalacampū, 170, 187, 217 *et seq.*
Nālaḍi-nāṟpadu, 279.
Nalavijaya, 327.
Nalodaya, 373.
Nalōdaya-ṭīkā, 51.

Nāmadīpikai nigaṇḍu, 252 f-n. *et seq.*
Nāmamālā, 373.
Namisādhu, 282.
Nandā, 46.
Nandāpura, 161.
Nandipōtaraśar, 2.
Nandivarman III, 1, 165.
Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, 1, 2, 3 *et. seq.*, 165.
Nandyāvarta, 227.
Nāñjināḍ, 124.
Nārada, 46 f-n., 373.
Nārada śilpa, 189 f-n., 312.
Narahari, 157.
Narasiṁha, Bhaṭṭa, 274.
Narasiṁha I, 4.
Narasiṁha III, 153.
Narasiṁha IV, 158, 162.
Naravāhanadatta, 35.
Nārāyaṇa (Com. on Naiṣadhīya), 168.
Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa, 358.
Nārāyaṇīya, 358.
Nārttāmalai, 24 *et seq.*
Nāṭaka, 61.
Nāṭakaprakriyā, 373, 378.
Nāṭakaratnakośa, 373, 378.
Nāṭikā, 60.
Nāṭṭār, 3.
Nāṭya, 58, 217.
Nāṭya and Citra (Interrelation), 58.
Nāṭyācāryas, 37.
Nāṭyadarpaṇa, 66 f-n., 67 f-n., 328.
Nāṭyadhārā, 327.
Natyadharmī, 57 *et seq.*
Nāṭyaśāstra, 58, 62 *et seq.*, 281-283, 329.
Nautch 72.
Navasāhasāṅkacarita, 311.
Nāyaka (Classification), 66.
Nayasena (Kannaḍa poet), 49.
Nāyikā, (Classification), 66.
Nazis (of Germany), 19 f-n.
Negelein, 89.
Nellūru (Inscription at), 48.
Nellore Dt., 4.
Nellore Dt. Inscriptions, 3 f-n.
Neminātha Purāṇa, 112 f-n.
Nepalese Pañcatantra, 107, 114.
Nepathya, 67.
Nibandhas, 76.
Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri, K. A., 201.
Niravadgapura, 152.
Nirukta, 141, 279.
Nisannu, 14.
Niśśaṅku (Kommana), 158.
Nṛpatuṅga, 1, 165-167, 208.
Nṛpatuṅga Īśvaraṉ, 208.
Nṛpatuṅga pallava, 28, 29.
Nṛpatuṅga Varma, 210.
Nṛtta, 60.
Nṛttahastas, 58.
Nṛtya, 58.
Nṛtyaprabandhas, 60.
Nyāyakusumāñjali, 297, 308.
Nyāsakāra, 373.

O

Oḍḍādi, 161.
'*On the Feeling of the Sublime and the Beautiful*' (of Kant), 132.
'On the Sublime', 132.
Ontology (of Śaiva siddhānta), 98.
Oppumānu, 161.
Orissa (Kingdom of), 153, 162, 164.
Orissa (people of), 63.
Oscar Wylde, 73.
'Our knowledge of the External World', 102 f-n.
Outline of Art, 176 f-n.
'*Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 92 *et. seq.*
Oxytonisation, 136, 137, 148.

P

Pādākṣarasamāsajñas, 134.
Pādatāḍitaka, 32, 39, 41, 41 f-n., 42, 42 f-n.
Paddhati (Prākṛt grammar), 282.
Padmapīṭha, 24.
Padmāvatīpariṇaya, 327.
Pahlavī version of the Pañcatantra, 117 f-n.
Painting, 132.

Painting of Apollo, 16.
Paintings in the Caves of Ramgarh, 292.
Paiṭhīnasī, 75.
Pakṣasūtra, 223.
Pālakāpya, 373.
Pālakoṇḍa, 161.
Pāli Literature, 31.
Pālittiyam, 279.
Paḻiyili Īśvaraṉ, 28, 208.
Paḻiyili, Muttaraiya Chief, 29.
Paḻiyiḻi Śiṟiyānaṅgai, 29, 30.
Pallava History, 165.
Pallava Inscription (in Pudukōṭah State), 210.
Pallavas, 29.
Pallavas of Kāñcī, 1 f-n.
Pallava Statues, 221.
Pallava Subordinate, 3.
Pallava times, 24.
Pampa (Kannaḍa poet), 48.
Pañcabandham, 354, 355.
Pāñcālas, 63.
Pañcaloha, 179.
Pañcatantra, 104 *et seq.*
Pañcatantra (its revision), 54.
'*Pañcatantra Reconstructed*', 104 f-n.
Pañcopākhyāna, 121.
Pāṇḍavānanda, 327, 328
Paṇḍitas, 134.
Pāṇḍya, 211.
Pāṇḍya Inscriptions, 214.
Pāṇini, 138, 139, 140 f-n., 144 *et seq.*, 336, 353.
Pāṇinīyadhātupārāyaṇa, 373.
Panugal (Fort), 156.
Paper-cuts, 43.
Parakēsarivarmaṉ Rājēndra-dēvar, 211.
Parakēsari Rājēndra Tribhuvana Cakravartigaḷ Kulōtuṅga Cōḷa-dēvar, 211.
Parākramabāhu I, 277, 278.
Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 215.
Paramadhārmikas, 197 f-n.
Parambūruḍaiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ Seṅguḍiyāṉ Gaṅgādar, 211.
Parameśvaravarmaṉ II, 7, 8.
Parāśara mādhavīya, 75, 78 f-n., 81 f-n., 84 f-n., 85 f-n., 86 f-n., 87 f-n.
Pārasīka, 161.
Parāvṛtta (Sthāna), 222.
Parihāra (a Kauṭalīya term), 352, 353.
Parimaḷa (Appayya Dīkṣita), 218.
Paris, 89.
Pārśvāgata (Sthāna), 222.
Paryāyaratnamālā, 373.
Paryāyokta (Alaṁkāra), 129.
Pāśa, 103.
'Passions' (Aristotle), 70.
Paśu, 103.
Patākā (hand), 72.
Pāṭalīputra, 169.
Patañjali, 144, 310, 335.
Pāṭhya, 71.
Pāṭhya guṇas, 68.
Pati, 103.
Patiṉeṇbhūmi-Viṇṇagara-Emberumāṉ, 26.
Patra, 232.
Patrakartarī, 43, 217.
Patrakuṇḍala, 28.
Patralekhana, 232.
Patraracanā, 232.
Pattuppāṭṭu, 252 f-n. *et seq.*
Paucity of karmadhāraya in the Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda, 140.
Paurāṇikas, 134.
Paurastyā (Pravṛtti), 63.
Pauṣkara (āgama), 99, 101.
Pauṣkara bhāṣya, 99 f-n., 100 f-n., 101 f-n.
Pavanadūta, 41.
Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, 153-155.
Pēdapūḍi grant, 150.
'*Pen Drawing*, 186 f-n.
Periplus, 317.
Permānadi (title meaning king), 7.
Perronnee, 11.
Persians, 89.
Peru, 21.
Perumāḷa, 157.
Perumāṉaḍigaḷ, 6 f-n.
Petrie (Sir W. M. F.), 18, 21, 23.
Peyyūr Kōṭṭam, 3.

Phālguna, 91.
"Philology of the English Tongue" 140.
Philostratus, 89-91.
Phiṭsūtra, 138.
Picture-scripts, 291.
Piṅgala (Prosody), 282.
Piṅgalam, 279.
Pinnama, 157.
Pires (Edward A.), 200.
Pitch accent, 136.
Pīyūṣadhārā, 46 f-n., 55.
Plain Handicraft, 31 f-n.
Playful Contests, 35.
Pluralist, 98.
Poetic harmony, 129.
Poetics, 128, 132.
'*Poetics*' (of Aristotle), 128.
Poetry, 58.
Political Economy of Art, 173 f-n.
Pōṟēṟu Cēmaṉ, 212.
Post-Impressionism in Art in England, 32.
Potencee (Tau cross), 10.
Poṭṭanūru, 161.
Poussin, 173.
Prabandhakośa, 174.
Prabhākaravardhana, 33, 38, 201.
Pradhāni, 163.
Prahasana, 61.
Prajāpati, 90.
Prakaraṇa, 61.
Prakāśavarṣa, 267 *et seq.*
Prakāśavarṣa, (Com, on Kāvyas), 168.
Prakriyāsarvasva, 358.
Prākṛt, 260 *et seq.*
Prākṛtadīpikā, 281, 282.
Prākṛtānuśāsana, 373.
Prākṛtaprakāśa, 270.
Prākṛtarūpāvatāra, 280.
Prākṛtasūtra, 373.
Prākṛtasūtra Vṛtti, 281, 282.
Prākṛt Grammar works, 281, 282.
Prakṛti, 64, 70.
Prakṛti-aucitya, 70, 71.
Pramāṇas (in Painting), 57.
Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, 315.
Pratāparudrīya, 130.
Pratāpavīrarudra, 315.
Prātiśākhyakīrtiprakāśa, 140.
Pratiṣṭhāna, 37.
Pratyālīḍha (sthāna), 222.
Pravṛtti, 62.
Prāyaścitta, 84.
Prayogacakra, 24, 25.
Prehistoric Races of India, 13 f-n.
Presidency College, Madras, 1 f-n.
Primitive Indo-germanic community, 136.
Pro-ethnic period, 140.
Professionals in various Arts, 34 f-n.
Professional painters (artists), 32, 43.
Prolaya Vema, 149-151, 157.
Prosody, 132.
Provincial manners (in drama), 62.
Pṛṣṭhagata (sthāna), 222.
Ptolemy, 317.
Pudukōṭah, 24, 29, 207.
Pudukōṭah Gazetteer, 29, 208.
Pudukōṭah List (Inscriptions), 208 *et seq.*
Pulakeśin II, 4.
Pulastya, 75.
Pulvayal, 207.
Puṇyasāgara (author), 51.
Purāṇas, 59, 201.
Purandaradāsarapadagalu, 253 f-n. *et seq.*
Pūrṇā, 46.
Pūrṇabhadra, 54-56, 104 *et seq.*
Pūrṇacandra, 373.
Pūrṇacandradhātupārāyaṇa, 373.
Pūrṇasarasvatī, 330.
Pūrṇavarmaṉ, 201.
Puruṣottama, 373, 378.
Puṣpadūṣitaka, 327.
Pusta, 67.
Pustaśāstra, 35.
Pythogorean gnomon, 21.

Q

Quotations from the Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa in Bahurūpa's D. R. Vyākhyā, 322-326.

R

Rabhasa, 373.
Rācakoṇḍa (chief of), 154.
Radhakrishnan, 102 f-n.
Rāghavabhaṭṭa, 333.
Raghavan, 281.
Raghu, 373.
Raghukāra, 373.
Raghuṭīkā, 373.
Raghuvaṁśa, 184, 305 f-n.
Rājādhirāja I, 278.
Rājagṛha, 183.
Rājagambhīravaḷanāḍu, 123, 127.
Rājakēsarī (title), 26.
Rājakēsari kulōttuṅgacōḷa, 26, 27.
Rājakēsarivarmaṉ, 211.
Rājamahendravara, 152.
Rajamundry, 149 *et. seq.*
Rajamundry Museum Plates, 150, 156.
Rāja Rāja I, 209, 210.
Rājasabhā, 183.
Rājaśekhara, 38, 63, 68 f-n., 128, 182, 183, 234, 267, 301, 302, 323, 332.
Rājaśekhara sūri, 174.
Rājataraṅgiṇī, 169, 185 f-n.
Rājyaśrī, 33, 38, 201.
Rājendra I, 278.
Rājēndra cōḷa II, 211.
Rakṣita, 373.
Rakṣitadhātupradīpa, 373.
Rāmābhyudaya, 327, 328.
Rāmacandra, 33, 66 f-n., 67 f-n., 328.
Rāmacarita, 51.
Rāmacaritam, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Rāmadāsa, 373.
Rāma daivajña, 46.
Rāmagiri, 153.
Rāmakṛṣṇa kavi, 327.
Rāmakathāppāṭṭu, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Ramamūrti Pantulu Commemoration Volume, 165.
Ramaṇīya, 132.
Rāmarṣi (author), 51.
Rāmāyaṇa, 133, 197 f-n. 300, 373.
Rāmāyaṇa Paintings, 33, 178.
Rāmeśvaram, 158.
Raṇamalla, 8.
Raṅgoli, 233.
Raṅgācārya, Prof. M., 277, 278.
Raṅganātha Dīkṣita, 321.
Raṅgavallī, 187, 227.
Raphael, 173, 193.
Rasas, 58, 129.
Rasa-bhāva-dṛṣṭis, 58.
Rasas (in Painting), 183.
Rāsaka, 60.
Rasārṇavālaṅkāra, 267 *et. seq.*
Rāśicakra, 20.
Rāṣṭra-kūṭa, 207.
Raṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, 1, 2, 5, 6.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants, 5.
Ratnākara, 170, 226 f-n.
Ratnakośa, 373.
Ratnamati, 373, 379.
Ratnāpaṇa (on the Pratāparudrīya), 130.
Ratnāvali, 44, 186.
Ratneśvara, 274.
Rāya of Vijayanagar, 149, 152, 154 *et. seq.*
Realism (of Skt. stage), 57 *et. seq.*
Reḍḍis, 149 *et. seq.*
Reḍḍiar, 253 f-n.
Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy, 102 f-n.
Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia, 23.
Report of Mysore Arch. Dept., 5 f-n.
Reynolds, 172.
Ṛgveda, 136 *et. seq.*, 292-295, 340 f-n., 341 f-n., 343 f.n., 358 *et. seq.*
Ṛgveda-anukramaṇī, 135, 146.
Ṛgvedabhāṣya, 108 f-n.
Ṛgvedasaṁhitā, 109.
Rhetoric (by Aristotle), 70.
Rhythmical accentuation, 136, 148.
Riktā, 46.
Ripudāraṇa (a prince), 36 f-n.
Rītis, 63, 129.
"*Rīti and Guṇa in the Agni-Purāṇa*" 323 f-n.
Ṛju (sthāna), 222.
Ṛjvāgata (sthāna), 222.
Roladeva (a Vidarbha painter), 37.

Rout, 16 f-n., 23.
Ṛṣabha, 29.
Ṛṣabhamaṇḍapa, 29.
Rudra, 373.
Rudradāsa, 373.
Rudramahādevī, 315, 316.
Rudraṭa, 129.
Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times of India, etc., 23.
Rūpaka, 60.
Rūpamañjarī, 373.
Rūpāvatāra, 277 *et. seq.*
Ruskin, 169, 173, 183, 193.
Russell (Earl), 102.
Ruggako, 128.

S

Śabda (in poetry), 129.
Śabdakalpadruma, 133, 180.
Śabdālaṅkāra, 130.
Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Śabdārṇava, 373.
Śabdaprabheda, 51.
Śabdavids, 134.
Sācīkṛta (sthāna), 222.
Sacrifice, 89.
Sādṛśya (a citraguṇa), 57, 58. (Realism), 71, 74.
Saduktikarṇāmṛta, 375.
Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, 298.
Sāhitya Vidyā, 128, 129, 132.
'*Sāhityadarpaṇa*', 128.
'*Sāhityamīmāṁsā*' (of Ruyyaka), 128.
Sāhasāṅka, 267.
Sāhasāṅkīya Ṭīkā (on the Daśarūpaka), 321.
Śaivasiddhānta, 98 *et. seq.*
Śākala, 228.
Śākaṭāyana, 373.
Śākhā, 232.
Śakrānanda, 328.
Śakti (of God), 102.
Śākuntala, 33 f-n., 43, 193 f-n., 235 *et. seq.*
Śakuntalā (the Apsaras), 91.
Śākuntalavyākhyā, 333.
Śālihotra, 373.
Samabhaṅga, 221.
Sāmbhanighaṇṭu, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Sāmanta, 34.
Samanata, 222.
Sāmānya, 99.
Śamana kuḍagu, 24.
Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, 171 f-n., 180 f-n., 182 f-n.
Samāsokti (Alaṁkāra), 129.
Samavakāra, 61.
Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, 299.
Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇa, 298.
Samavāya, 99.
'Samayocita padya mālikā', 107 f-n.
Sāmbapurāṇa, 373.
Sāṁkhya doctrine, 101.
Sampada (Sthāna), 222.
Santānācārya, 101.
Samual Beal, 13.
Samudragupta, 201.
Samudgaka (for Varṇas), 44.
Saṁyuta (hasta-abhinaya), 71, 72.
Sandhis, 129.
Saṅgīta, 129.
Saṅgharāja, 277.
Saṅghaṭanādhvani, 65 f-n.
Saṅgītaratnākaravyākhyā, 66. 69.
Sañjīva, 67.
Saṅgrāmamalla, 8.
Śaṅkha, 24, 25, 75, 76.
Śaṅkarācārya, 45, 177, 295.
Śannaka, 141.
Śāntikkūtti (a dancing girl), 123, 124.
Śāntinātha Temple, 120.
Śāntanavācārya, 138.
Śāntiparvan, 75.
Sanskrit Aesthetics, 58.
Sanskrit Dictionary, 15 f-n., 16 f-n.
Sanskrit Kāvyas, 59.
Sanskrit Literature, 31.
Sanskrit Stage, 57 *et. seq.*
Sanskrit Theatre, 60.
Sanskrit Texts on Painting, 57.
Sāpiṇḍya, 88.
Saptamāḍes, 161.
Saptamātṛkās (images), 207.
Śāradātanaya, 321 *et. seq.*
Śarma, M. S., 2 f-n., 6 f-n.

Sārasaṅgraha, 373.
Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, 267 et. seq., 321, 373, 375.
Sarasvatīprakriyā, 53.
Sarasvatī's Temple (in Kasmir), 111.
Sarasvatī Vilāsa, 88 f-n.
Śārṅgadharapaddhati, 375.
Sarvānanda, 353 f-n., 377.
Sarvatobhadra, 227.
Śarāvṛtta (Sthāna), 222.
Śaśikalā, 327.
Śāśvata, 373, 380.
Śataka, 217.
Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 20 f-n., 90, 91, 139 f-n., 153, 299, 340 f-n., 341 f-n.
Śātavāhana, 305.
Ṣaṭsāhasrī, 329.
Saṭṭaka, 60.
Śāttaṉ Paḻiyiḻi, 28, 29, 208, 210.
Sāttvatī (Vṛtti), 63.
Sāttvika (Abhinaya), 60 *et. seq.*
Sāttvikabhāvas, 60 *et. seq.*
Satya (Citra), 57, 194.
Saumantas, 75.
Saundarānanda, 45 f-n.
Saundarya, 130.
Saundaryalaharī, 178 f-n.
Saundarya Śāstra, 130, 132.
Sauvastika, 15, 16.
Sāyaṇa, 108 f-n., 141 f-n., 142 f-n., 292-300, 337 f-n., 342 f-n., 349, 351.
Sayce, 14 f-n., 23.
Schlieman, Dr., 230.
Schrœdar, 144.
Sculpture, 132.
Semantics, 252 *et. seq.*
Semantics of Tan and Tantra, 122.
Śēṉāvaraiyar, 260 f-n.
Seven *svaras*, 68.
Sex, 64, 65, 69.
Shading, 195.
Shama Sastri, Dr., 352 *et. seq.*
Shamash, Sun-god of the Babylonians, 9.
Siddhajayantīcarita, 52, 53.
Siddhāntakaumudī, 337.
Siddharṣi, 53.
Siddhayadevamahārāja, 316.
Siddhiyoga, 46 *et. seq.*
Śīla, 71.
Śīlaratnasūri, 50.
Śilpa, 177.
Śilpa in the Vedas, 299-300.
Śilparatna, 34, 57, 58, 221.
Śilpa Texts, 221.
Śilpins, 171 f-n., 197 f-n.
Siṁhācalam, 161.
Siṁhalalāṭas, 25.
Siṁharāja, 280.
Similarity to Nature, 57, 58, 71.
Singaya Mada, 151.
Sirius (Venus), 9.
Śiriyānaṅgai, 210.
Śirobhūṣaṇas, 24.
Śiśu, 228.
Śivabrāhmaṇas, 212, 214.
Śiva Cave Temple, 28.
Śivāgrayogin, 103.
Śivajñānabodha, 98, 101.
Śivajñāna Yogin, 98.
Śivalīla Vilāsa, 152 f-n., 157 f-n., 158 f-n., 159 f-n. *et. seq.*
Śivamāra, 6.
Śivamāra II, 6, 7.
Śivamāra II Saigotta, 1, 2.
Śivasvāmin (a painting master), 39.
Śivatattvaratnākara, 57, 221.
Śiva Temple, 25.
Sixty-four arts, 132, 133.
Skandasvāmin, 343 f-n.
"Skirl", 18.
Skt. Grammar Studies in Cola Times, 278.
"*Skt. Literature*" (Keith), 280.
Smartā, 75.
Smith, V., 354.
Smṛti, 75.
Smṛticandrikā, 75 f-n., 84 f-n., 86 f-n., 88 f-n.
Śobhā, (Beauty), 131.
Śobhanadeva, 175.
Śokkattāṇḍāl, 123, 124.
Śolomon, G., 233.
Soma, 90.
Somadeva, 34, 117 f-n.
Somadevasūri, 220.
Somamantrin, 104, 105 *et. seq.*
Somasekhara Sarma, 165.

Some Notes on Artistic Anatomy, 195 f-n.
Someśvara, 57.
Śōṇāḍu, 212, 213.
Souls (in Śaiva Siddhānta), 98.
Sources of Vijayanagar History, 164 f-n.
Southern Dekkan, 154.
Southern Pañcatantra, 110, 111 f-n.
South Indian Inscriptions, 3 f-n., 163 f-n., 165, 252 f-n. *et seq.*
Spence (Lervis), 15 f-n., 23.
Spencer (Herbert), 221.
Śrāddha, 88.
Śrīcandra, 106.
Śrīdhara, 133.
Śrīgadita, 60.
Śrīdharadāsa, 375.
Śrī Harṣa, 43, 168, 305.
Śrī Harṣa (King), 44.
Śrīkumāra, 57, 58.
Śrīmalla, 8.
Śrīnātha, 149, 157 f-n., 159 f-n. *et. seq.*
Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa (Gāṅga king), 5, 5 f-n., 6 f-n., 7.
Śṛṅgārakoṭa, 161.
Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, 129, 131, 267 *et. seq.*, 321 *et. seq.*, 373, 375.
Stage-accessories, 66.
Stage of life (Aristotle), 70.
Stambhitarambha, 327.
St. Andrew's cross, 10.
St. Anthony, 12.
St. George's Cross (Coptic), 10.
Stops (in speaking), 68.
Stress accent, 135, 136.
Strymon, 89.
"*Studies in honour of Lammann*", 273.
Sthaladurgas, 152.
Sthānakas, 58.
Sthānas, 217.
Sthānas (in painting), 195.
Sthānas (in speech), 68.
Sthapatis, 33, 171 f-n., 179.
Sthavirāvalīcarita, 306.
Subandhu, 327.
Subhūticandra, 372.
Subrahmanya Aiyar (K. V.), 1, 2, 165, 166, 167.
Subrahmaṇya temple, 3.
'Substance', 97 *et seq.*
Śucīndram, 123, 124.
Cūḍāmaṇiniganṭu, 252 f-n. *et seq.*
Śuddhi Kaumudī, 88 f-n.
Suggestion (Concept of), 129.
Śuklayajurvedaprātiśākhya, 140.
Śukranīti, 178 f-n., 182 f-n., 198.
Śukranītisāra, 180 f-n.
"*Sūktaślokāḥ*", 358-361.
Sūktimuktāvali, 375.
Sulyaman, 317.
Sumantu, 75-77.
Sumantu Dharmasūtra, 76.
Sundara, 130.
Sundara Cōḻaccaturvedimaṅgalam, 124.
Sundaravarman, 201.
Sūravaram, 150, 154.
Sūrya (image), 207.
Sūryaśataka, 373.
Sūrya Siddhānta, 50 f-n., 54, 373.
'Sūryavaṁśa' dynasty, 162.
Susa, 11.
Susthita (sthāna), 222.
Susthiravarman, 201.
Sūtras, 91.
Sūtrabhāṣya, 295.
Sūtradhāra (in proficiency), 62.
Sūtrapātakkhā, 169.
Sva, 22.
Svaminatha Aiyar, 252 f-n.
Svaralakṣaṇajñas, 134.
Svarita, 68.
Svastika, 9, 11, 15, 16 *et seq.*, 23, 227.
Svātmanirūpaṇa, 45 f-n.
Śyāmilaka, 39, 42.
Symbolism (Cross), 9.

T

Tādātmya, 99.
Tadbhava, 260 f-n., 264 *et seq.*
Tagore, Dr. A. N., 195 f-n.
Taittarīya Āraṇyaka, 294.
Taittarīya Brāhmaṇa, 293.

Taittarīya Saṁhitā, 144, 295.
Tamil Inscriptions from Lālguḍi, 165.
Tamil Lexicon (Madras University) 252 f-n. *et. seq.*
Taṇḍantoṭṭam plates, 2.
Tanjore, 29.
Tanjore temple, 189.
Tanmātrās, 98 *et seq.*
Tantrākhyāyikā, 104 f-n., 109, 111 f-n.
Tantrapradīpa, 277.
Tārakoddharaṇa, 327.
Taraṅgadatta, 327.
Tārapāla, 373.
Taruṇavācaspati, 133.
Tatpuruṣa Compound, 135, 141, 146, 147.
Tau cross (the cross *potence*), 10, 12
Taylor, 230.
Tāyumāṉavar's songs, 258, 260 f-n.
Tejaḥpāla, 174 *et. seq.*
Telugu Bhārata, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Teliṅgāṇa, 151, 155.
Teḷḷaru, 1.
Teluṅga-kulakāla, 211.
Teluṅga-kulakālapuram, 26, 27, 210-212.
Temples in the Mahābhārata, 301.
Temples in the Rāmāyaṇa, 300, 301.
Temples in the Vedas, 298.
Teṉṉavaṉ Tamiḻādi Araiyaṉ, 208, 210.
Tennyson, 231.
Terramares, of North Italy, 16.
Teutonic jewels and weapons, 16.
Theatre-architecture, 281.
Theories of Rasa and Dhvani, 58.
Thessalians, 70.
Thor, 17 f-n.
Tibet, 11.
Tilakamañjarī, 33, 36 f-n., 45, 45 f-n., 184, 187, 188, 231.
Time Analysis, 234 *et. seq.*
Tippabhūpāla, 133.
Tirukkaṭelai, 207.
Tirumalaikkaḍambūr, Īśvaram, 209-211.
'*Tirumalai Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa*'', 327.
Tirumāṉai-malai, 211.
Tirumeṟkōyil, 26, 27.
Tirumukkūḍal, 278.
Tiruvāmbūr (Mallam), 3.
Tiruvāṉaikkāvu, 123, 127.
Tiruvāṉaikkāvuḍaiyār, 211.
Tithis, 46.
Titian, 173.
Tolkāppiyam, 260 f-n.
Tolstoy, 132.
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, 29.
"Tortoise-earth", 13.
Tortoise wheel (Kūrma cakra), 13.
'Trailokya-anukṛti', 59.
Transpositional Theory, 137.
Travelling Citraśālā, 217, 234.
Tribhaṅga (Pose), 226.
Tribhaṅgī, 232.
Tribhuvana Vīradeva, 212.
Tribhuvani, 278.
Trident, 19.
Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, 373.
Trinity (symbol of), 20.
Triratna, 9, 20, 22.
Trivikrama, 217, 218.
Triśūla, 9, 19, 20, 22.
Troṭaka, 60.
Tuñcatt-Eḻuttaśśan's Rāmāyaṇam, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Turuṣka, 160.
Tvarita (Pose), 226.
Twelve signs, 10.
Types of Pictures, 194.

U

"Uber die Zusammensetzung der nomina in den Indo-gumanischen sphrachen", 136 f-n.
Ūdala, 175.
Udarabandha, 28.
Udātta, 68.
Udāttaprakṛti, 69.
Udāttarāghava, 328, 329.
Udayagiri, 155.
Udayendiram Plates,
Udayanācārya, 297-8, 308.
Udayasundarīkathā, 37, 37 f-n., 45, 45 f-n., 177 f-n., 179.
Udbhaṭa, 129, 330, 331.

Uddhataprakṛti, 69.
Uddyotakara, 373.
Uḍhramāgadhī (pravṛtti), 63.
Ugādisañcikā, 151 f-n.
Ujjvalā, 85 f-n.
Ulahamuzhuduḍayal, 123, 124.
Uḷḷūr, 253 f-n.
Umaka, 315.
Umāpatiśivācārya, 101.
Uṇḍirāja, 154, 156.
Uṇādivṛtti, 373.
Unity of Rasa, 60.
Upamitabhāvaprapañcakathā, 36 f-n., 53, 189.
Uparūpaka, 60.
Ūrār, 3.
Urvaśīmadana, 328.
Uṣmabheda, 373.
Utkala, 160, 161.
Utpala (Prākṛt Grammarian), 282.
Uttarakāṇḍa, 133.
Uttararāmacarita, 33, 311.
Uvvaṭa, 140.

V

Vācaspatya, 133,
Vācika (abhinaya), 60 *et. seq.*
Vaḍakkaṉpāṭṭu, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Vāhanappurī, 123.
Vaicitrya, 131.
Vaidarbhī (rīti), 64.
Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ Koil Inscription, 7.
Vaiṇika (citra), 57, 194.
Vaiśākha (sthāna), 222.
Vaiśeṣikas, 98, 99.
Vājasaneyaprātiśākhyavyākhyā, 140.
Vājasaneyisaṁhitā, 90, 144.
Vajrakūṭa, 153.
Vakratā, 131.
Vakrokti, 129.
'Vakroktijīvita, 129, 190, 306.
Vaktṛ-vācya-aucitya, 65 f-n.
Vakulavīthī, 328.
Valayas, 25.
Vallabha, 373, 379.
Vallabhadeva, 268.
Valliyūr, 123, 127.
Vālmīki, 134, 282.
Vāmana, 129, 130, 133, 277, 373, 377, 379.
Vañci, 211.
Vander Velde, 173.
Varāha, 157.
Vararuci, 270, 282, 373.
Varca (a Kauṭalīyan term), 353, 354.
Vardhamāna, 228.
Varṇadeśanā, 374.
Varṇaka, 169.
Varṇas (four), 68.
Varṇikā, 169.
Vārtika (of Kātyāyana), 142 f-n., 143 f-n., 145 *et. seq.*, 336.
Varuṇa, 91.
Vasantavilāsamahākāvya, 174 f-n., 185 f-n.
Vāsavadattā, 374.
Vāsavadattānāṭyadhārā, 327.
Vastupāla, 174.
Vastupālacaritra, 174.
Vastupālaprabandha, 174.
Vasubhāga, 105.
Vatsarāja, 39.
Vātsyāyana, 132-134.
Vayas (age), 66, 71.
Vāyupurāṇa, 374.
Veda, 20, 21, 135, 279.
Vedagiri, 155.
Vedānta Idealism, 98, 201.
"Vedic Grammar for students", 137 f-n., 143 f-n.
Vedic Mythology, 19.
Vedic ritual, 90.
Vedis, 300.
Velama chief, 151, 155, 161.
Velugotivārivaṁśacarita, 151 f-n., 154 f-n., 155 f-n., 161.
Vēma (son of Allāḍa), 157, 160, 161, 163, 164.
Vemabhūpālacaritra, 231.
Vēmāmbā, 157,
Vemana's verses, 253 f-n. *et. seq.*
Vēmavaram, 158.
Veṇḍipura, 161.
Veṅgi branch of the Cāḷukya family, 3.
Veṇīsaṁhāra, 374.

Venkatarama Sarma, 267 et. seq.
Veṅkaṭāyī, 161.
Venkayya, V , 3.
Venugopal Chetty, 3.
Verapoly Malayalam - Portuguese Dictionary, 253 f-n. et. seq.
Vernon Lee, 190, 191 f-n.
Veṣa (dress), 66.
Veśyāgṛhas (painting in), 39.
Vibhākaravarman, 374.
Vicchitti, 131.
Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana, 32 f-n., 374.
Vidarbha, 37, 64.
Viddhacitra, 57.
Viddhasālabhañjikā, 37, 182, 186 f-n., 192, 193 f-n., 234, 312.
Viddhavijaya (an artist), 37.
Viḍelviḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ, 28, 29, 210.
Vidūṣaka, 37.
Vidūṣaka's speech, 62.
Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya, 354.
Vidyāsāgar, 111 f-n.
Vijayālaya, 29, 205, 209.
Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram, 25, 28, 29, 205 et. seq., 213.
Vijayanagar, 149, 152, 154 et. seq.
Vijayanagar Inscriptions, 215.
Vijayapura (a capital city), 41 f-n.
Vijñāneśvara, 356.
Vikramāditya, 34.
Vikramāditya I, 4.
Vikramāditya II, 3, 4.
Vikramāṅkadevacarita, 41 f-n., 312.
Vikramorvaśīya, 321, 328.
Vilarde (Battle of), 7, 8.
Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti, 206.
Vindhyas, 64.
Vinodasthāna, 33, 39.
Vīrabhadra, 157, 160, 161.
Vīragal Inscriptions, 7.
Vīraghoṭṭa, 153.
Vīramitrodaya, 77 f.n., 78 f-n., 84 f-n., 86 f-n., 88 f-n.
Vīranandī, 192 f-n.
Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, 123, 124, 127.
Vīrapratāpa Devarāyamahārāyar, 215.
Viśākhadeva, 374.
Viṣamapada, 222.
Viśeṣa, 99.
Vismaya pose, 28.
Viṣṇu, 157.
Viṣṇudharmottara, 57, 75, 171, 178 f-n., 179, 179 f-n., 180 f-n., 181 f-n., 183 f-n. et. seq., 221.
Viṣṇu figures, 24-26.
Viṣṇurāja, 3.
Viṣṇuśarmā, 105.
Viṣṇu's discus (cakra), 19.
Viṣṇu temple, 24, 26.
Viṣṇuvardhana III, 3.
Viśvakarman, 169.
Viśvanātha, 128, 334.
Viśvarūpa, 76, 79 f-n., 82 f-n., 84 f-n., 85 f-n., 86 f-n., 355 f-n.
Viśveśvara, 131.
Viṭas, 39 f-n.
Vīthī, 61.
Vivāha, 88.
Vizagapatam Dt., 161.
Vopālita, 374, 380.
Vratas of the Hindu homes, 306-7.
Vṛddha gautama smṛti, 75.
Vṛndāvanayamaka, 374.
Vṛtroddharaṇa, 328.
Vṛttaratnākara, 270.
Vṛttikṛt, 374.
Vṛttis, 63, 129.
Vyadhikaraṇatatpuruṣa, 141.
Vyāḍi, 374, 380.
Vyāghra, 75.
Vyāsa, 75, 303.
Vyāsa (as Nāṭyācāryā), 330.
Vyavahāra, 88.

W

Wackernagel, 135.
Wani-Dindori Plates, 5.
Warangal, 315.
Watts, 31.
Western Asia, 9.
Western Gaṅga grants, 1.
Western pañcatantra, 118.
West Java, 201.
'*What is Art?*' (of Tolstoy), 132.
White Yajurveda, 90.

Whitney, W. D., 345 f-n.
Wilhem Meyer-Lubke, 136 f-n.
William Orpen, 176 f-n.
Wilson, J., 23.
Word (F. Turnbull), 135, 146.
"World-egg", 13.

Y

Yajñaśālās, 197 f-n., 298, 300.
Yājñavalkya, 75, 76, 80 f-n., 84 f-n., 355 f-n.
Yajñopavīta, 25, 28.
Yajurveda, 143, 294.
Yāḷis, 25.
Yamunā, 91.
Yāpparuṅkala-k-kārikai, 279.
Yaśastilakacampū, 219.
Yāska, 141.
Yaśodhara, 133.
Yaśodharā carita, 120 f-n.
Yaśomatī, 201.
Yaśomiśra, 374.
Yaśovarman, 327.
Yaśovīra, 174 f-n.
Yāyāvarīya, 128.
Yi King, (the book of Mysteries), 18.
Yogaśāstra, 54.
Yonipīṭha, 28.
Yūpastambhas, 197 f-n.

Z

ZDMG, 113, 121.
Z. F. I. I., 105.
Zikum, 13, 14.

PRINTED AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE, MADRAS.

THE DATE OF THE ACCESSION OF NANDIVARMAN II, PALLAVAMALLA*

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D.,

University of Madras.

Considerable difference of opinion prevails among scholars regarding the date of the accession of Nandivarman II. Fleet is of opinion that his reign did not commence till 715 A. D. or even later[1], while Professor Dubreuil places his accession in A.D. 717;[2] Mr. Gopalan in A.D. 710[3]; Mr. K. V. Subramanya Iyer in A. D. 698.[4] Mr. K. V. Subramanya Iyer, however, is the only writer who gives reasons in support of the date suggested by him. He bases his conclusions on a series of deductions which deserve consideration at our hands. His starting point is A. D. 888, when, according to him, the Cōḷa king Āditya I killed Aparājita, the last Pallava monarch. As Aparājita ruled for 18 years, his reign should have commenced in A. D. 870. His predecessor, Nṛpatuṅga reigned for a period of 26 years; therefore, he should have ascended the throne in A.D. 844.

" We have to take A.D. 844, " says he, " as the last year of Nṛpatuṅga's father, Nandivarman III, the victor of Teḷḷāru. The latest regnal year found for him mentioning the victory of Teḷḷāru is 22. But there is a possibility of his having reigned longer. If he had a reign of 22 years, his accession would have to be placed in A.D. 822. This cannot be the case, for we learn from the Western Gaṅga grants, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Gōvinda III, and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II Saigotta. The last year of Gōvinda III being A. D. 814, this event should have occurred before that date, say about

---

* A lecture delivered in the Presidency College, Madras, in January, 1932.

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, p. 158.
2. Ancient History of the Deccan. p, 70.
3. The Pallavas of Kāñci, p. 119.
4. Epigraphia Indica, Vol, XX.

••

A.D. 812. Accordingly, we have to take back the year of accession of Nandivarman III by ten years. Looking at the fact that Nandivarman II and his son Dantivarman had unusually long reigns extending to 65 and 51 years, it seems improbable that Nandivarman III could have ruled long. Deducting 51 from A. D. 812, and 65 from the balance, we get the initial dates of Dantivarman and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Their reigns should therefore have extended from A. D. 761 to 812, and A. D. 696 to 761."[1]

It is obvious that Mr. Subramanya Iyer's chronology hinges on the synchronism of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Gōvinda, the Pallava king, Nandivarman, and the Gaṅga king, Śivamāra II Saigotta. Although the synchronism is certainly genuine, Mr. Subramanya Iyer's conclusions based on it are not acceptable. In the first place, it must be observed that his procedure in lengthening the reign of Nandivarman III by ten years is arbitrary. Secondly, the crowning of Śivamāra II by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda, and Pallava Nandivarman took place much earlier than A.D. 812, the year in which, according to Mr. Subramanya Iyer, Nandivarman III ascended the throne. The earliest Gaṅga grant which alludes to the crowning of Śivamāra II is dated in A.D. 797.[2] If Nandivarman III joined Gōvinda III in crowning Śivamāra II, he should have done so some time before that date. At least he should have ascended the throne in A.D. 796. This is, however, impossible; for Dantivarman, the father of Nandivarman III, was still ruling in Kāñci A. D. 804.[3] Therefore, the dates suggested by Mr. Subramanya Iyer for the accession of Nandivarman III and Dantivarman are untenable. As I believe that the date of Pallavamalla's accession is later than the latest date suggested by these scholars, I propose to discuss here one of the most complicated chronological problems of the Pallava History.

All the scholars who have so far discussed this question have neglected to take into consideration a short but important record that has a direct bearing on the subject. It is a stone inscription dated in the fifteenth year of Nandipōtaraśar; and the script is the same as that employed in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates, and other grants of Pallavamalla. Therefore, it should be con-

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX.
2. The Manne Plates, Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX, N.A. 60.
3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 126.

sidered a genuine record. However, it must be said to be a peculiar grant in certain respects. It is not a grant made by the king himself, but by the people Peyyūr Koṭṭam, headmen of the villages as well as the members of the assemblies. They are said to have made a gift of some gold for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple of Subramaṇya at Tiruvānbūr (Mallam), as the *ānatis* or executors of Cāḷukiaraśar on the petition of Aḷuparaśar.[1] Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti, the editors of the inscription, have translated the word *ānati* as order; and they hold the opinion that the Cāḷukiaraśar mentioned in the epigraph was Vikramāditya II, the Cāḷukyan king of Bādāmi.[2] Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya is of opinion that the Cāḷukiaraśar of the inscription should be one of the Eastern Cāḷukyan princes (Viṣṇuvardhana III) who was a subordinate of Pallavamalla.[3] His identification seems to rest upon his interpretation of the word *ānati*, which he renders as the executor. Since the grant was made by the *ānati* of the Cāḷukiaraśar, he believes that the Cāḷukiaraśar was a subordinate of Pallavamalla. The following objections may be urged against Mr. Venkayya :

1. The donor of the grant was not Pallavamalla; but the Maduvār; and the incription (ll. 7-10) states clearly that, at the instance (viṇṇappam) of the Āḷupa king, the nāṭṭār, ūrār and āḷvār of Peyyūr-kōṭṭam because the āṇattis (executors) of the order of the Calukya king in the matter of this endowment.

2. No Eastern Cāḷukya prince was known to have been a subordinate of Pallavamalla. There is nothing to support the assumption that the Viṣṇurāja mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates[4] was a Pallava subordinate.

3. There is definite evidence to show that the Cāḷukiaraśar belonged to the Bādāmi, and not to the Veṅgi branch of the Cāḷukyan family. The grant is said to have been made on the petition of an Āḷuparaśar or the king of the Āḷupas. Now, the Āḷupas were the hereditary subordinates of the Cāḷukyan kings of Bādāmi; and in the whole range of the Eastern Cāḷukyan inscriptions, the Āḷupas are not mentioned even once.

---

1. Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 429, Gudur 54.
2. Nellore District Inscriptions, App. I, p. 1426.
3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, p. 352.
4. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 365.

Mr. Venkayya imagines that the Āḷuparaśar was an unknown Nāga chief.[1] In the first place, the connection of the Āḷupas with the Nāgas is not at all established. A surmise of Dr. Fleet has been converted into a fact by Mr. Venkayya; and on this, he bases his identification. Secondly, no trace of the Āḷupa rule can be found on the east coast either before or at this time or later. No useful purpose is served, for the sake of this grant, by conjuring up an imaginary Āḷupa chief ruling on the east coast, as a subordinate of Nandivarman II. Therefore, the Cāḷukiaraśar who acted upon the petition of an Āḷuparaśar could only be a king of Bādāmi; and no instance of a Bādāmi Cāḷukyan king becoming a subordinate of a Pallava after the time of Narasimha I is known.

The fact that Vikramāditya II not only invaded the Pallava kingdom but also captured Kāñci is very well known. It is likely that his army passed through the Nellore District, for that was the way by which Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I seem to have advanced upon Kāñci. There is good reason, therefore, to identify the Cāḷukiaraśar with Vikramāditya II, and Āḷuparaśar with his Āḷupa subordinate. If this identification is acceptable, then we have evidence to say that Vikramāditya's invasion took place in the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman II. It would have been easy to calculate from this the date of Nandivarman's accession provided that we know the date of Vikramāditya's invasion; but this is exactly what we do not know. The problem is further complicated by the statement of Lōkamahādēvi, one of Vikramāditya's queens, that her husband conquered Kāñci thrice.[2] Then, is there no way out of the difficulty ? Although it appears to be hopeless to arrive at any definite conclusion we can discover a limit before which Nandivarman could not have ascended the throne. If we suppose that the Mallam epigraph was inscribed during the course of his first invasion, and if we further suppose that this invasion took place in A. D. 733-34, the year of Vikramāditya's accession, we can fix A. D. 718-19 as the year before which Nandivarman could not have ascended the throne. At the same time we must keep in mind that his accession could have taken place at any time between this date and A.D. 730-31. Similarly, as Nandivarman ruled for a period of 65 years, his

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, p. 352.
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, pp. 164-65.

reign should have terminated on some day between A. D. 783-84 and 795-96. The exact limits of his 65 years rule should be placed between A. D. 718-19 and A. D. 795-6.

We shall next try to find out whether it is possible to secure more exact results. For this, we have to depend upon some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Gaṅga grants. It is said in Wani-Dindori Plates dated in A.D. 806-07 that Gōvinda III liberated from long captivity a Gaṅga whom his father Dhruva defeated in battle and imprisoned; but as the Gaṅga monarch once again defied his authority, Gōvinda had to march against him and take him prisoner for the second time.[1] Who was this Gaṅga king? When was he released by Gōvinda? When was he taken prisoner by Dhruva? These questions should be answered before we proceed to show their bearing upon the date of accession of Nandivarman II.

(*a*) According to the chronology adopted by Dr. Fleet, the reign of Dhruva came to an end in A. D. 783-4. The Gaṅga king whom Gōvinda liberated should have been imprisoned before that date. The contemporary Gaṅga king was Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa who ascended the throne in A. D. 725. Could it be Śrīpuruṣa who had been captured by Dhruva? No; for, the Gaṅga whom Dhruva captured was not only released by Gōvinda III, but was recaptured by him. The release as well as the recapture took place sometime before A.D. 806-07. As Govinda III led an expedition to the south (A. D. 804)[2] during the course of which he conquered Dantiga, king of Kāñci, he might have effected the recapture of the Gaṅga king then. If this conjecture be true, the Ganga whom Dhruva captured was alive in A. D. 804. Since the death of Śrīpuruṣa took place in or about A. D. 788[3] he could not be the Gaṅga whom Dhruva captured. Therefore, we have to look for some other Gaṅga who should be a contemporary of both Dhruva and Gōvinda II. Śivamāra II, the

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 156.
2. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 126.
3. Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1918, p. 42. Mr. M. S. Sarma is of opinion that this inscription does not belong to the Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa; for he believes, on the evidence of an epigraph at Kulḍikki (M. E. R. 145 of 1921) that Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa died in a battle with the Pallavas in 775 A.D. The inscription in question "records the death of Gaṅgadiyarāyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar, chief of Kaṟakaṭṭūr, who, at the instance of his uncle or father-in-law

son and successor of Śrīpuruṣa, satisfies our conditions. Therefore, it may be asserted that Śivamāra was the Gaṅga whom Dhruva took captive. In that case, he could not have ascended the throne of Gaṅgavāḍi at the time of his capture. He should still have been only the crown prince, for, as noticed already, Śrīpuruṣa ruled until at least A. D. 788. That seems to be the reason why Gōvinda III crowned him, when he set him at liberty. If he had already been a crowned king at the time of his release, there would have been no need for performing his coronation ceremony for the second time.

(*b*) When did Gōvinda release him ? As we said that he might have been recaptured in A. D. 804, the date of his release should be fixed earlier. The Manne plates[1] enable us to arrive at the probable date of his release. It is said that Śivamāra II was crowned by Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda, and the Pallava king Nandivarman. As the date of the inscription is A. D. 797, the coronation of Śivamāra should have taken place earlier. Although Dr. Fleet condemns the Manne Plates as spurious, he admits that Gōvinda III did really crown Śivamāra. "Spurious as the record is", declares he, "there is nothing improbable in the truth of this statement, especially if it is taken in connection with certain statements in the records of Gōvinda III which tell

---

(māmaḍi) of the Bāṇa king, fought and fell on the day of Pallava invasion against Perumānaḍigal (*i.e.*, the king)." I agree with Mr. Sarma in believing that Perumānaḍigal mentioned in the inscription is identical with Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa; but I cannot accept his identification of Gaṅgadiyarāyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar with Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa; for, I feel certain, if we have any regard for the language of the epigraphist, that they were two indifferent individuals. It is not reasonable to suppose that, because G. K. Peruṅgaṅgar fell in a battle between the Perumānaḍigal and the Pallavas, Peruṅgaṅgar is the same as Perumānaḍigal, Peruṅgaṅgar was a third party who fought in the battle between the Pallavas and Perumānaḍigal and was killed. Moreover, the inscription draws a clear distinction between G. K. Peruṅgaṅgar and Perumānaḍigal by declaring that the former was the small chief of a place called Kaṟakaṭṭūr. Therefore I think that Kulḍikki epigraph does not at all refer to the death of the Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa: and consequently, it cannot be said on the evidence of this inscription that he was not alive until 788 A.D

1. See Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX, NL. 60.

us that he released from long captivity one of the Gaṅgas who had been imprisoned by his father, Dhruva."[1] If the release and the coronation of Śivamāra should go together, they should have occurred subsequent to A. D. 788, the date of Śrīpuruṣa's death. It was probably the death of Śrīpuruṣa which prompted Gōvinda III to liberate him; and send him back to his own country. In that case, the coronation of Śivamāra should be placed in A. D. 789.

The Pallava king Nandivarman who joined Gōvinda III in crowning Śivamāra should be identified with Pallavamalla, for Dantiga, his son, was the ruling king of Kāñci in A. D. 804. It is not likely that Nandivarman would have died immediately after Śivamāra's coronation. We may assume that he might have lived for another year, *i.e.*, until A. D. 790. As he ruled for a period of 65 years, he should have ascended the throne in A. D. 725, which falls in the middle of the period which we have already suggested.

There is another fact which we have not noticed so far. In the Nr. 35, noticed already, Śrīpuruṣa is said to have killed a king of Kāñci in the battle of Vilarde, and appropriated for himself the Pallava royal umbrella, and the title Permānaḍi.[2] Is there any truth in this statement ? There is at any rate nothing improbable in it; for a few Vīragal inscriptions of the time of Śrīpuruṣa, record a Pallava invasion. On this occasion the Pallava army appears to have reached Kōlala where a battle was fought.[3] The Pallava king of Kāñci killed by Śrīpuruṣa could not be Nandivarman II, as the latter was alive to participate in the coronation ceremony of Śivamāra II after he had been released by Gōvinda III. Paramēśvaravarman II died under circumstances, the nature of which is not known.

The Pallava kingdom had to face some peril which appears to have threatened it with destruction, immediately before the accession of Pallavamalla. It is said in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ Koil inscription that the Pallava kingdom was destroyed on the death of Paramēśvara II. No one dared to ascend the throne. Therefore, " a deputation consisting of Mātras, the Mūlaprakṛtis

---

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, p. 161.
2. Epigraphia Carnatica.
3. Epigraphia Carnatica. Vol. IX, p. 21. Report of Mysore Archaeology for 1909-10.

and the Ghaṭikayar waited on Hiraṇyavarma Mahārāja and represented the fact that the country was without a ruler, and requested him to grant them a sovereign. Thereupon King Hiraṇyavarman sent for the chief potentates (Kulamallar) and enquired which among them would accept sovereignty. *All of them refusing*, he asked his sons, Śrīmalla, Raṇamalla, Sangrāmamalla and Pallavamalla. Pallavamalla humbly offered, but King Hiraṇyavarman was at first unwilling *to risk his own son*, who was then only twelve years of age, *in such a perilous undertaking*. But Hiranyavarman was soon persuaded by Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pōśar to give his consent."[1] The following points deserve attention :

1. The Pallava kingdom was destroyed (consequent) on the death of Paramēśvaravarman II.

2. The throne was left vacant, and none came forward to claim it; therefore the Mātras, the Mūlaprakṛtis, and Ghaṭikayar went to Hiraṇyavarman who was living in some place in the provinces, and requested him to grant them a sovereign.

3. He did not offer himself as a claimant to the throne; nor did he think of any of his sons; he sent for Kulamallar, and enquired whether any of them would accept sovereignty. Strangely enough, they also rejected the offer.

4. Then he asked his four sons the same question; the first three said that they would not go.

5. But, when the fourth son, Pallavamalla offered to go, Hiraṇyavarman was not pleased. He was unwilling that this boy of 12 years should run any risk, in such a perilous undertaking.

It is evident that the danger which a claimant to the Pallava throne had to face was so great that several people could not muster sufficient courage even to accept the kingship that was offered to them. What could this danger have been ? It appears to be the death of Paramēśvaravarman II on the field of battle, and the invasion of the Pallava territory by the enemy. It is not unlikely that the Pallava king who lost his life on the battle-field of Vilarde was Paramēśvara II himself. If that be the case, the event could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 725 in which year Śrīpuruṣa ascended the throne. If the battle of Vilarde took place even during his first year, Nandivarman II could have become the ruler of Kāñci only in A.D. 726. In that case, he should have ruled from A. D. 726 to 791.

---

1. Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XVIII, p. 123f.

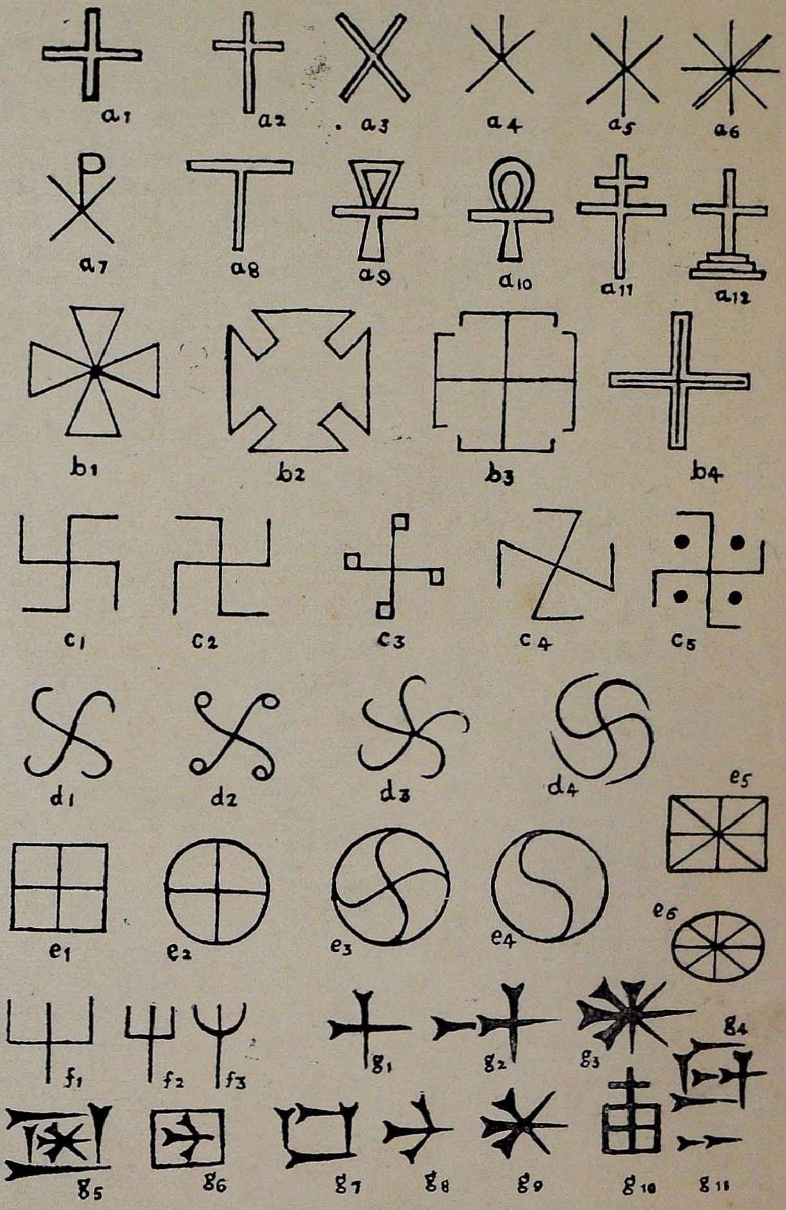

a1
a2
a3
a4
a5
a6
a7
a8
a9
a10
a11
a12
b1
b2
b3
b4
c1
c2
c3
c4
c5
d1
d2
d3
d4
e1
e2
e3
e4
e5
e6
f1
f2
f3
g1
g2
g3
g4
g5
g6
g7
g8
g9
g10
g11

FIGURE 1.

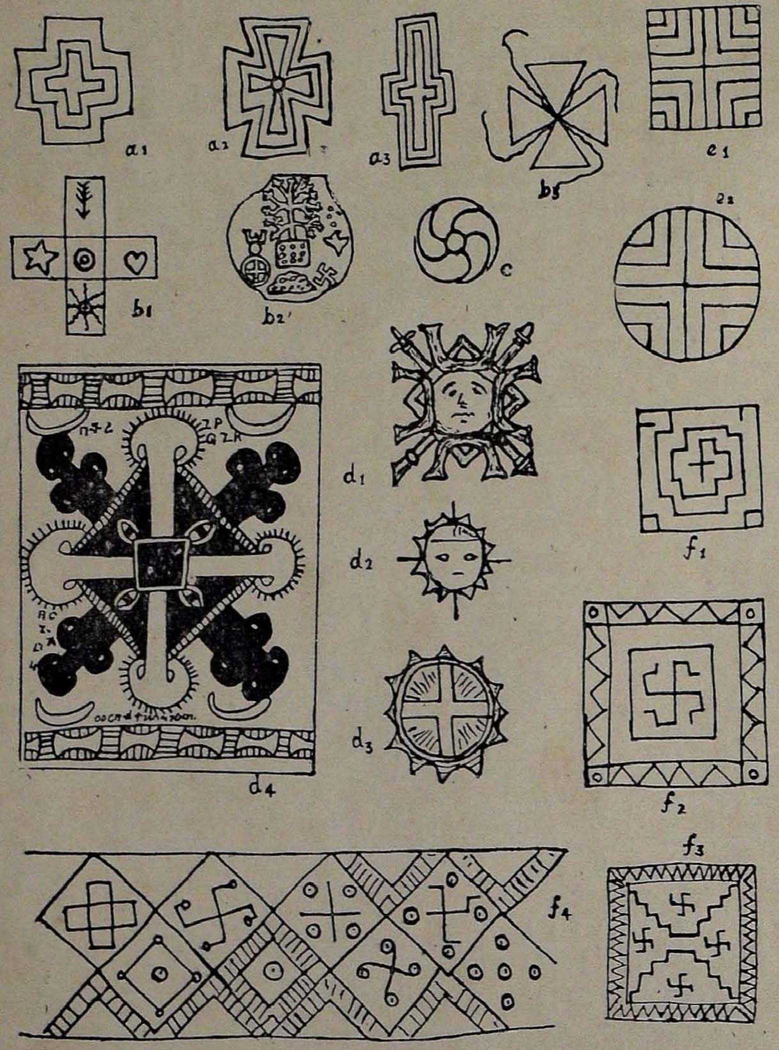


FIGURE 2.

THE CROSS, THE SVASTIKA AND RELATED EMBLEMS

Their Cosmological Origin and development

BY

C. P. S. MENON, B. A. (HONS.), M. SC. (LOND.), F. R. A. S.

INTRODUCTORY

S. 1. It used to be widely believed that the cross was entirely of Christian origin, being regarded indeed as a symbol of the crucifixion of Christ on account of the similarity of its shape to the stake and the cross-staff on which He was martyred. But it is beginning to be recognised that such is by no means the case, and that several centuries before Christ the cross was in wide use almost throughout the ancient world from America and China to India, Western Asia, Egypt and Europe; whether in a decorative or a symbolic role, the pattern appears in a good many pre-Christian records, sculptures, cylinders and seals, amulets and works of art. On the whole there appears to be an astronomical symbolism behind it, and we may look upon it as having given rise to the Christian symbol. Along with the cross are often seen other symbols of kindred shapes and significance, like the Svastika, the Triśūla, the Tri-ratna, etc. These again appear along with other figures which are, or are believed to be, of an astronomical nature, like the sun-god Shamash of the Babylonians, the Lion and the Bull, or the symbols of Sirius or Venus. Some of these relations have been indicated by the present writer elsewhere.[1] The object of this paper is to elaborate some of the points referred to there, and to draw attention to the original role of the cross and kindred symbols in early cosmology.

Before proceeding to the discussion of these symbols, we may, for the sake of convenience and easy understanding of what follows, briefly mention some of the relevant facts relating to the early cosmology. The earliest form of the earth and the universe pictured by man seems to have been square-based, either pyramidal like the Egyptian and Babylonian temples and tombs, or else cuboidal. The plan of the structure would appear as a

---

1. *cf.* Menon: *Early Astronomy and Cosmology.*

square divided into a number of smaller squares, by the method of successively halving the edges and joining these points by lines parallel to the sides, or else by the method of bordering the square by other squares. The very first division so obtained is the one into four quadrants, which seems to have been employed to represent the four seasons of the year, the cardinal directions of the horizon, etc. It will be convenient to refer to this form (Fig. I, e 1) in the following pages by the term "cardinal figure". By either of the two methods mentioned, the ancients obtained a series of scales of divisions consisting of small unit squares round the edges of the squares, which could be utilised for representing small intervals of space or time, like the 12 Signs, the 28 Lunar Mansions, etc. At one stage some of these unit square divisions appear to be sub-divided into small triangles. Lastly, we may refer to the gradual development of the square form that pervaded the early cosmology and cosmography to the circular form of later systems like the Aristotelian system of the spheres.[1]

We now propose to show how the different forms of the cross and the other symbols are related to the foundations of this early cosmology.

The Cross

S 2. The various forms of the cross are shown in Fig. I (a, b). First there is the Greek or equilateral cross (a 1), so called because all its four arms are equal in length; a variation of this is what is known as the Latin cross (a 2), which has the lower limb longer than the others. The St. Andrew's cross (a 3) consists similarly of two lines crossing each other, though they are not horizontal and vertical; (a 4) and (a 5) are seen to be derived from this by the addition of one or more limbs. A reduplication of the equilateral cross yields the double or radiated cross, or the eight-rayed star of the Babylonians, which is essentially (a 6). If every pair of adjacent rays of this star is joined so as to form four triangles with a common vertex at the centre, we get the figure shown in (b 1), which is called the Maltese or *rayed* cross and is also referred to as the Coptic cross or St. George's cross. A different form is provided by the Tau cross, or the cross *potencee* (a 8); in this the upper limb of the plain cross is missing. Allied to this—at least in appearance—is the "handled cross" (a 9, a 10). Other forms are seen in (a 11), the Lorraine cross, and (a 12) the

1. All these are described in the work cited.

cross *perronnee*; these are obtained from the Latin cross by making the cross-staff double or triple, and mounting it on a series of steps. Different forms of the equilateral cross used in the Kassite period are shown in (b 2) and (b 3). It is easy to recognize all these as but diverse forms of the plain +.

S. 3. The equilateral cross is found on the objects excavated in several parts of the world. Of it D'Alviella remarks[1] "Everywhere, it may be said to have been used, above all, to represent *radiation* or *space*". It is found in Babylonia side by side with "the winged solar disc" or the radiated cross; the latter was worn by the king of Assyria about his neck and is often found on the necks of priests. The arms of this disc are said to represent the four quarters of heaven presided over by the god Anu, so that the + was the symbol of the sky and the sky-god Anu. Budge[2] reproduces an inscription on a cylinder-seal in the British museum belonging to the Kassite period (2nd millennium B. C.); in which there is an equilateral cross within a line border (*cf.* I, b 4), above a figure of the sun-god seated, with a "rosette" in front of him; and there is also a cuneiform text containing a prayer to the Sun-god. He cites another instance of the equilateral cross "cut in the field just before the head of a winged centaur who is hunting in the desert, and behind him is the crescent moon".[3]

There are several examples of it in the excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Susa. Some of these are surrounded by borders.[4] (Fig. II, a 1, a 2, a 3). In India it is found alternating with the rayed disk on several objects. A reproduction from an ancient coin by General Cunningham[5] shows the equilateral cross with arrow-heads attached to its four arms. It is also found in one of the squares of a Buddhist "divinatory diagram" from Tibet, the other squares containing the svastika, the eight-rayed star, the

---

1. *cf. The Migration of Symbols*; also *vide The Encyclopoedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV. pp. 324-29.

2. *cf. Amulets and Superstitions*, Plate XI, No. 5, (page 89.)

3. This instance is from the catalogue of the *De Clerq Collection*, I. Plate XXXIII, No. 363. *cf.* Budge: *op. cit.*, p. 337.

4. *cf.* Petrie: *Decorative Patterns in the Ancient World*; also Marshall's volumes on Mohenjo-daro contain a number of instances.

5. *Bhilsa Topes*, pl. XXXI; Arch. Survey of India, Vol. X, pl. II, Fig. 8. This is the coin of Karanda, which is held to be the oldest Indian coin.

lion, the eagle and other objects of an astronomical nature.[1] The Mexicans employed it as a symbol of the "four winds" or rather of the four cardinal directions whence came the winds. Figure (II. b 1) is a Dakota pictograph exhibiting the equilateral across with symbols of the four winds inscribed in it. Later this cross must have been supposed to possess a solar character. Among the Gauls and peoples belonging to the Bronze period, the cross appears frequently on pottery, jewels and coins; here again the emblem was astronomical, probably "solar".

The Tau cross or the "Crux Commissa" of the Christians calls for notice, because of its relation to the handled cross (I. a 10). The latter has been often regarded as a life-symbol identical with the Egyptian "key of life", as it resembles the hieroglyphic ☥ (ankh) which denoted "life"—probably due to a phallic symbolism.[2] Some have considered the handled cross as derived[3] from the T-cross by the addition of a loop to the top. Though Budge seems to regard this view as rather fanciful, it would perhaps gain support from the appearance of the cross with the triangular handle (I. a 9) on a silver ingot in India; it again appears in association with the svastika in the famous Buddha-pada and on an Indian coin shown by Greg; quite conceivably the triangle later developed into the curved handle as in (I. a 10), thus coming to resemble the Egyptian ankh. An early affectation of the T-cross is found in a Maya Ms. picturing two persons worshipping a T-shaped tree.[4] The Coptic Christians continued to use their 'ankh' symbol, but now it was definitely related to the T-cross of St. Anthony.

S. 4. From the mere fact that it is most often found in association with objects of known astronomical symbolism, we may conjecture its relation to the ancient conceptions of that science. "That it at first symbolised the heavens, or some power in them, seems to be certain" observes Budge.[5] Further its vital connection with the ancient cosmological scheme can be understood by reference to the square enclosure and its divisions

1. *cf.* Murray: *History of Chess*, p. 43.
2. Budge opines that the *Ankh* has nothing to do with the T-cross, *op. cit.*, p. 340.
3. Compare this with Hewitt's view, *vide infra.*
4. *cf.* D'Alviella, *loc cit.*
5. *op. cit.*, p. 339.

that were emyloyed to represent the horizon, the equator or the ecliptic and their divisions. The kinship between the cardinal figure and the cross is clearly perceived in the Chinese custom cited by D'Alviella."[1] Among the Chinese, the equilateral cross inscribed within a square (I. e 1) stands for the earth. According to Samual Beal (Ind. Ant. 1880, p. 67) there is found in China even the dictum 'God fashioned the earth in the form of a cross.'

Hewitt suggests[2] that the equilateral cross was derived from this figure, though he arrives at this idea by a different procedure. He starts from his view that the square earth was originally divided by the Kushite race of Kings into four triangles (*cf.* II. b 3) resembling the tortoise-wheel (*Kūrma-cakra*). This figure is the same as the Maltese or Coptic cross (I. b 1); the affinity between this and the equilateral cross in its different forms (*cf.* I. b2, b3) is obvious. He then correlates the cross with the square. His derivation of the other forms of the cross is equally interesting. Thus the cross with the five limbs (I. a 4) is explained as a representation of the "meridian-pole" on the top of the "Mother-mountain" standing at the centre of the "tortoise-earth" of the Kushite race. We shall presently refer to a similar significance of the cross in other lands. This cross became the Egyptian five-rayed star of Horus, and was later used in the same form or modified (as in I. a 7) as the monogram of Christ. The "handled cross" (I. a 10), like the Egyptian 'key of life', he supposes, is the "world-egg" placed on the altar or the cross.

The original relation between the cross and the cardinal division of the square may be judged by a study of Babylonian symbolism. The Babylonian ideogram given in Fig. (I. g 2) designated the sky. Jensen[3] and others have shown that this is derived from the plain + just as the more elaborate eight-rayed star (I. g 3) was derived by reduplication of the cross (I. a 6). Now the symbol shown in (I. g 4) which seems to have represented any *enclosure* in general—frequently in association with other ideas—was from its primitive meaning applied to heaven, *Zikum.* Lacouperie[4] observes how this symbol appears as in (I. g 5) in

1. *cf. The Encyclopoedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV., p. 326.
2. *cf. Pre-historic Races of India*, etc., Vol. I., pp. 15, 17 *et seq*; 220., *seq*, Vol. II., pp. 25-28, 53, etc.
3. *cf. Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 4. *et seq.*
4. *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Vol. II, p. 258.

the inscriptions of Hammurabi and as (I. g 6) in the earlier inscriptions of Gudaea. and he traces its origin to this last symbol thus: "The outside line, otherwise the enclosure, which it represents pictorially is the well known Hal, the modern (I. g 7).[1] The inside (I. g 8) symbol we know to be a variant of (I. g 9), which becomes (I. g 11) in modern script." The inside symbol was possibly bad marking for (I. g 11); or at least it is traceable to the plain +, in either case, the whole symbol for *Zikum* is seen to be derived from (I. e 1), our cardinal figure. If, as Lacouperie says (I. g 11) is a development of the older symbol (I. g 9), we can see how the ideogram for the cross (I. g 2) came from (I. g 3), the eight-rayed star, and how therefore the figure for the sky must have been at one time represented by the eight-rayed star inscribed in a rectangle as in (I. e 5), which later developed into the Chaldaean symbol for the heavens (I. e 6).

Both these symbols, the cross and the *Zikum* are again used to represent the first month of the year *Nisannu.*[2] It seems to have been a practice among the ancients to attribute to the ecliptic or the year-cycle as well as to one of its divisions the same regent deity or, as in this case, the same symbol.[3] And if two symbols are treated as identical for the purpose of representing the ecliptic, it is only to be expected that they would be similarly used for denoting a sign or a month.

The primitive symbol for the "enclosure" (I. g 4) was also applied to *Apsu*, the Deep, or "the sub-terranean waters of the Deep"; from this "abyss" rose the tree of life which passed through the centre of the earth, and spread its branches over the heavens, *Zikum.*[4] It is instructive to compare this description with the Mayan association of the cross with the Tree of Life which spreads its roots to the corners of the earth and its branches over the heavens and the waters. In the Mexican and Mayan pictures dealing with cosmology, the world-tree, the "centre of the four winds", is depicted as "standing in the centre of the Universe, its roots deep in the waste of waters, its branches

---

1. This symbol and the few others following are shown in Fig. I. g 7, 8, 9, 11, 1 and e 1, in order.

2. *cf.* Lacouperie. *op. cit.*, p. 203; also *cf.* Sayce: *Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians.*

3. *cf.* Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55, 115.

4. *cf.* Lacouperie, *loc cit*; also Menon, *op cit.*, p. 127 *seq.*

among the clouds...".[1] The Tree of Life is often represented by the symbol shown in (I. g 10); this evidently symbolises the pillar of the world in the centre of the earth. We may also recall Hewitt's explanation of the "meridian-pole" at the centre of the earth.

Thus it would appear that the cross which denoted the sky and the four directions was derived from the earliest symbol that primitive man devised for denoting the sky and the earth and the four divisions, *viz.* our cardinal figure (I. e 1).

THE SVASTIKA.

S. 5. Perhaps a particular form of the cross is provided by what has now come to be familiarly known by the Sanskrit name "svastika" (I. c 1). It is also called the "Gammate Cross" or the gammadion because it looks as though made up of four Gamma (Γ)'s. While several authorities hold that the gammadion and the svastika are identical, there are others who think that the resemblance in appearance is not the essential feature. But it appears to us that the svastika is essentially related to the cross; as one piece of evidence to show that they were originally the same conception we may point out that the term "svastika" was also used to denote the + shape, like "the meeting of four roads" or "the crossing of the arms, making a sign like a cross".[2]

Another form of the svastika with the arms pointing in the reverse direction is shown in (I. c 2). This is usually distinguished from the first form by the name *Sauvastika*, in which case the name *svastika* is reserved for the first type.

The name of the symbol seems to indicate that the svastika originated in India; however, it appears in several other ancient civilisations. The Hindus regarded it as a mystic symbol and associated it, besides, with good luck; it is freely found in Buddhist statuaries and other works of art like the Buddha-pada, the Bo-Tree at Gaya, and the breasts of the images of Bodhi-sattvas. It was a familiar feature of Egyptian art; it appears in Hittite

---

1. *cf.* Lewis Spence, *Encycl. Religion and Ethics,* Vol. IV. p. 330.

2. *cf.* Apte's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 1019 (s. v. स्वस्तिकः) He also illustrates the usage in the latter sense from Mālatī-Mādhava (4, 10):

स्तनाधिनिहितहस्तस्वास्तिकाभिर्वधूभिः ।

monuments, on terracotta articles at Hissarlik and the *terramares* of North Italy, and as an ornament on the breast of a painting of Apollo; it is found on Gothic and Teutonic jewels and weapons and in the valley of the Danube, whence D'Alviella supposes it spread in the Bronze period to other parts of the world. It was well known to the Aztecs of Mexico; and the Maoris[1] regarded it as a life-symbol. In Chinese hieroglyphics it denoted "abundance," "prosperity," etc.

Ś. 6. The significance of the symbol held sacred all over the ancient world has been, like that of the cross, shrouded in mystery. The philologists interpret it as something meaning "lucky" or "fortunate."[2] Max Muller held that it represented "the Sun in its course round the heavens": the svastika being the symbol of the vernal sun, and the sauvastika of the autumnal sun. D'Alviella concluded that "after having served as a symbol of the sun in motion, the gammate cross came to symbolise astronomical motion in general, and thus to be applied to the moon, the stars and the sky itself . . . . ." In the words of Budge, "the generally accepted view now seems to be that the svastika is a solar emblem, and that the short lines at right angles to the arms indicate gyratory or wheeling motion,"[3] Hewitt,[4] regarded it as representing the four directions, N. W., N. E., S. E. and S. W. (N.W. N.E. X S.W. S.E.) of "the primitive race of Kushites" (as also the four quarters of the heavens); he connected this symbol also with their tortoise-earth similar to the Coptic cross (*cf.* I. b 1, II. b 3) which he supposed was made up of two gammadions. We may point out how another form of the Kassite cross (I. b 3) also appears to be made up of the svastika and the sauvastika.

The affinity of this form of the Kassite cross, as well as that of the svastika itself, to our cardinal figure is patent. If it was indeed derived from the cardinal figure, the symbol of the earth and the sky or the ecliptic, it is easy to understand how the

---

1. *cf.* E. A. Rout, *Maori Symbolism.*
2. *cf.* Apte's *Sanskrit Dictionary*; where he derives it: (स्वस्ति शुभाय हितं क) ; स्वस्ति = (*su* + *asti*) "May it be well (with you)"! "hail!" "well being," etc.
3. *op. cit.*, p. 333.
4. *loc. cit.*

svastika in its turn came to be used as a symbol of the sun, or of "the moon, the stars and the sky itself", or of the four quarters of the heavens. Remembering further the role the cardinal figure plays in early cosmology as the base of their pyramidal earth or universe, and the influence of this conception on their architecture, we can realise how the Maoris, who have been called "the race of pyramid-builders", adored it as a "life-symbol", and how the term "svastika" was used in Hindu architecture to denote "a palace of a particular form" or "a mansion or temple of a particular form"—though these particular forms may have naturally undergone changes during the course of time.

Perhaps a relic of such a derivation from the square figure is spared us in a form of the svastika (I. c 3), appearing on Indian coins figured by Greg, which looks like a cross with four small squares attached to its ends—as though to denote the four unit squares of the cardinal figure. Again, the four divisions are probably symbolised by the four dots appearing along with the svastika in ancient pottery (*cf.* I. c 5).

Another form of the svastika appears with acute angles (I. c 4) like a Z placed across another. This shape has led to the suggestion that it may represent the meteorological phenomenon of "forked lightning".[1] Its relation to the Maltesc cross is also to be noted together with a plain + joining its free ends, it can form the latter.

S. 7. If the svastika and the cross were indeed born of the cardinal figure, one should expect them to undergo changes in shape similar to the changes of the cardinal figure and the rectangular shape of the Universe. And such turns out to be the fact. Just as though to correspond to the alterations of the plan of the Universe from the square to the circle, and of the symbol of the earth from a square with an inscribed + to a circle with a + inscribed, we find the development of the svastika to the curvelinear form (I. d 1), and sometimes a curved svastika with its limbs ending in four small circles (I. d 2)—a development of the figure of the right-angled svastika with four unit squares attached to the

---

1. *cf.* Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 332 seq. for this view. He cites several curious interpretations, *e.g.*, the emblem of Indra of Dyaus, Jupiter or Thor, symbols of Gaṇeśa and Kāḷī, representation of 2 firesticks, etc.

limbs,[1] (I. c 3). Again, corresponding to the cardinal figure which may be regarded as a square in which a svastika is inscribed, we get in various places patterns (like I. e 3) consisting of a curvelinear svastika inscribed in a circle. Sometimes, again, a fifth limb appears in the svastika (I. d 3)—analogous to the derivation of the five-rayed star (I. a 4) from the plain +; and sometimes this is inscribed in a circle. Perhaps a simplification of (I. e 3) is the figure (I. e 4), the Chinese mystic diagram which formed, according to the interpretations of later Chinese philosophers, the basis of the Yi King, "the Book of Mysteries."

A natural development of the svastika in the same direction yields the "skirl" (I. d 4), a familiar *motif* in ancient art, which, according to Petrie,[2] may represent "motion like the whirl". This significance may be compared with that of "gyratory and wheeling motion" assigned to the svastika. Further, like the curved svastika, the skirl has often one or more limbs added, and sometimes it is inscribed in a circle. A pretty specimen of a skirl (II. c), found at Athens, has five limbs almost closing up to form a circle, in addition to a small circle inset at the centre and touching the inner ends of the limbs. Thus in form, significance and development, the skirl appears as yet a stage further on in the evolution of the usual svastika to its curved shape.

Conversely, the connection between the svastika and the skirl helps to focus attention on the dynamical idea underlying the svastika. At this stage we may point out that it is possible to interpret the word "svastika" so as to mean something "pertaining to celestial motion".[3] And it is also possible to see how the new interpretation came to be put on it: the sacred symbol was associated with good luck—probably it was at first supposed to act like a charm and bring luck to the wearer—and in course of time the real reason for its sacredness was forgotten and its significance mistaken by the popular mind as a "lucky

1. Budge takes a similar view of development from the square to the circle, when he says: "The circle in which the svastika is sometimes seen suggests that the smaller lines of the sign developed into the circle. . . . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 333.

2. *op. cit.*, p. 7.

3. Svastika=Svar+tika (*cf.* स्वस्तरुः = स्वर् + तरुः) स्वर् (svar) =Heaven; the sky; the space above the sun, or between the sun and the pole-star.. तिक् (tik)=to go or move (1 A., or 5 P.).

object"; and, as often happens, the grammarian came to the rescue—and interpreted it accordingly. And just as the cross was later adopted as a symbol of the Christ, the svastika was taken up by the Jains as a symbol of the Buddha, in which role it appears to have been introduced into China about the second century B. C.[1]

The Trisula

S. 8. Another symbol, equally sacred to the Hindus, is the Triśūla, or the Trident, which occurs in various forms, the essential shape being that of (I. f), whether rectangular as in (I. f 1 and f 2) or curved as in (I. f 3). Hewitt[2] regards it (*cf.* I. f 1) as derivable from the "rectilineal figure", which is again identical with our cardinal figure (I. e 1). It is also remarkable that the coin of Karanda (II. b 2) which depicted the equilateral cross[3] should at the same time be "exhibiting the first representation of the Triśūla". We may mention further that it is mentioned in the astronmical myth,[4] of *Sam-jñā* or the gnomon, along with Viṣṇu's discus (cakra). The gnomon was in all probability a squared plank marked with square borders,[5] and it is not impossible that Viṣṇu's cakra, like the thunderbolt of Indra (His forerunner as head of the pantheon in Vedic mythology) was "four-cornered". This would make it clear to us how the "Triśūla" fitted into the square scheme of things—of the symbols that were born of the cardinal division of the square. And it would be easy to understand how it followed the path of the other symbols in developing a curved feature (the arc connecting the extreme points in the top row), as also the elongation of the lower arm (*cf.* the Latin cross); and how in the new shape the three

---

1. If another instance were needed for the distortion of significance that these symbols are subjected to at some epoch or other, there is the very topical example of the adoption of the svastika by the German Nazis as a symbol of "Aryanism" or, as the popular imagination can comprehend it, of race-exclusion; and there would be no room for surprise if some ingenious philologist in Germany should construe the word as "self-preserver" or something suitable to his new creed.

2. *loc. cit.*

3. *vide supra* S. 3.

4. *cf.* G. R. Kaye: *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 106; also *cf.* Menon: *op. cit.*, pp. 146-147.

5. *cf.* Menon: *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46; 146-147.

points (distinguished from the handle) led to its identification as a symbol of the Trinity, or to its adoption by some of the Hindu sects as a weapon of a particular god or another.

The Triratna

S. 9. The Triratna is a Hindu emblem (*cf.* II. d 1), so-called because it has a "jewel" of three points (*cf.* Triśūla) on each of the four sides—the four "mace"-like objects at the corners denoting a separate idea altogether. The middle limbs of these jewels are seen to be the corners of a square face.[1] It may be observed that the whole emblem would fit into a square each of whose sides (vertical and horizontal in the fig. II. d 1) is divided into four by the three points of the jewel. If we ignore for a moment the bifurcation of the corners by the four mace-like *motifs*, there would be twelve intervals along the outer edge of the pattern, like the twelve houses of the *Rāśi cakra*. That this was probably the original intent of the emblem will be realised on comparing it with the similar emblems (II. d 2 and II. d 3). (II. d 2) is a picture of the Sun-god from Dakota, and (II. d 3) is the Mexican solar disc; both are divided into four quadrants by a cross—though in (d 2) the cross is not allowed to appear *inside* the face—and both have the rims divided by twelve corrugations, three per quarter. The circular form is here to be understood as a later development. The early square form of the solar face is represented in some figures in an Ethiopian book-amulet purporting to belong to one Batra Giwārgīs, and portrayed in Budge's *Amulets and Superstitions.*[2] One of these (reproduced in II. d 4) shows a square face marked by two crosses and four eyes, and another square inside. We may compare these square faces with the Vedic statement that the sun "is four-cornered".[3]

Other Related Patterns

S. 10. The cross and the svastika and some of the other symbols mentioned above are frequently found, in ancient art, inscribed in squares or associated with square scales and square

---

1. According to Fergusson, the square connecting the middle points is a "shield" supposed to be inscribed in the outer square. *cf.* his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 136.

2. *cf.* pp. 190-194.

3. *cf.* *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 3, 1, 17; also *see* Menon: *op. cit.*

borders. Samples of such use are depicted in the figures (II. e, f).[1] In (II. e 1) found on pottery the cross is inscribed in a square whose quadrants are sub-divided into a series of squares one inside another by successive halving of the edges and joining by parallel lines—each quadrant resembling a Pythagorean gnomon; in (II. e 2) the square gives place to the circle. In (f 1) coming from Latium, an equilateral cross is bordered thrice in a continuous manner, and the whole inscribed in a square; it is noteworthy that the whole figure has for its latent plan a square divided into 8×8 squares like the *aṣṭapada* mentioned in the Vedas. In (f 2) a svastika is inscribed in a square surrounded at a distance by a square corridor containing a scale of 20 intervals along the outer edge (16 triangles and 4 small squares at the corners). Figure (f 3) gives a bordered square divided similarly into triangles and containing four svastikas inside four quarters separated by steps. Figure (f 4) shows a sample of the square patterns with which the Celt was accustomed to work, according to Petrie, "before he acquired the spiral or interlaced form"; one may observe there the square, the divisions of the square border, the cross, the svastika, the curved svastika ending in four circles, etc. These figures may be all merely decorative. But their affinity to the square and its divisions is perhaps not entirely without significance. In any case, they serve to demonstrate the hold the square and its divisions and their derivative symbols had on the mind of the ancient man.

Conclusion

S. 11. The cross and the svastika were known throughout the ancient world from China to Peru; they appear to have been usually employed in circumstances which convey an astronomical import. Hewitt's derivation of these symbols from the square divided into four quadrants becomes richer in the light of the cosmological role of this figure that we pointed out; at the same time the solar character attributed to them hitherto is shown to be but a partial aspect of a more comprehensive cosmological significance. While the cross denoted the four quarters of heaven or the four directions of the horizon, the svastika implied celestial revolution; and both of them were closely associated with the earth, the sky and Apsu, the Great Deep, or the "surrounding waters of the Deep" or simply with the Universe itself. Several

---

1. Taken from Petrie: *op. cit.*

other symbols like the Triśūla and the Triratna of the Hindus, the Babylonian solar disc and some of their ideograms, the Divine Face of the Ethiopian magical diagrams are all shown to be related to this primitive symbol. The development from the square to the curved shape is illustrated by the change of the symbol of the earth from the square divided into four by a + to a circle so divided, and again by the change of the svastika to the curved form and further to the skirl which denoted similar gyratory motion. Variations of the original form of the cross and the svastika by the elongation of a limb or the addition of one or more limbs are noticed. Similarly were modifications observed in their significance: they were originally cosmic emblems finding a natural place in their magic and worn by the kings and priests round their necks or on their breasts, presumably as charms to protect them from the Evil or bring them luck; the cross took a different turn with the advent of Christianity, when it became the symbol of the martyrdom of Christ and was so venerated by the Christians, though it continued to be considered efficacious for warding off the devil; the svastika lost its original cosmological implications and began to be identified as merely a "lucky object" and, in the hands of the Jains, as a symbol of the Buddha; the Triśūla came to be identified by some with the Trinity. In each case, the old symbolism yielded place to the new ones, even amongst peoples (like the Copts, for instance) who had traditions of the notions that prevailed before their conversion. However, the fact that despite the death or decay of the early symbolism, the symbols themselves survived (however disguised) for several centuries afterwards—not to speak of records of their wide employment in religion and magic, in decorative art as well as on seals and coins—serves to demonstrate how deeply they had taken root in people's minds and what vitality they had been storing up—a vitality which they derived, no doubt, from the fundamental place they occupied in ancient culture as emblems partaking of the basic Form of the Cosmos.

Bibliography.

Birdwood, Sir. G. C. M. *Sva.* London, 1915.

Budge, Sir. E. A. T. W. *Amulets and Superstitions.* London, 1930.

Cunnigham, Gen. *Bhilsa Topes,* 1854—*Archæological Survey of India.* Vol. X.

D'Alviella, Count (E. Goblet). *The Migration of Symbols.* London, 1894.

"The Cross," article in *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.*

Fergusson, J. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (Revised Edition). London, 1910.

Greg. "The Swastika," article in *Archæologia* Vol. XLVIII. London, 1885.

Hewitt, J. F. K. *The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times in India, etc.* (2 Vols.). London, 1894-95.

Jensen, P. *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.* Strassbourg, 1890.

Lacouperie, T. de. "The Calender-plant of China, the Cosmic Tree and Date-palm of Babylonia."—*Babylonian and Oriental Records.* IV. Nos. 10 and 11.

Menon, C. P. S. *Early Astronomy and Cosmology.* London, 1932.

Murray, H. J. R. *History of Chess,* Oxford, 1913.

Petrie, Sir. W. M. F. *Decorative Patterns in the Ancient World.* London, 1930.

The Cross (Reprint of a lecture).

Rout, E. A. *Maori Symbolism.*

Sayce, A. H. *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.* Edinburgh, 1902.

The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians (reprint from *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* Vol. 3, 1874).

Spence, Lewis. "The Cross (North American)," article in *The Ency. Rel. and Ethics.*

Wilson, T. *The Swastika.* Washington, 1896.

NĀRTTĀMALAI AND ITS TEMPLES

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN,

Chidambaram

AND

K. VENKATARANGA RAJU,

Pudukōṭah.

(Continued from page 358 *of Vol. VII.)*

PART II.

THE EARLY CAVE-TEMPLES IN THE MELAMALAI.

A—*Cave-Temple No.* 1.

Two cave-temples are scooped out in the Mēlamalai. The Northern cave-temple No. 1 must have been once a Jaina cave (Śamaṇa Kuḍagu, as it is called); but it has been converted into a Viṣṇu temple in later times. It consists of a sanctuary, now empty, and an *ardhamaṇḍapa* supported by four massive but roughly cut pillars as its facade. The sanctuary is rectangular in shape, and a gateway connects it with the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. The massive pillars are cubical, but one of them is cubical only at the ends but octogonal in the middle. Their bracketed capitals are angular in profile.

In the *ardhamaṇḍapa* are seen twelve large Viṣṇu figures cut in high relief from what must originally have been a plain rock side of the cave. There are five figures on each side of the gateway of the sanctuary and two more on the sides facing each other north to south. All the figures are similar in every respect. Each is 6′-5″ in height standing on a *padma pīṭham*; each has four arms, one holding a *prayōga cakra* with flames (a feature not found in sculptures of the Pallava times) and a *śankha* in the left. The right lower hand is in the *abaya* pose, while the left lower arm rests on the loin. It has a *kirīṭa makuṭa* on the head, decorated in front with a peculiar ornament made up of two heads of the *makara* being joined together in the middle, with the proboscis flowing out on either side in ornamental scrolls. Above this ornament are placed the five *śirōbhūṣaṇas*—a symbol to denote that the wearer is the lord of the five elements. Each image is

adorned with *makarakuṇḍalas*, a bejewelled necklace, and a *yajñōpavītam* in the form of a string of pearls slung from the left shoulder across the chest and on to the right hip. The drapery is finely wrought showing all its folds in a natural condition. The *valayams* on the wrists are plain, but the bracelets on the arm are decorated with *simhalalāṭas* (ornaments with lion-face). The figures are simple, natural, elegant and free from any conventionalities of a later age. The 12 figures are believed to represent the 12 names (Dvādaśa) of Viṣṇu. In front of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, we find the moulded basement of a *mahāmaṇḍapa* built of well-dressed granite blocks neatly fitted without mortar. The moulded basement is 6 ft. high. The beading, like the plinth below it, is peculiarly massive, measuring 1'-6" in breadth. Above it runs an ornamental dado with figures of lions, elephants, *Yāḷis* and *Kāmadhēnus* cut in relief and represented in a friendly attitude—perhaps to illustrate the reign of peace and prosperity. The figures are bold, elegant and true to nature, and no two figures of the elephants are alike.

Round the basement are found shafts of pillars similar in shape and size to those standing in the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, elegantly decorated corbels, pieces of cornice-stones and cut-stone slabs. These are surely parts of a *maṇḍapa* which has now collapsed. It is likely that there was on the basement an enclosed *maṇḍapa* supported by massive cubical pillars, that there was a portico, and that the outer face of the walls of the *maṇḍapam* was ornamented with pilasters, each crowned with a capital. The whole structure must have been covered on the top with neatly-cut slabs drawn out into a single massive arched cornice with projecting ornamented gables, similar to those of the Śiva temple (Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram) opposite. This *maṇḍapa* was evidently a late addition to the earlier cave-temple. The shape of the *kirīṭamakuṭa*, the features and form of the *śankha* and *cakra* and the ornamental decoration of the Viṣṇu figures indicate that these Viṣṇu figures and the *maṇḍapa* belong to an age later than the temple and sculptures of the Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram temple opposite to this cave. This is corroborated by the discovery of an (unpublished) inscription, found on the moulded basement of the cave, of the 45th year of Kōvirājakēsari Tribhuvana-cakravartigaḷ Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadēva (*i.e.* about 1115 A. D.). It registers a gift of land, as '*Kuḍiniṅgā dēvadāna*' for service to the deity of Karumāṇikka Āḻvār of

VIII—4

Tirumēr̲kōyil granted to Devan Periyān *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḷa Telungaiyarāyan, by the Nagarattār of Teluṅga-Kulakāla-puram.[1]

The title of Rājakesari, the high regnal year of the king, and the paleographical features of the inscription make it probable that the Viṣṇu temple, together with the sculptures of Viṣṇu figures in bas-relief, should have come into existence at least very close to this period, if not actually at the date of the inscription. The same temple is referred to more than a century later in an inscription of the 12th year of Mār̲avarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and the Assembly of the Nagarattār made gifts of land for service (celebration of a festival) and provision for repairs to the shrine dedicated to the deity herein called Patinen̲bhūmi-Viṇṇagara-Emberumān and his consort.[2]

The temple might have suffered desecration at the hands of the Muhammadan invaders in the 14th century, and even though there is no idol in the sanctuary, the ancient cave and the Viṣṇu figures in high relief are sufficient attractions to the tourist and the archaeologist.[3]

APPENDIX.

Tha unpublished inscription of the 45th year of Rājakesari Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa.

This inscription runs in eight lines on the front of the basement, 4 lines being on the beaded moulding and four in the plinth below. The lines are not continuous but in tiers of blocks of four lines each. Further, the position of the inscription is so low and the gap so narrow that it would not have been possible for any stone-mason to engrave it after the construction of the

---

1. *See* appendix for text of this inscription.

2. No. 281 of the Pudukōṭah list. (*Inda nagarattu ūrāy tirumēr̲ kōyilāga ugandaruḷippaṇṇina patinen̲bhūmi viṇṇagara emberumān̲aiyum pirāṭṭimāraiyum ugandaruḷippaṇṇi.*) In the light of the above discussion, we are unable to accept the position of the state Epigraphist that the temple was 'consecrated' in the days of Mār̲avarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.

3. Among the ruins in front of the cave there is a cut-stone block (4'-2" x 3'-2") which must at one time have been placed above the main doorway of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. In the centre of an ornamental scroll work, an elephant's head is carved in a frontal position with its trunk and tusks. Was this the coat-of-arms of the Muttarayar?

basement. Hence it has to be inferred that the inscription was engraved prior to the fitting-up of the blocks into the basement.

The following is the text of the inscription:

1st Block:

Svasti śrī ce-
m poṉ vīrasimhā-
sanattu avani mu-
ḻuduḍaiyāḷoḍu-

2nd Block:

m vīṟṟirundaruḻiya kōvirājakēsa-
ri-panmarāna tribhuvana cakravartiga
Śrī kulōttuṅga cōḻa dēvaṟku
yāṇḍu 45 vadu Iraṭṭ-pā-

3rd Block :

ḍi-koṇḍa-cōḷa-vaḷanāṭ-
ṭaṇṇal vāyiṟ-kūṟṟat-
tu Teluṅga-kulakālapura-
ttu nagarattōmiyān na-

4th Block :

garattut-tirumēṟkōy-
iṟ Karumāṇikkāḻvār-
kku ttiruppaḍi-māṟṟu-
kku innagaratu vyā-

5th Block :

pāri dēvan periyānāna muḍi-
koṇḍa-cōḷa-t-teluṇgaiyarā-
yan tiruttina kuḍikkāḍu dēvanēri
nilamānadaṟku kīḻpāṟkellai

....

....

....

11th Block :

.........yeppērppaṭṭa payiruñjey-
du kuḍi-nīṅgāda devadānamāga vanu-
pavattu nāḷonūṟukku neṟ padakku nānā-
ḻi-yāga āṭṭāṇḍu toṟum 75 kalam eḻu

12th Block :

pattaiṅgala nellu.......................

....

15th Block :

.........koṇḍa cōḻa Teluṅg
........yanukkuk kuḍi nīṅ-
gāda dēvadānamāga Āḻvārk-
kut-tiruviḍaiyāṭṭañj-ey

16th Block :

du

B.—*Cave-Temple No. 2.*

The Śiva Cave-temple (Paḻiyili Īśvaram).

About 50 ft. to the south of cave No. 1, is another small rock-cut shrine facing east. It measures 8' 5" by 7' 6" and is 6' 8" high. This shrine differs from other cave-temples of the early Pallava period in having its shrine-chamber alone scooped out of rock. The treasure-seekers have dislodged the cylindrical *lingam* from its original position and its basement (the yōni-pīṭham) is lying by its side broken into pieces.

In front of this cave, there is a moulded basement 4 ft. high consisting of a broad plinth, and a moulded beading above it. Over this runs a *dado* of *bhūtagaṇas* cut in relief and represented as dancing to music. There might have been a *maṇḍapam* over this basement.

During the course of the excavation of the site, two *dvārapālakas* have been unearthed. They are beautiful figures and are 4' 8" high. Both face the observer and stand with their legs crossed. Each has two arms, one resting on a heavy club; and the other arm is held up in *vismaya* pose in one figure, and in a position pointing at the deity in another figure. Both have a *jaṭāmakuṭa*, *patrakuṇḍala*, *udara* and *kaṭibandas* and bracelets on their wrists and arms. But these ornaments are not so elaborately worked out as in the case of *dvārapālakas* found in the Vijayālaya-Cōḷīśvaram temple. The *yajñōpavītam* worn by them is represented as a rolled cloth, simpler than that of the *dvārapālakas* of Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram. All these features tend to prove that they are sculptures of the later Pallava period.

On the moulded beading of the basement of this temple (below the dado of *bhūtagaṇas*) runs an inscription of the 7th year of Kō-vijaya Nṛpatuṅgavarman, the Pallva king. It records that this cave-temple was excavated by one Śāttan Paḻiyiḻi, son of Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyan—a local chief under the Pallava overlord; that his son added to it a *mukhamaṇḍapa*, a

ṛṣabha, a *ṛṣabhamaṇḍapa* and a *balipīṭham*, and that Paḻiyiḻi Śiṟiyaṅgai—(wife or sister? of Mīnavan Tamiḻaraiyan *alias* Mallan Anantan—*Anantaṉukkup-pukka Paḻiyili Śiṟiya naṅgai*) made a gift of land as *arcanābhōga* to the temple in favour of Śaivan Śāttan and his descendants. Thus we have clear evidence of the origin of this temple and it should be assigned to the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Nṛpatuṅga Pallava and Vijayālaya ascended the throne and ruled more or less about the same time. If Āditya Cōḷa drove the Pallavas out of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Vijaylāya should get the credit for having overthrown the Pallava rule over the region of modern Tanjore and Pudukōtah, sometime after the 7th year of Nṛpatuṅga.[1]

The editor of the Pudukōṭah Gazetteer holds that "the second smaller cave-temple has a *liṅgam* called Vijayālaya Cōḷīsvaram". We do not agree with the correctness of this identification and the reasons therefor will be discussed in the next part.

Text of Inscription of the seventh year of Nṛpatuṅga.

1st Section ll. 1-5	1.	Svasti śrī Kō viśaya Nṛpatuṅga [Vikramar] ku yāṇḍu ēlāvadu Viḍēlvidugu Mutta-
	2.	raiyan magan Śāttam Paḻiyili kuḍaivitta Srī kōyil icciri kōyilu-
	3.	-kku mukamaṇḍakamum iṣavamum iṣavak koṭṭilum palippīḍamum
	4.	śeyvittān Sāttam Paḻiyili magān Minavaṉ Tamiḷadi-yaraiyanāna *Mal-*[2]
	5.	lan Anandanakkup-*pukka*[3] Paḻiyili Siriyan-angai
2nd Section ll. 6-9	6.	icciri kōyilukku-arcanābhogattuk [ku] Aṇṇal [vā]
	7.	yiṟ kūṟṟattup-Peruviḷattūrc-Cavaiñ-cāttan kā-ṇiyāna mūveli-yi-

1. For the text of this inscription see—Inscriptions (Text) of the Pudukōtah State-No. 19. We believe that line 17 should read *Paḻiyili Īśvaram*, and if so it contains the name of the temple after its founder Paḻiyili—a Muttaraiya chief.—

2. The Pudukōṭah Inscription (Texts) has *Va.*

3. Defaced.

8. l vilakōvā [i] kicar ceyyum evvagaippaṭṭa iṟai idanāl vandade-
9. llām Kōvinukkavippatulātu Cavaiñ-Cāttan-umivan vaḷiyilārum peṟak-

3rd Section ll. 10-14

10. kaḍavadāgavum idu *kadainum*[1]
11. iḍaiyūrēdum padanmurai kōvi-
12. nukku varum irupataiṅkalañju po-
13. ṅ taṅdaṅ=gaḍavarāgavum paṭṭuḍaiva-
14. n oḻutātiran teyaḍakikku-cce

4th Section ll. 15-19

15. y vittēn Paḻiyi
16. li Śiṟiya-nangai-yen
17. Paḻiyi[2] īśvarattup-pa
18. (i) ṭṭudaiyānu mudiran[3] te
19. yi pukuc-*ceyvitta*

---

1. Is it *Kedadainum*? This letter after *idu* looks *ke*.
2. The Inscriptions (Texts) read "paḻaṟṟpivi" The correct reading is *Paḷiyili*.
3. The text has 'rudiran'.

THE ARTIST IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A. (Hons.),

Research Student, University of Madras.

INTRODUCTORY.

"The rush of interest" says Watts, "in the direction of what are understood as worldly advantages, has trampled out the sense of pleasure in the beautiful, and the need of its presence as an element essential to the satisfaction of daily life, which must have been unconsciously felt in ages less absorbed in acquiring wealth for itself alone. In olden times our art congresses would have been as needless as congresses to impress on the general mind the advantages of money-making would be in these."[1] The statement of the eminent painter is as absolutely true of ancient and modern India as it was of the country and times that the author of it was having in his mind. Nothing was so strange to the Indian conception as a dissociation of art from life and giving it an artificial respiration in mere art galleries and academies altogether cut off from the commingling and intercourse of the daily life of people around and making it appear no better than an excrescence or tumour whose very existence is more tolerated than encouraged. It is this fact of art and appreciation of nature and beauty being part of the very life that an Indian led, that accounts for the almost universal knowledge of the fine arts included in a liberal general education so much being insisted on in our land; and as Mr. Havell puts it "an art which is truly great strikes deep down into national life, and permeates the whole national character. It does not appear only at court shows and festivals".[2] There are as he himself states "innumerable passages in Sanskrit and Pāli literature which show that painting was often practised by kings and princes as

1. Quotation from Plain Handicraft, 1892, in " Watts", p. 36 (Masterpieces in Colour series).

2. Artistic and Industrial Revival in India, by E. B. Havell, p. 5.

well as by professional artists ".[1] And that gives us the classification of painters into amateurs and professionals. The former class, however, was not so sparse and dilettantish as it is to-day—and one has to absolutely subscribe to the words of Mr. Havell that "nowhere does art suffer more from charlatanism than in India "[2]—and in fact comprised the bulk of the people of the land, the professionals being only a limited number. The reference in the Kāmaśāstra, a work assigned to the Gupta period, to colours and brushes and panels as part of the furniture in the room of a typical gentleman, Nāgaraka,[3] and the keen though seemingly out-of-the way observation in the mention of 'a cup for holding colours kept on the window sill '[4] in the Pādatāḍitaka, go to prove the rather universal interest in art in ancient India.

KINDS OF ARTISTS.

Mr. Frank Rutter begins the chapter on Post-Impressionism in England in his book on modern painting going by the name of 'Evolution in Modern Art' with this small quotation from Elie Faure—'In France, the painter is a workman of art at the service of the man of society. In England, the painter is a society man who practises painting as an amateur '.[5] Whatever might be the element of humour involved in this sweeping categorical statement it cannot be denied that both are professional workmen in the trade though the latter, to be put in the words of William Morris[6], is a gentleman craftsman, usually addressed as an artist, working for a limited and restricted number of customers unlike the other craftsmen working for all and sundry. Ancient India

---

1. Artistic and Industrial Revival in India, p. 48.
2. *Ibid.* p. 1.
3. नागदन्तावसक्ता वीणा, चित्रफलकम्, वर्तिकासमुद्गकः यः कश्चित्पुस्तकः, कुरण्टकमालाश्च ॥ Kāmasūtra, Adhyaya, I V, 10.

Of the Nāgaraka we have a description in the form of a riddle in the Vidagdhamukhamanḍana of Dharmadāsa.

पुरुषः कीदृशो वेत्ति प्रायेण सकलाः कलाः ।
मध्यवर्णद्वयं त्यक्त्वा ब्रूहि कः स्यात् सुरालयः ॥ p. 29, Sl. 40.

4. ततोऽहमासङ्गमालेख्यवर्णकपात्रं गवाक्षादाक्षिप्य....
Pādatāḍītaka, p. 35 (Caturbhāṇī).
5. Evolution in Modern, Art, p. 121.
6. Art and its Producers and other lectures.

could boast of artists of both these types with this main difference that the artist of the latter type, *i.e.*, the society man practising painting as an amateur, was an absolute society man with no idea of painting as a profession. It was a mere joyous passing of time, the seat of pleasure, Vinodasthāna[1]. To the artist of the former type, painting was the mainstay of his life, the means of making his bread, the profession to which he was wedded.

THE STATUS OF THE ARTIST.

The Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti refers to a Citrakara by name Arjuna as the executor of pictures of the various scenes of the Rāmāyaṇa being engaged for the work by Lakṣmaṇa acting by the orders of Śrī Rāmacandra[2]. Arjuna typifies the noble Citrakara, the professional, working no doubt for his livelihood but with the highest love, regard and respect for his art. The chief supporters of such eminent workmen as contradistinguished from inferior workmen like the Dindins, of whom we would be talking presently, were kings, nobles, the wealthy and the elite of the land. The status of the professional artist in the early period of India's history appears to have been of a very high and noble type. The Sthapatis and Citrakaras were shown great respect which was their due by dint of their worth and excellence of character. We have for instance the statement of Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita that the Sthapatis and others were duly honoured by being garlanded and given sandal paste, etc., by Prabhākaravardhana just before their setting about painting the royal palaces and mansions for the marriage of princess Rājyaśrī[3]. There is similarly another instance of royalty honouring an excellent exponent of the art of sculpture in the Avantisundarīkathā[4]. Dhanapāla has a passage in his Tilakamañjarī, speaking of respect

---

1. चतुरिके ! अर्धलिखितमिदं विनोदस्थानमस्माभिः ।
Śākuntalam, Act VI.

2. **लक्ष्मणः**—जयतु जयत्वार्यः । आर्य ! अर्जुनेन चित्रकरेणास्मदुपदिष्टमार्यस्य चरितमस्यां वीथ्यामभिलिखितम् । तत् पश्यत्वार्यः ।
रामः—जानासि वत्स ! दुर्मनायमानां देवीं विनोदयितुम् ।
Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

3. सितकुसुमविलेपनवसनसत्कृतैः सूत्रधारैरादीयमानविवाहवेदीसूत्रपातम् ।
H. C., p. 142.

4. प्रविश्य प्रतिमाभ्यर्णं गत्वा निर्वर्णयन्नयम् ।
नाध्यगच्छत् सुसंहत्या संधानं मणिबन्धके ॥

shown to artists.[1] We have again the passage in the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva wherein the status of Nagarasvāmin the painter-laureate of the court of Vikramāditya is painted in glorious colours as a Grāmaśatabhuk and so on—meaning thereby that he was in the full enjoyment of a considerable property and land entitling him to the rank of a Sāmanta, *i.e.*, a noble in the court.[2] The confirmation of this sort of respect as being the due of the really noble and clever workmen in the different fine arts comes from the passage of the Śilparatna that bases itself on older texts and authorities and proclaims to the world that the four kinds of workmen beginning with the Sthapatis are to be honoured.[3]

तस्यापहसितत्वष्टुस्तक्षकर्मणि शिक्षया ।
विस्मितोऽयं स्मितं कुर्वन्नर्घ्यैरर्चयति स्म तम् ॥

Avantisundarīkathāsāra, p. 5, Śl. 52, 53.

1. क्वचिद्दर्शनपथावतीर्णेषु शीर्णदेवायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय सपदि संपादितपूजासत्कारान् व्यापारयतः । Tilakamañjari. p. 54.

2. तस्येदृशस्य राज्ञश्च नगरस्वामिसंज्ञकः ।
बभूव ग्रामशतभुक् चित्रकृज्जितविश्वकृत् ॥
स द्व्यहेन द्व्यहेनास्मै राज्ञे प्राभृतपुत्रिकाम् ।
लिखित्वान्यान्यया रूपभङ्ग्या चित्रकरो ददौ ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara, Chap. 122, Śl. 20-22.

3. तस्मादेष सदा पूज्यः स्थपत्यादिचतुष्टयः । Śilparatna, p. 5.

But this should not blind us to the fact that this honour was within due restraint and proportions. The king could show them only the honour that was their due and could not treat them equally with poets and scholars. The professionals in the various arts like painting, sculpture, wood work, metal work, dancing, music, etc., were Śūdras by caste. People of other castes could not compete with them professionally but could out-beat them in their ability if they were capable as sometimes they were. The Mahābhārata says:—

वार्ता च कारुकर्माणि शिल्पं नाट्यं तथैव च ।
....
एवमादि तथान्यच्च शूद्रकर्म इति स्मृतः ॥

Anuśāsanaparva, Chap. 208, Śl. 35-36.

Artists of exceptional ability were entertained in royal courts to execute royal commissions, to judge the standards of pictures brought and also to teach painting to the members of the ruler's family who learnt the various arts like music, dance and painting as branches of an exhaustive and all-embracing course of education. We have as an example of the prince Harivāhana looking at a picture of a princess being surrounded by various masters of painting (Citravidyopādhyāyas), experts in the art, and others who knew the science, trying to find the true element of beauty in it.[1] Of the various branches of knowledge, the best exponents of which were very often defeated by prince Naravāhanadatta in playful contests at court, two that interest us are the Citraśāstra and Pustaśāstra, painting and sculpture.[2] And the interest evinced by rulers and noblemen in these arts is sufficiently evidenced by the prominence given them in the course of education undergone by princess Avantisundarī and her

---

Brāhmaṇas who practised these arts professionally and earned a living by them are condemned as unfit for Śrāddhanimantraṇa.

अभिशस्तस्तथा स्तेनः शिल्पं यश्चोपजीवति ।

. . . .

कुशीलवो देवलको नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति ॥ *Ibid.*, 137, Śl. 8-10.

Cf. Manusmṛti Adhy. III, 163.

Kullūkabhaṭṭa explains

गृहसंवेशक as गृहसन्निवेशोपदेशको वास्तुविद्योपजीवी in the commentary.

On this hereditariness of professions we have Megasthenes saying ' No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher'. Ancient India, translated by M'crindle, p. 41.

1. मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः संनिधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनितकुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितुमागतैरालेख्यशास्त्रविद्भिर्नागरलोकैः सह विचारयन्नविचार्य चारुत्वतत्त्वं तस्याश्चित्रपटपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्णमनयत् ।

Tilakamañjarī, p. 144.

2. नरवाहनदत्तः स ह्रेपयन् वरचारणान् ।
तस्यां प्रियायां नृत्यन्त्यां सर्वातोद्यान्यवादयत् ॥
जिगाय चागतान् दिग्भ्यो विविधान् पण्डितांस्तथा ।
गजाश्वरथशस्त्रास्त्रचित्रपुस्तादिकोविदः ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara. Lambaka, 6, Taraṅga, 8, Śl. 171-172.

companions,[1] prince Candrāpīḍa,[2] prince Harivāhana[3] and a host of others. In fact art-learning was part of the polite education

---

1. कन्यापरिजनस्त्रीणां ददर्श विहृतिक्रियाः ॥
कन्दुकेन त्रिभिश्चारै रत्नैरपि च षड्विधैः ।
चित्रदुष्करमार्गेषु क्रीडन्तीरपराः स्त्रियः ॥
पाञ्चालिकादिकङ्केलिपत्रच्छेद्यानि चापराः ।
दुर्वाचकानि कुर्वन्तीरष्टादशविधान्यपि ॥
लिपिभेदांश्च सिन्ध्वादीन् कांश्चिन्म्लेच्छाक्षराणि च ।
प्रहेलिकादिका वाचः पराश्च परिचिन्वतीः ॥
सङ्गीतगीतवादित्राण्यभ्यस्यन्तीरनेकशः ।
तस्मिन्नवन्तिसुन्दर्या ददर्श परिचारिकाः ॥

Avantisundarīkathāsāra, p. 86.

2. पदे, वाक्ये, प्रमाणे, धर्मशास्त्रे, राजनीतिषु, व्यायामविद्यासु, चापचक्रचर्मकृपाणशक्तितोमरपरशुगदाप्रभृतिषु सर्वेष्वायुधविशेषेषु, रथचर्यासु, गजपृष्ठेषु, वीणावेणुमुरजकांस्यतालदर्दुरपुटप्रभृतिषु वाद्येषु, भरतादिप्रणीतेषु नृत्तशास्त्रेषु नारदीयप्रभृतिषु गन्धर्ववेदविशेषेषु, हस्तिशिक्षायाम्, तुरङ्गवयोज्ञाने, पुरुषलक्षणे, चित्रकर्मणि, पत्रच्छेद्ये, पुस्तकव्यापारे, लेख्यकर्मणि, सर्वासु द्यूतकलासु, शकुनिरुतज्ञाने, ग्रहगणिते, रत्नपरीक्षासु, दारुकर्मणि, दन्तव्यापारे, वास्तुविद्यासु, आयुर्वेदे, यन्त्रप्रयोगे, विषापहरणे, सुरङ्गोपभेदे, तरणे, लङ्घने, प्लुतिषु, इन्द्रजाले, कथासु, नाटकेषु, आख्यायिकासु, काव्येषु, महाभारतपुराणेतिहासरामायणेषु, सर्वलिपिषु, सर्वदेशभाषासु, सर्वसंज्ञासु, सर्वशिल्पेषु, छन्दःसु, अन्येष्वपि लोकविशेषेषु परं कौशलमवाप । Kā. p. 150.

3. विशेषतश्चित्रकर्मणि वीणावाद्ये च प्रवीणतां प्राप ।

Tilakamañjarī, p. 65.

Cf. Prince Ripudāraṇa pretends to have mastered the following arts before his father, the king, in the Upamitibhāvaprapañcakathā.

लेख्ये चित्रे धनुर्वेदे नरादीनां च लक्षणे ।
गान्धर्वे हस्तिशिक्षायां पत्रच्छेद्ये सवैद्यके ॥
शब्दे प्रमाणे गणिते धातुवादे सकौतुके ।
निमित्ते याश्च लोकेऽत्र कलाः काश्चित्तु निर्मलाः ॥
तासु सर्वासु मे तात प्रावीण्यं वर्तते परम् ।
आत्मतुल्यं न पश्यामि त्रैलोक्येऽप्यपरं नरम् ॥

Prastāva IV, p. 451.

of the day and patronage was freely extended to all good masters of the technique of the science. The Mālavikāgnimitra speaks of Citrācāryas, on a par with the Nātyācāryas in the king's court, working at contemporary pictures on the palace walls painting the queen with all her retinue and so forth.[1] In the Viddhasālabhañjikā the picture hall is got painted in a similar way and the Vidūṣaka refers to the artists in the plural number.[2] We have also lots of other references to painters holding honourable positions in royal courts. The Udayasundarīkathā gives us an instance of a clever artist in the royal court in the person of Viddhavijaya.[3] Kumāradatta was the best painter of the court of king Pṛthvīrūpa of Pratiṣṭhāna as stated in the Kathāsaritsāgara.[4] It also appears that the painters were travelling from one royal court to another,[5] and the word प्रति चित्रंकरं in the Udayasundarīkathā shows how many were coming and going every day to and from the various cities. The Kathāsaritsāgara gives us the instance of the arrival of a wonderful painter of Vidarbha named Roladeva at the palace gates in the city of

---

1. चित्रशालां गता देवी प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखमाचार्यस्यावलोकन्ती तिष्ठति ततश्चोपचारानन्तरमेकासनोपविष्टेन भर्त्रा चित्रगताया देव्याः परिजनमध्यगतामासन्नतरां तां प्रेक्ष्य देवी पृष्टा । Malavikā, Act I.

2. वि—(स्वगतम्) का पुनरेषा देवीपरिवारे ? (विचिन्त्य) भवतु कौतूहलेन देवी अभिनवागतं निजमातुलजातकं मृगाङ्कवर्माणं वारं वारं विरचितमहिलावेषं कारयति । तां च दृष्ट्वा अज्ञातपरमार्थैश्चित्रकरैः सैव चित्रे आलिखितेति तर्कयामि, तन्न विस्फोटयिष्ये, विस्मयतु तावत् प्रियवयस्यः । (प्रकाशम्) वर्धापयिष्ये भो कुमारिका खलु एषा एतस्या नेपथ्यं लक्ष्यते ।
Viddhasālabhañjikā, Act I.

3. जानासि तदा तेन विद्धविजयनाम्ना चित्रकरेण शिल्पकलाकौशलमात्मनो दर्शयता रतिरूपस्पर्धया यत्र त्वदीया मूर्तिरालिखिता तं पटमिहानुसन्धाय चित्रकरेण मेलिता मया देवी। Udayasundarīkathā, p. 103.

4. ततः समुत्सुको राजा निजं चित्रकरोत्तमम् ।
कुमारदत्तनामानं पृथ्वीरूपः समादिशत् ॥
Kathāsaritsāgara, Lambaka 9, Taraṅga 1, Śl. 123.

5. ......विनोद्यमाना मया..........मयैव कृत्वा चित्रोदपर्शनेन जानीथ कोऽयमिति प्रतिपान्थं प्रतिचित्रकरं प्रतिपुराणलोकमापृच्छन्ती कियन्तं कालमस्थात् ।
Udayasundarīkathā, p. 102.

Kanakavarṣa.[1] All this is the wandering of artists from one kingdom to another on their own initiative. Sometimes we have artists going to particular royal courts being invited therefrom as in the case of the instance supplied us by the Harṣacarita where Prabhākaravardhana extends his welcome to artists and craftsmen from all parts of the land to participate in the beautifying arrangements of the palace before the marriage of Rājyaśrī.[2] All this is but a recounting of facts in general; and no account of the honour shown to the artists would be complete without a mention of the special seat and place accorded them by the king in his court and assemblies and so on as stated by Rājaśekhara.[3]

But all this appears to have been at an earlier stage in the history of India. Deterioration set in and the artist dwindled into a poor creature of the flesh mingling with the *riff-raff* of

---

1. स कदाचिच्छरत्काले सोष्मण्युन्मदवारणे ।
राजहंसपरीवारे सोत्सवानन्दितप्रजे ॥
आत्मतुल्यगुणे रन्तुं चित्रप्रासदमाविशत् ।
आकृष्टकमलामोदवहन्मारुतशीतलम् ॥
तत्र निर्वर्णयन् यावत्तच्चित्रं स प्रशंसति ।
तावत् प्रविश्य भूपं तं प्रतीहारो व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥
इहागतो विदर्भेभ्योऽपूर्वश्चित्रकरः प्रभो ।
अनन्यसममात्मानं चित्रकर्मण्युदाहरन् ॥
Kathāsaritsāgara, Lambaka 9, Taraṅga 5, Śl. 33-36.

2. सकलदेशादिश्यमानशिल्पिसार्थागमनम् । H. C. p. 142.

3. राजा कविः कविसमाजं विदधीत । राजनि कवौ सर्वो लोकः कविः स्यात् । स काव्यपरीक्षायै सभां कारयेत् । सा षोडशभिः स्तम्भैश्चतुर्भिर्द्वारैरष्टभिर्मत्तवारणाभिरुपेता स्यात् । तदनुलग्नं राज्ञः केलिगृहम् । मध्येसभं चतुःस्तम्भान्तरा हस्तमात्रोत्सेधसमणिभूमिका । तस्यां राजासनम् । तस्य चोत्तरतः संस्कृताः कवयो निविशेरन् । बहुभाषाकवित्वे यो यत्राधिकं प्रवीणः स तेन व्यपदिश्यते । यस्त्वनेकत्र प्रवीणः स सङ्क्रम्य तत्र तत्रोपविशेत् । ततः परं वेदविद्याविदः प्रामाणिकाः पौराणिकाः स्मार्ता भिषजो मौहूर्तिका अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । पूर्वेण प्राकृताः कवयः, ततः परं नटनर्तकगायनवाग्जीवनकुशीलवतालावचरा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । पश्चिमेनापभ्रंशिनः कवयः, ततः परं चित्रलेप्यकृतो माणिक्यबन्धका वैकटिकाः स्वर्णकारवर्धकिलोहकारा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । दक्षिणतो भूतभाषाकवयः, ततः परं भुजङ्गगणिकाः प्लवकशौभिकजम्भकमल्लाः शस्त्रोपजीविनोऽन्येऽपि तथाविधाः ।
Kāvyamīmāṁsā I, Chap. X, p. 54 and 55, Gaek O. S.

society, spending most of his time in the houses of harlots and degrading his art to serve the purposes of these sirens. Though art was not unknown as an effective weapon of seduction and a distinct merit as an accomplishment in the house of the courtesan even as early as the time of the Mṛcchakaṭikā[1] we have no evidence of great artists so grossly enslaved by such women about that time. The description of a Prauḍhā painting a picture, from life, of a pair of lovers playing at dice in the Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka[2] and the verse in the Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda which shows painting to have been very much practised in Veśyāgṛhas to the extent of influencing those that frequented them,[3] and above all the mention of a respectable Citrācārya, an expert painting master, like Śivasvāmin as the lover of a courtesan called Kusumāvatikā,[4] all tend to show that art was slowly descending from its very high pedestal. The motive for the practice of the art in the house of courtesans is clearly given by Damodaragupta and the high and rosy ideal of the Vinodasthāna is completely absent here.[5] And in the time of Kṣemendra matters had come to such

---

1. **विदूषकः**—........इमे चापरे मदनसन्धिविग्रहचतुरा विविधवर्णिका विलताचत्रफलकाग्रहस्ता इतस्ततः परिभ्रमन्ति गणिका वृद्धविटाश्च ।

Mṛcchakaṭikā, Act, IV.

2. कथमियमतिकन्दुकक्रीडया मध्यमायासयत्यल्पमेषा **प्रियेणोपविष्टा सहाक्षैः परिक्रीडति प्रौढ्या चैनयैतत्स्वयं लिख्यते चित्रमाख्यायिकासौ** पुनर्वाच्यते ॥ Pādatāḍitaka, p. 3.

3. प्रागल्भ्यं स्थानशौर्यं वचननिपुणतां सौष्ठवं सत्त्वदीप्तिं
चित्तज्ञानं प्रमोदं सुरतगुणनिधिं रक्तनारीनिवृत्तिम् ।
चित्रादीनां कलानामधिगमनमथो सौख्यमग्र्यं च कामी
प्राप्नोत्याश्रित्य वेशं यदि कथमयशस्तस्य लोको ब्रवीति ॥

Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda in Caturbhāṇī, p. 27.

4. 'जानीत एवास्मत्स्वामी—'यथास्मत्सख्या कुसुमावतिकायाः प्रियवयस्यं चित्राचर्यं शिवस्वामिनं प्रति महान् मदनोन्मादः'—इति ।

Pādatāḍitaka in Caturbhāṇī, p. 25.

5. मांसरसाभ्यवहारः पुरुषाहतिपीडया न तु स्पृहया ।
आलेख्यादौ व्यसनं वैदग्ध्यख्यातये न तु विनोदाय ॥

Kuṭṭan-īmata, Śl. 307.

Cf. Pictures were also used effectively in the houses of courtesans to ward off Viṭas as in the passage of the Karpūracaritabhāṇa in the Rūpakaṣaṭka of Vatsarāja.

a stage that we find open ridicule hurled at the artists and other kindred workmen. The Śilpins had so very much identified themselves with the persons of the hataerae spending all their time in their houses, that, talking of the paramours of harlots, other than those who were loved by them only for their money, Kṣemendra ranks them with inferior horseriders and mahouts.[1] But that is not all. We have the general statement in the Bhagavad Gītā that Varnasaṁkara and other evils follow when the character of women is stained;[2] and we can very well guess the morals of the Śilpī class as a whole about the time of Kṣemendra when we have the express mention of their women in a verse that enumerates the kinds of women of easy virtue coming from various ranks and classes.[3]

But all this is but the darker side of the picture. There is no evidence available so far to prove the deterioration in the skill of the workmen even about this time; on the other hand we have statements proving the contrary—the ability of the artist and sculptor; and Kṣemendra, the very keen and correct observer of human nature truly says that the pride of the Śilpin lies in his hand[4]—Kareṣu śilpavatām—something corresponding to the

---

किमाख्यातैः ? । व्यक्तमेव किं नादर्शि त्वया विलासवत्याः केलिगृहे कर्पूरकालेख्यं यत्रायमालिखितः श्लोकोऽस्ति—

वाचालत्वं पदालग्नो मञ्जीरः कुरुतां चिरम् ।
कर्पूर एव सर्वाङ्गसङ्गसौभाग्यभाजनम् ॥ p. 29.

1. नीचस्तुरगारोहो हस्तिपकः खलतरोऽथवा शिल्पी ।
वञ्चितसकलजनानां तासामपि वल्लभो भवति ॥ *Kalāvilāsa*, IV, 14.

2. अधर्माभिभवात् कृष्ण प्रदुष्यन्ति कुलस्त्रियः ।
स्त्रीषु दुष्टासु वार्ष्णेय जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥
संकरो नरकायैव कुलघ्नानां कुलस्य च ।
पतन्ति पितरो ह्येषां लुप्तपिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥
उत्साद्यन्ते जातिधर्माः कुलधर्माश्च शाश्वताः ॥
Bhagavad Gītā, I, 41-43.

3. ईर्ष्यालुवृद्धभार्यासेवकपुत्री नियोगिभार्या वा ।
कारुकुशीलवनारी लुब्धवधूः सार्थवाहवनिता वा ॥
Kalāvilāsa, III, 20.

4. स्कन्धतटे सुभटानां हृदये वणिजां करेषु शिल्पवताम् ।
गलपत्राङ्गुलिभङ्गे छात्राणां स्तनतटेषु तरुणीनाम् ॥
Kalāvilāsa, VII, 31.

'qualities of head and hand' that obtains currency in the artists' world in English. The word 'Hastoccaya' in the Kuṭṭanīmata, meaning 'the best production by *a good hand*' i.e., handiwork par excellence, is on this particular account a significant one in the artists' vocabulary.[1]

All that we have spoken so far is about the masters, the powerful wielders of the brush and chisel. But even from a very early period there have been in existence inferior artists not very much cared for and almost neglected by patrons of art. Śyāmiḷaka makes mention of one such type of inferior artists going by the name of Diṇḍins and shows how men of taste look down on their work.[2] From the reference to them in the Pādatāḍitaka they appear to have been worse than mediocre artists: being employed to repair old pictures and bas reliefs, flags, etc.,

---

1. हस्तोच्चयं विधातुः, सारं सकलस्य जन्तुजातस्य ।
दृष्टान्तं रम्याणां, शस्त्रं संकल्पजन्मनो जैत्रम् ॥ Kuṭṭanīmata, 259.

Cf. Describing the women of Vijayapura the capital of Lakṣmaṇasena the poet Dhoyi says—

वाचः श्रोत्रामृतमनुगतभ्रूविलासाः कटाक्षाः
रूपं हस्तोच्चयसमुचितं स्निग्धमुग्धाश्च हावाः ।
यातं लीलाञ्चितममृतकं यत्र नेपथ्यमेतत्
पौरस्त्रीणां द्रविणसुलभा प्रक्रिया भूषणं च ॥ Pavanadūta, 52.

Cf. The perfection of hand by practice is described by Bilhaṇa in the verse—

नित्याभ्यासात् परिणतलिपेः स्रष्टुराश्चर्यलेखं
तल्लावण्यं वपुषि ललिते तस्य भूपालसूनोः ।
यत्र स्फूर्जल्लटभललनालोकलोभैकपात्रे
जागर्ति ज्याविनदमुखरः संततं पुष्पचापः ॥
Vikramāṅkadevacarita, VIII, 69.

2. एष खलु प्रद्युम्नदेवायतनस्य वैजयन्तीमभिलिखति । एतड्डिण्डित्वं नाम भोः । डिण्डिनो हि नामैते नातिविप्रकृष्टा वानरेभ्यः । भोः किञ्च तावदस्य डिण्डिकेषु प्रियत्वम् । डिण्डिनो हि नाम—

आलेख्यमात्मलिखिभिर्गमयन्ति नाशं
सौधेषु कूर्चकमषीमलमर्पयन्ति ।
आदाय तीक्ष्णतरधारमयोविकारं
प्रासादभूमिषु घुणक्रियया चरन्ति ॥ Pādatāḍitaka, p. 21.

of temples they more often spoilt the old ones than approached at something like setting them right—bettering them is quite out of question especially in their case—and hence the sarcasm in the verse that describes them. It would be interesting here to note Havell's sneer, at the modern methods of preserving old sculptures at Ellora and other places by the Government of India where inferior workmen are employed to play recklessly with the most precious and valuable of treasures of art only to deface and destroy their beauty for ever in the attempt at preserving them intact from the ravages of time and decay, quite obvious in his line "We no longer desecrate and destroy the masterpieces of the Moghuls and the monuments of ancient India: we patch them up and try to admire them", uttered, surely, after heaving a sigh of relief at the absence of active iconoclasm in the preservers of these rich monuments or in the 'departmental system' as he loves to put it.

All our modern vagaries appear to have had their ancient prototypes too. The vulgar German prints of so many incidents of Kṛṣṇa's life and so forth, that are simply soaked in, and saturated with, colour, are only modern representatives of the inferior works of old like the picture of Lakṣmī described in the Pādatāḍitaka.[1] The verse of Śyāmilaka further shows us how bad drawings of gods were sought to be hidden under the garb of bright colours and drapery.

But this was in the case of inferior artists. On the other hand, the skill of the masters in the arts appears to have been of a very high order and we have the passage in the Avantisundarīkathā where the capacity of the artist, in joining a newly chiselled hand to the broken wrist of Viṣṇu in the shore-temple at Mahāmallapura to make the figure whole, creates great wonder amongst the spectators including kings and noblemen highly proficient in various arts—the dexterity of the work was such as made it impossible for them to locate the place where the joint

---

1. वर्णानुरूपोज्ज्वलचारुवेषां लक्ष्मीमिवालेख्यपटे निविष्टाम् ।
सापह्नवां कामिषु कामवन्तोऽरूपां विरूषामपि कामयन्ते ॥

Pādatāḍitaka in Caturbhāṇī, p. 31.

The popularity of Lakṣmī as a favourite picture theme is well evidenced by sculptures like the ones at Māmallapuram.

bit was attached.[1] But this is in the case of a professional. Amateurs were nowhere behind; and we have the instance of Duṣyanta's portrait of Śakuntalā extorting such a rich praise from Sānumatī.[2]

CHARACTERISTICS OF ARTISTS.

The Mṛcchakaṭika gives us a significant picture of the artist surrounded by a large number of colour pans, touching a bit of every colour to carry it on to the canvas.[3] We have next the picture of the dabbler, Bhaṭṭaputra, Patrakartarī in hand, trying to imitate the attitude, if not the work, of the artist engaged in making paper-cut pictures and silhouettes.[4] The Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrī Harṣa sets us imagining the old Indian artist painting a beautiful picture and pleasantly nodding approbation at the grace of the execution.[5] Corroborative evidence on this instinctive

---

1. प्रविश्य प्रतिमाभ्यर्णं गत्वा निर्वर्णयन्नयम् ।
नाध्यगच्छत् सुसंहत्या संधानं मणिबन्धके ॥
तस्यापहसितत्वष्टुस्तक्षकर्मणि शिक्षया ।
विस्मितोऽयं स्मितं कुर्वन्नर्घ्यैरर्चयति स्म तम् ॥

Avantisundarīkathāsāra, p, 5, Śl. 52, 53.

The proficiency of this Śilpin called Lalitālaya is given in the passage......या विस्मापितदुर्जयस्य मान्धातृनाम्नः स्थपतेः प्रशस्तवास्तुशात्रार्थसारसा........स्तुविस्तारषण्णवतिप्रासादविधिविशारदो यानासनशयनादिना... ....तीयप्रयोक्ता षट्त्रिंशदाचार्यगुणैरलंकृतो ललितालयनामा स......विरचित... ...रार्द्रदृष्टिर्निर्दिष्टायां भूमावुपाविशत् in the Avantisundarīkathā, p. 7, 8.

2. अहो ! राजर्षेर्वर्तिकानिपुणता ! जाने मे सखी अग्रतो वर्तत इति ।

Śākuntalam. Act VI.

3. मैत्रेयः—यो नामाहं तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य ऋद्ध्याहोरात्रं प्रयत्नसिद्धैरुद्दामसुरभिगन्धिभिर्मोदकैरेवाशितोऽभ्यन्तरचतुःशालकद्वार उपविष्टो मल्लकशतपरिवृतश्चित्रकर इवाङ्गुलीभिः स्पृष्ट्वा स्पृष्ट्वापनयामि । Mṛcchakaṭika, Act I.

4. पत्रच्छेदमजानञ्जानन् वा कौशलं कलाविषये ।
प्रकटयति जनसमाजे बिभ्राणः पत्रकर्तरीं सततम् ॥

Kuṭṭanīmata, Śl. 74.

5. चित्रतत्तदनुकार्यविभ्रमाधाय्यनेकविधरूपरूपकम् ।
वीक्ष्य यं बहु धुवञ्शिरो जरावातकी विधिरकल्पि शिल्पिराट् ॥

Naiṣadha, XVIII, 12,

habit of artists is found in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra,[1] the Ratnāvalī of Śrī Harṣa[2] and the Kumārapālacarita of Hemacandra[3] to mention but a few.

From other evidences gathered from works like the Śākuntalam,[4] the Ratnāvalī[5] and the Daśakumāracarita[6] we can imagine the artist of old India carrying his colours and brushes in boxes (Samudgakas) or stocking them in Alābus as the Harṣacarita[7] tells us. We are given to understand how carefully they preserved their pictures in silken covers through passages in the Tilaka-

---

1. सोऽपि तां चिरमालोक्य लावण्यमणिपुत्रिकाम् ।
ययौ विलोलयन् मौलिं रूपातिशयविस्मितः ।
प्रविष्टामिव तद्वक्त्रे कर्षन्निव शनैर्दृशम् ॥
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, IX. 1120-21

2. दृशः पृथुतरीकृता जितनिजातपत्रत्विष-
श्चतुर्भिरपि साधु साध्विति मुखैः समं व्याहृतम् ।
शिरांसि चलितानि विस्मयवशाद्ध्रुवं वेधसो
विधाय ललनां जगत्त्रयललामभूतामिमाम् ॥ Ratnāvalī, Act II, 41.

3. दब्भग्ग-मई दर-डोलिर-सीसम् आदोलिरेण हिअएण ।
दूरम् अहरम् उसन्ते डहमाणो मिच्छ-दिट्ठि-जणो ॥
Kumārapālacarita, II, 47.

Com. स च कीदृशः । दर्भस्य कुशस्य अग्रं तद्वत् सूक्ष्मार्थपरिच्छेदकत्वेन मतिर्यस्य । अदोलावता हृदयेन उपलक्षितः । दरदोलावत् शीर्षं जिनबिम्बरामणीयकविलोकनविस्मयेन ईषच्चलन्मस्तकं यथा भवति एवं प्रविष्टः । जिनप्रवचनप्रभावनामात्सर्येण विध्नाशक्तितया च दूरम् आतिशयेन अधरं दशतो मिथ्यादृष्टिजनान् दहन् संतापयन् ।

4. चतुरिका—जयतु भर्ता ! वर्तिकाकरण्डकं गृहीत्वा इतोमुखी प्रस्थितास्मि ।
Śākuntalam Act VI.

5. (ततः प्रविशति गृहीतसमुद्गकचित्रफलकवर्तिका मदनावस्थां नाटयन्ती सागरिका) Stage direction in Act II of Ratnāvalī.

6. ......नागदन्तलग्ननिर्यासकल्कवर्णितं फलकमादाय मणिसमुद्गकाद्वर्णवर्तिकामुद्धृत्य तां तथा शयानां तस्याश्च मामाबद्धाञ्जलिं चरणलग्नमालिखम् ।
Daśakumāracarita, p. 99.

7. अवलम्बमानतूलिकालाबुकांश्च लिखितानालेख्यफलकसंपुटान् ।
H. C., p. 217.

mañjarī,[1] Udayasundarīkathā[2] and other works.

Though painters of India in the past had humility enough and were ready to receive criticism—they even went to the extent of welcoming and even calling for criticism as in the case of the artist in the Tilakamañjarī[3]—they appear to have had a peculiar fondness for pictures executed by their own hand as given out by Aśvaghoṣa[4] and Bhagavatpāda Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.[5]

(To be continued.)

---

1. इत्युदीर्य दूरावनतपूर्वकाया दक्षिणकरेणादाय सादरमुपरितनवसनपल्लव-प्रान्तसंयतं दिव्यं चित्रपटमुपनिन्ये Tilakamañjarī, p. 131.

गृहाण चित्रपटमेनम् । अत्र प्रयत्नेन भूत्वा लिखितमेकं मया दिव्य-कुमारिकारूपमनुरूपपरिवारपरिकरम् । तदस्य कुरु कलाशास्त्रकुशलस्य कौशलिकम् । अहमपि त्वामनुप्राप्त एव, इत्यभिदधानः सन्निधानस्थापितायाः प्रकृष्टचीनकर्पट-प्रसेविकायाः सयत्नमाकृष्य चित्रपटमेनमुपनीतवान् । *Ibid.*, p. 133.

2. तत्रोपरि च दिव्यांशुकवेष्टितोऽयं विमुक्तः पटः ।

Udayasundarīkathā, p. 68.

3. 'कुमार ! अस्ति किंचिद्दर्शनयोग्यमत्र चित्रपटे रूपम् ? उद्भूतरूपः कोऽपि दोषो वा नातिमात्रं प्रतिभाति । अद्याप्यनुपजातपरिणतिश्चित्रविद्यायां शिक्षणीयोऽहमखिलशास्त्रपारगेण महाभागेन इति । Tilakamañjarī, p. 135.

4. स्वयमेव यथालिख्य रक्षेच्चित्रकरः स्त्रियम् ।
तथा कृत्वा स्वयं स्नेहं सङ्गमेति जने जनः ॥

Saundarānanda, XV, 39.

5. आत्ममये महति पटे विविधजगच्चित्रमात्मना लिखितम् ।
स्वयमेव केवलमसौ पश्यन् प्रमुदं प्रयाति परमात्मा ॥

Svātmanniūpaṇa, Sl. 95

WRITING OF BOOKS IN SIDDHIYOGA

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH,

Mysore.

The term *siddhi-yoga* signifies 'combination leading to fulfilment or success'; and it is applied in astrological books to several kinds of combinations of weekdays, *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, etc. Thus in I. 4 of the *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* of Rāma-daivajña, the term is applied to the combination of Friday, Wednesday, Tuesday, Saturday aud Thursday with the *tithis* known as *nandā*, *bhadrā*, *jayā*, *riktā* and *pūrṇā* respectively.[1] A different class of *siddhi-yogas*, consisting of the combination of certain Nakṣatras with weekdays, is described in I. 30[2] of the same book and a third class, which includes the second, in *ibid*. I. 28-29. It is with the last-mentioned class of *siddhi-yogas* only that we are concerned here in this paper.

The stanzas I. 28-29 referred to above read as follows:

Sūrye 'rka-mūlottara-puṣya-dāsraṃ
Candre Śruti-brāhma-śaśījya-maitram |
Bhaume śvy-ahirbudhnya-kṛśānu-sārpaṃ
Jñe Brāhma-maitrārka-kṛśānu-cāndram ||
Jīve 'ntya-maitrāśvy-aditījya-dhiṣṇyaṃ

---

1. Compare the observation, *atha caturtha-caraṇena siddhi-yogān āha*, in Govinda-daivajña's commentary *Pīyūṣadhārā* on the above stanza and the stanza *Śukre nandā Budhe bhadrā Śanau riktā Kuje jayā| Gurau pūrṇā ca saṃyuktā siddhiyogaḥ prakīrtitaḥ*, cited in the *Śabdakalpadruma* (s. v. siddhiyoga) from the *Jyotis-sāgara*.

2. Different from the *siddhi-yogas* described in this verse, but like them, included in those described in *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* I, 28-29, are the *siddhi-yogas* that are described in Nārada's verse: *Hastarkṣam Arkavārendāv indubhaṃ prathamaṃ Kuje | Saumye Mitrabham ācārye Puṣyam Pauṣṇaṃ Bhṛgos sute | Rohiṇī Mandavāre tu siddhiyogāhvayā amī* || that is cited in the *Pīyūṣadhārā* commentary on these two verses.

Śukre 'ntya-maitrāśvy-aditi-śravo-bham |
Śanau Śruti-brāhma-samīra-bhāni
sarvārtha-siddhyai kathitāni pūrvaiḥ ||

And, according to them, the combination of Sunday with the Nakṣatra Hasta, Mūla, Uttarā-phalgunī, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarā-bhādrapadā, Puṣya or Aśvinī, of Monday with the Nakṣatra Śravaṇa, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Puṣya or Anurādhā, of Tuesday with the Nakṣatra Aśvinī, Uttarā-bhādrapadā, Kṛttikā or Āśleṣā, of Wednesday with the Nakṣatra Rohiṇī, Anurādhā, Hasta, Kṛttikā or Mṛgaśiras, of Thursday with the Nakṣatra Revatī, Anurādhā, Aśvinī, Punarvasu, or Puṣya, of Friday with Revatī, Anurādhā, Aśvinī, Punarvasu or Śravaṇa, and of Saturday with Śravaṇa, Rohiṇī or Svātī form auspicious occasions which lead to success or fulfilment of all works undertaken in them. Govinda-daivajña begins his explanation of these two verses with the words *atha sūryādi-vāreṣu nakṣatraviśeṣaiḥ siddhiyogān Indravajropajātibhyām āha;* and after observing that the authors of *Jagan-mohana, Jyotis-sāra-sāgara* and other similar works mention in this connection the names of fewer or more nakṣatras, he has cited as illustration the following two stanzas from Bhīmaparākrama:

Mūlaṃ Ravau Puṣya-karottarāṇi
Vedhā Mṛgāṅkaḥ Śravaṇaṃ ca Some |
Kṛśānu-puṣyottara-bhāni Bhaume
Budhe 'nurādhā Varuṇaḥ Kṛśānuḥ ||
Bṛhaspatau Puṣya-punarvasū ca
Bhago 'śvinī ca Śravaṇaṃ ca Śukre |
Śanaiścare Svāti-pitāmahau ca
yogāḥ kilaite śubha-dāyinaḥ syuḥ ||

Since the above combinations have been declared to lead to 'success or fulfilment in all undertakings', it is not surprising to see them mentioned occasionally in inscriptions recording gifts of land, etc. Thus an inscription at Beḷatūru (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 4, 114) which records that Mallodeya made a gift of money to a temple gives the date as *Śaka-varṣa* 1078 *neya Rākṣasa-saṃvatsarada Āṣāḍha-śuddha-caturdaśi Ādivāra-Mūlā-nakṣatra amṛta-yogadandu.*[1] Another inscription at Gōpālapura (*Ibid.*, p. 75)

1. The European equivalent of this date is Sunday, 20th June 1255 A. D. The *tithi* su-14 ended on this day at 10 hrs. 49 m., and the Nakṣatra. Mūla at 15 hrs. 34 m.

records that Acyutarāya-Vīrappoḍeya, governor of Kuḍuga-nāḍu, granted a village to a temple on *Śaka-varṣa* 1458 *neya Durmukhi-saṃvatsarada Māgha-śu* 10 *Candravāra Śravaṇa-nakṣatravāda puṇya-tithiyalu.*[1] An inscription at Nellūru (*Ep. Carn.* 9, 97) records that Cikka-aṅkeya-nāyaka installed and consecrated a *dīpa-mālā-kambha* on *Kaliyuga-saṃvatsara* 4487 *idaroḷage hiṅgida Śaka-varṣa* 1308 *inda mēle naḍavantā Kṣaya-saṃvatarada dutīya-Āṣāḍha-śu* 1 *Gu Vajra-yogavu Bava-karaṇavu kūḍida Puṣyanakṣatradalli,*[2] while the Dēvarāyadurga copper-plates published on p. 26 of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. 12 give the date of the setting up and consecration of an image of the god Lakṣmī-nṛsiṃha as [*Śaka* 1625] *Vijaya-saṃvatsarada Māgha-śu* 13 *Bhānuvāra Puṣya-nakṣatradalu.*[3]

Such *siddhi-yogas* were utilised by authors also to write (*i.e.* complete) their works in, as is shown by the date of composition given in many works. I cite here some examples of such dates:—

1. The Kannaḍa poet Pampa wrote (*i.e.* completed) his *Ādipurāṇa* on Kārtika-su 5, Bhānuvāra and Mūla-nakṣatra in Śaka 863, Plava, as stated by him in the following verses (16. 76-77):

Śaka-varṣam eṇtu-nūra-
kke kaḍeyoḷ aruvattu-mūru sandandu jagat-|
prakaṭa-plava-saṃvatsara-
da Kārtikaṃ mudaman īye Nandīśvaradoḷ ||
sita-pakṣada pañcami dina-
pati-vāraṃ śubhada Mūla-nakṣatradoḷa-|
nvitam āge negaḷdud ī mat-
kṛti jagadoḷ pudidu sāgarānta-kṣitiyaṃ ||

---

1. The equivalent of this date is Monday, 4th January1 535 A. D. The *tithi* su-10 ended on this day at 20 hrs. 54 m. and the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa at 12 hrs. 26 m. The year was the previous year but one to that mentioned in the inscription. Regarding such years, see p. 45 f. of my *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions.*

2. The equivalent of this date is Thursday, 28th June 1386 A.D. On this day, the *tithi* su-1 and the *karaṇa* Bava ended at 4 hrs. 12 m., the *nakṣatra* Puṣya at 13 hrs. 7 m., and the *yoga* Vajra at 19 hrs. 7 m.

3. The equivalent of this date is Sunday, 6th February 1704 A. D. On this day, the *tithi* su-13 began at 12 hrs. 10 m., and the Nakṣatra Puṣya at 6 hrs. 29 m. The *saṃvatsara* Vajaya mentioned in the inscription is the northern (and not the southern) luni-solar year of that name. See regarding such mention, pp. 4 ff. in *op. cit.*

The equivalent of this date is Sunday, 16th October 942 A.D.; su-5 *began* at 10 hrs. 59 m., and Mūla ended at 19. hrs. 21 m. The year was the one that followed that cited in the stanza; compare in this connection, pp. 27 ff. in *op. cit.*

2. The Kannaḍa work *Cāṃuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* was written by the author Cāmuṇḍarāya on Phālguna-su 8, Somavāra and Rohiṇī in Śaka 900, Īśvara, as mentioned in the following verse:

> nava-śata-saṃkhyey āge Śaka-kāla-samaṃ negaḷd Īśvarābdam ut-
> sava-karam āge Phālguṇa-sitāṣṭami Rōhiṇi Sōmavāram eṃ-|
> bivu śubhadaṃgaḷ āge paramōtsavadiṃ guṇa-ratna-bhūṣaṇaṃ
> kavi-jana-śekharaṃ baredu pustakak ērisidaṃ purāṇa-mam ||

The equivalent of this date is Monday, 27th January 977 A. D. On this day, the *tithi* su-8 began at 12 hrs. 13 m. and the Nakṣatra Rohiṇī at 15 hrs. 55 m. (by Garga's unequal-space system) or 15 hrs. 8 m. (by Brahmagupta's unequal- system).[1] The *saṃvatsara* Īśvara is the northern luni-solar year of that name.

3. The Kannaḍa poet Nayasena wrote his *Dharmāmṛta* on Bhādrapada-su 1, Sunday and Hasta in Śaka 1037, Nandana, as stated in the following verse (14. 164):

> giri-śikhi-vāyuṃārga-śaśi-sakmhyeyoḷ āvagam oṃdi varitsu-
> ttire Śaka-kālam unnatiya Nandana-vastsaradoḷ mahōt-savaṃ |
> beras esedirda Bhādra-māsadoḷ aggada śukla-pakṣadoḷ
> nirupamam appa pāḍivadoḷ oppuva Hasta-yutārka-vāradoḷ ||

The equivalent of this date is Sunday, 25th August 1112 A. D.; on this day the *tithi* su-1 ended at 5 hrs. 41 m. while the Nakṣatra Hasta, by the unequal-space system of Brahmagupta, began at 2 hrs. 10 m. The year A. D. has been got at by adding 75 (and not 78 or 77) to the Śaka year; see in this connection p. 48 ff. in *op. cit.*

---

1. According to the equal-space system, the Nakṣatra Rohiṇī was not current at all on that Monday.

4. The *Anantanāthapurāṇa* was written by Janna on Caitra-su 10, Thursday and Puṣya in Śaka 1152 Vikṛta as stated by him in the following verse:

> Śaka-saṃvatsaram andu sāsirada nūr-aivatteraḷ salvinaṃ
> Vikṛtābdaṃ bare Caitra-śuddha-daśamī Dēvejyanoḷ Puṣya-tā-|
> rakadoḷ māḍisidaṃ pratiṣṭheyam Ananta-śrī-purāṇakke ka-
> mme-kulāmbhōruha-bhānu Jannamarasaṃ sāhitya-ratnākaraṃ ||

The equivalent of this date is Thursday, 16th March 1228 A. D.; on this day su-10 began at 4 hrs. 38 m. while the Nakṣatra Puṣya was current till 14 hrs. 51 m. The year was the one that followed the northern luni-solar Vikṛta; see in this connection, pp. 35 and 42 f. in *op. cit.*

5. The date of composition of Śīlaratna-sūri's commentary on Merutuṅga's *Meghadūta* is given by him (see *Ind. Ant.* 19, 366) as:

> varṣe candra-nidhāna-pūrva-1491-kalite śrī-Vikramārkāt tathā
> Caitrāntar-vadi-pañcamī-Budhadine śreṣṭhānurādhā-yute |
> srī-jainojjvala-Meghadūta-suvṛhat-kāvyasya pūrṇā 'bhavaṭ
> ṭīkā śrī-Aṇahillapāṭaka iti khyāte kṣitau pattane ||

The equivalent is Wednesday, 7th March 1436 A. D.; on this day, the *tithi* ba-5 ended at 19 hrs. 46 m. while Anurādhā began at 3 hrs. 56 m.[1]

---

1. In the case of this date and the other dates cited below from *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 19, the European equivalents have been given there by Kielhorn. There was thus no need for me to calculate them, and I have merely reproduced here the equivalents given by him.

In the case of the other dates cited in this paper, the equivalents have been calculated by me with the help of the Tables published by Prof. Jacobi in *Epig. Indica,* Vol. XI. When nothing to the contrary is stated, it must be understood (1) that the calculations have been made according to the Sūrya Siddhānta and (2) that the Nakṣatras are those of the equal-space system.

The hours and minutes should in all cases be counted from the moment of mean Laṅkā sunrise on the days mentioned.

6. Rāmarṣi has said at the end of his *Nalodaya-ṭīkā* that he wrote it on:

vedāṅga-rasa-candrāḍhye varṣe māse tu Mādhave |
śukla-pakṣe ca saptamyāṃ Gurau Puṣye tathoḍuni ||

The equivalent is Thursday, 24th April 1607 A. D.; su-7 ended at 11 hrs. 7 m. and Puṣya at 5 hrs. 55 m. See *Ind. Ant.* 19, 52.

7. The date of composition of Puṇyasāgara's *Jambūdvīpa-prajñaptivṛtti* is given by him as:

śrīmaj-Jesalameru-durga-nagare śrī-Rāma-bhūmīpatau
rājyam śāsati vāṇa-vāridhi-rasa-kṣauṇī-mite vatsare |
Puṣyarkṣe Madhu-māsa-śukla-daśamī-sad-vāsare Bhāskare
ṭīkeyaṃ vihitā sadaiva jayatām ā-candra-sūryaṃ bhuvi ||

The equivalent is Sunday, 16th March 1589 A. D.; on this day, su-10 ended at 16 hrs. 26 m. and Puṣya at 12 hrs. 29 m. See *Ind. Ant.* 19, 39.

8. Jñānavimalagaṇi's commentary on Maheśvara's *Śabda-prabheda* was written on:

Caturānana-vadanendriya-rasa-vasudhā-sammite lasad-varṣe |
srīmad-Vikrama-nṛpato' ti-krānte 'tīva kṛta-harṣe ||
śubhopayoge śubha-yoga-yukte
vāre dvitīyā-divase 'ti-śuddhe |
Āṣāḍha-māsasya viśuddha-pakṣe
Puṣyarkṣa-saṃyukta-gabhastivāre ||.

The equivalent is Sunday, 25th June 1598 A. D.; su-2 ended on this day at 12 hrs. 20 m. and Puṣya at 7 hrs. 13 m. The word *śubha-yoga* in the first Pāda of the second stanza does not refer to the yoga named Śubha (the 23rd of the yoga-series beginning with Viṣkambha); for, as observed by Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* 19, 39), the yoga current on the above Sunday was Vajra until 21 hrs. 23 m. and thereafter Siddhi. The word therefore refers really to the 'auspicious combination' (or *siddhi-yoga*) of the Nakṣatra Puṣya with Sunday. Compare the expression *amṛta-yoga* that is used in the same sense in the date cited above of the Beḷatūru inscription.

9. The date of composition of Devavijayagaṇi's *Rāmacarita* is given in the book as:

saṃvat 1652 varṣe Āśvina-māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe daśamyāṃ tithau Guru-puṣya-yoge ||

The equivalent is Thursday, 18th September 1595 A. D.; ba-10 ended on this day at 21 hrs. 12 m. and Puṣya at 19 hrs. 42 m. See *Ind. Ant.* 19, 176.

10. The date of composition of Mānatuṅga-sūri's *Siddhajayantīcaritra* is given by him as:

> dvādaśa-varṣa-śateṣu śrī-Vikramato gateṣu ṣaṣṭitame |
> varṣe Jyeṣṭhe māse Śravaṇe bhe kṛṣṇa-pañcamyām ||
> jīvādi-viṣaya-saṃśaya-tamopahāraika-taraṇi-ruci-rucire |
> yoge caindre siddhāv iyaṃ Jayantī-kathā racitā ||

The week-day is not mentioned in the date; but the word *jīvādi-viṣaya°* in the second stanza indicates, in the opinion of Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* 19, 182), that the week-day is Thursday; and accordingly, calculating for the year following Vikrama 1260 expired, he has set down Thursday, 20th May 1204 A. D. as the equivalent of the given date. On this day, the tithi ba-5 ended at 21 hrs. 50 m., Nakṣatra Śravaṇa at 17 hrs. 4 m., and the yoga Indra at 14 hrs. 3 m. It is however distinctly stated in the second stanza that the book was composed in *siddhi-yoga*,[1] that is, at the time of an 'auspicious combination'; and since the combination of Śravaṇa with Thursday is not such a combination (on the other hand, it is a positively inauspicious one), it follows that the above Thursday is not the day intended by the author and is not the correct equivalent of the above date.

In the year Vikrama 1260 current, the tithi ba-5 of the *pūrṇimānta* month Jyeṣṭha ended on Monday, 13th May 1202 A. D. at 22 hrs. 40 m., while the Nakṣatra Śravaṇa began at 7 hrs. 56 m. and the yoga Indra at 17 hrs. 51 m. The combination of Śravaṇa and Monday *is* a *siddhi-yoga*, and it is hence probable[2] that this is the day intended by the above date.

---

1. The words *siddhau yoge* in stanza 2 cannot be interpreted as 'in the yoga *Siddhi*'. Siddhi is the 16th of the yogas beginning with Viṣkambha, and cannot occur on the same day as Indra which is the 26th yoga.

2. Since the author has not mentioned the name of the week-day, it is not possible to determine with certainty the day intended by him. A possible equivalent of the given date is Saturday, 31st May, 1203 A. D. also; on this day, Jyeṣṭha-ba 5 of the year Vikrama 1260 expired ended, according to the Brahma Siddhānta, at 3 hrs. 41 m., while the yoga Indra by the unequal-space system of Brahmagupta, began at 13 hrs. 53 m.; the Nakṣatra Śravaṇa, by the same system, was current for the whole of that day. The

Not only the authors of books, but the scribes who copied them too liked to complete their work in the time of *siddhi-yoga*. Compare in this connection the following examples:

11. Date of MS. of Siddharṣi's *Ūpamitibhavaprapañcakathā*:
samvatsara-śata-navake ' dvi-ṣaṣṭi-sahite 'ti-laṅghite cāsyāḥ |
Jyeṣṭhe sita-pañcamyāṃ Punarvasau Gurudine samāptir abhūt ||

The equivalent is Thursady, 1st May 906 A. D.; su-5 ended at 16 hrs. 13 m., and Punarvasu at 5 hrs. 16 m. See *Ind. Ant.* 19, 35.

12. Date of MS. of *Kāśikāvṛtti*:
śrī-nṛpa-Vikramāditya-rājyasya gatābdāḥ 1717 Pau vati 3 Ravau Tiṣya-nakṣatre saṃpūrṇā ||

The equivalent is Sunday, 9th December 1660 A. D.; ba-2 ended at 23 hrs. 5 m. and Puṣya at 17 hrs. 44 m. See *Ind. Ant.* 19, 169.

13. Date of MS. of Mānatuṅga-sūri's *Siddhajayantīcaritra*:
śrī-Vikrama-narendra-saṃvat 1261 varṣe Āśvina-vadi 7 Ravau Puṣya-nakṣatre śubha-yoge ||

The equivalent is Sunday, 17th October 1204 A. D.; ba-7 ended on this day at 6 hrs. 57 m., Puṣya at 1 hr. 50 m. and the yoga Śubha at 11 hrs. 37 m. (*Ind. Ant.* 19, 177). The expression *śubha-yoge* used in the date signifies therefore not only 'in the auspicious combination (*siddhi-yoge*)' but also 'in the yoga *Śubha* also. Compare in this connection no. 15 below.

14. Date of MS. of Anubhūtisvarūpa's *Sarasvatīprakriyā*:
saṃvat 1747 varṣe prathama-Vaiśākha-vadi dvitīya-caturthī-dine Budhe Anurādhā-yoge ||

The equivalent is Wednesday, 19th March 1690 A. D.; ba-4 which was current thoughout the preceding day, ended at 0hr.

---

combination of this Nakṣatra with Saturday being a *siddhi-yoga*, this Saturday is a possible equivalent of the given date. There was however no moment of this Saturday when the tithi ba-5, Nakṣatra Śravaṇa and yoga Indra were *all* current. On Monday, 13th May, 1202, on the other hand, all the three were current between 17 hrs. 51 m. and 22 hrs. 40 m., that is between 2 A. M. and 4. 40 A.M. of Tuesday, 14th May.

34 m. on that day, as also did Anurādhā at 16 hrs. 26 m. Kielhorn opines (*Ind. Ant.* 19, 356) that *yoge* in the expression *Anurādhā-yoge* is incorrect and should be emended into *nakṣatre*. It is however obvious that the copyist has purposely used the word *yoge* with reference to the auspicious combination of Anurādhā with Wednesday.

15. Date of MS. of Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*:

svasti śrī-Vikrama-nṛpateḥ saṃvat 1251 varṣe Kārtika-sudi 12 Śukre Revatī-nakṣatre siddhi-yoge[1] ||

The equivalent is Friday, 28th October 1194 A. D.; su-12 ended on this day at 12 hrs. 3 m. and Revatī at 21 hrs. 40 m.; the yoga Siddhi began on this day at 2 hrs. 30 m. See *Ind. Ant.* 12, 23. Here too the term *siddhi-yoge* signifies not only 'in the yoga Siddhi' but also 'in the time of auspicious combination (ot Friday and Revatī)'. *Cf.* no. 13 above.

Like authors and copyists, the revisers of books too seem to have held *siddhiyogas* in esteem. Thus, the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra, who revised the *Pañcatantra* (that is, a redaction of it) thoroughly from beginning to end, has, in the last stanza of the *praśasti* that is found at the end of his *Pañcatantra*, given the date of completion of his work as follows:

śara-bāṇa-taraṇi-varṣe Ravi-Kara-vadi Phālgune
tṛtīyāyām |
jīrṇoddhāra ivāsau pratiṣṭhito 'dhiṣṭhito vibudhaiḥ ||

The equivalent of this date is, according to Prof. Jacobi (*Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. 12, p. 22), Sunday, 17th January 1199 A. D. Now, it is true that ba-3 of the *pūrṇimānta* month Phālguna of the Vikrama year 1255 expired was current on that day till 5 hrs. 50 m. (Sūrya Siddhānta), 6 hrs. 7 m. (Ārya Siddhānta) or 3 hrs. 32 m. (Brahma Siddhānta). But the Nakṣatra Kara or Hasta, by the equal-space and Garga's unequal-space systems, was not current at all on that day according to the Sūrya and Ārya Siddhānta; and even by the unequal-space system of Brahmagupta, it began to be current, according to these two Siddhāntas, only after 22 hrs. 30 m. and 22 hrs. 37 m. respectively. According to the Brahma Siddhānta, too, it began to be current at 22 hrs. 30 m. (equal-space and Garga's systems) or 19 hrs. 4 m. (Brahma-

---

1. The reading *siddha-yoge* found in the MS is, as pointed out by Kielhorn (l. c.), a mistake for *siddhi-yoge*.

gupta's system). And thus, according to all three Siddhāntas and by all the three systems, the Nakṣatra Hasta was in no way associated with the *tithi* ba-3 on that Sunday. Pūrṇabhadra's mention, however, of the Nakṣatra Hasta with Sunday shows that he had in mind the *siddhi-yoga* resulting from their combination, and that he completed his work at the time when Hasta was current; and it is also very probable that the *tithi* ba-3 too cited by him was the *tithi* that was current at that time.

In the equivalent proposed by Jacobi, the *tithi* ba-3 had, as we saw above, ended many hours before Hasta began; and since it is difficult to believe that Pūrṇabhadra has here cited, along with the current Nakṣatra, a *tithi* that had elapsed many *ghaṭikās* before, it follows that this equivalent is incorrect.

In the year in question, ba-3 of the *amānta* month Phālguna began on Sunday, 14th February 1199 A. D. at 20 hrs. 18 m. (S.S.), 20 hrs. 34 m. (Ā. S.) or 18 hrs. 43 m. (B.S.) The Nakṣatra Hasta, too, by all the three systems and according to all the three Siddhāntas, was current on this day from about 9 hrs. 42 m. till the end of the day, The *tithi* ba-3 was, thus, throughout associated on this Sunday with Hasta, and it seems to me therefore that it is this Sunday (14th February 1199) that is the correct equivalent of the given date.

The rite of *pratiṣṭhā* or 'establishment' which Pūrṇabhadra, as stated in the above stanza, performed in connection with the revised book, was evidently for the purpose of ensuring permance to it. I have not read anywhere a description of such a rite, but am inclined to believe that it was of a fairly simple character. It will be recalled that the poet Janna too has said, in the stanza cited under no. 4 above, that he had the *pratiṣṭhā* rite performed in connection with his *Anantanāthapurāṇa* (*māḍisidaṃ pratiṣṭheyam Ananta-śrī-purāṇakke*) on the date mentioned. For the rest, it is of interest to note that the verses of Nārada, cited in the *Pīyūṣadhārā* commentary on *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* 2. 1, commend the Nakṣatras Rohiṇī, Punarvasu, Puṣya, Hasta, Anurādhā, Śravaṇa and Revatī, among others, as auspicious for the rite of *pratiṣṭhā*.

In the dates cited above, the word *siddhi-yoga* is found used in two only (nos. 11, 15), while the terms *śubhayoga* and *śubhada* which may be regarded as synonyms of it, are found used in two each (nos. 8, 13; nos. 1, 2); the words *yuta*, *yukta* or *yoga*,

signifying 'combination' are found used, further, in four dates (nos. 3, 5, 9, 14). In the remaining six dates, it is only the conjoint mention of the *tithi* and the Nakṣatra that shows that the writer had the resulting *siddhi-yoga* in mind.

The *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* is a comparatively late book that was written (see the last stanza in it) in Śaka 1522 or A. D. 1600. But, its contents are, as the author himself states (1. 2), taken from the works of earlier writers; and as regards the verses 1. 28-29, the author has, in addition, explicitly said, *kathitāni pūrvaiḥ* 'it has beeen stated by earlier writers'. There is thus no doubt that the writer of every one of the dates cited above intended to refer to the *siddhi-yoga* as described above.

It is of interest to note that the great majority of the authors and copyists from whose works the above dates have been cited, as also Pūrṇabhadra, were Jainas: and it seems hence that these *siddhi-yogas* were held in particular esteem by writers of that faith.

NĀṬYA DHARMĪ AND LOKA DHARMĪ.

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, B.A., (HONS.),

Research Student in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

(Continued from Vol. VII, Part IV, page 375.)

II

LOKA DHARMĪ.

(*Realism.*)

In the foregone section on Nāṭya dharmī, I indicated the Idealism and conventions of the Sanskrit Stage. There, incidentally, I touched upon the concept of Loka dharmī, which term closely approximates to 'Realism'. There has not been sufficient emphasis on this aspect, as a result of which bizarre notions of Indian Art in general have come into existence and the theory has resulted in the practice of a strange nature. Taking Indian Painting in particular, the Sanskrit texts on the subject, the Viṣṇudharmottara, Someśvara's Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, Śrī kumāra's Śilparatna and Basava's Śivatattvaratnākara, give elaborate Pramāṇas or rules of anatomy for the drawing of human figures, rules which have their basis in Nature. Similarity to Nature, far from being ignored, is emphasised as a necessity. Someśvara speaks of a class of painting called Viddha which he says, is absolutely realistic, looking like a reflection of reality of Nature in a mirror.

साद्दश्यं लिख्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत् ।
तच्चित्रं विद्धमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः ॥ A. A. C. I. 3.

Similarity or Sādṛśya with Nature is again and again insisted upon in the Citra Sūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara. Of the four kinds of painting mentioned in the Citra Sūtra *viz.*, Satya, Vaiṇika, Nāgara and Miśra, perhaps the first, Satya, is identical with Someśvara's Viddha Citra. Of pictures in general, of pictures of all kinds, the Citra Sūtra emphasises Sādṛśya or similarity to Nature as an essential quality and as one of their good features.

स्थानप्रमाणभूलम्बो मधुरत्वं विभक्तता ।
सादृश्यं पक्षवृद्धिश्च गुणाः चित्रस्य कीर्तिताः ॥ Chap. 41.

The remark is repeated in Chap. 43. In Chap. 42, the text says—" All the things that can.be seen (*i.e.* things of this world) must be drawn very similar (Su-sadṛśa) to their nature, without an exception ; for in picture, similarity to Nature is important".

दृष्टं सुसदृशं कार्यं सर्वेषामविशेषतः ।
चित्रे सादृश्यकरणं प्रधानं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

Śrīkumāra says the same thing in his Śilparatna :

जङ्गमा वा स्थावरा वा ये सन्ति भुवनत्रये ।
तत्तत्स्वभावतस्तेषां करणं चित्रमुच्यते ॥

Further the Citra Sūtra, in relating painting to Nāṭya, emphasises again and more powerfully the need for Sādṛśya or similarity to Nature. The art of painting is based, in the Sanskrit texts on the subject, upon the art of Nāṭya. Picture is a moment of Nṛtya and Nṛtya is a succession of pictures. Sanskrit Aesthetics applies the theories of Rasa and Dhvani to all Fine Arts, besides their primary subject *viz.*, Poetry and Drama. The Citra Sūtra and the later treatises referred to find it possible to treat of pictures only after Nāṭya, in the technique of Bhāvas and Rasas, the Nṛtta-hastas, the Rasa-bhāva-dṛṣṭis, the Sthānakas etc. Very often the Citra Sūtra refers us to the Nāṭya Śāstra for greater details. Painting, like Nāṭya, is given as Imitation—Anukaraṇa—of the three worlds. At least, as regards this world, greater emphasis on Sādṛśya cannot be laid. In the beginning of the 35th chapter, the Citra Sūtra says—

यथा नृत्ते तथा चित्रे त्रैलोक्यानुकृतिः स्मृता ।
दृष्टयश्च तथा भावा अङ्गोपाङ्गानि सर्वशः ॥
कराश्च ये महा[मया]नृत्ते पूर्वोक्ता नृपसत्तम ।
त एव चित्रे विज्ञेया नृत्तं चित्रं परं मतम् ॥

At the very outest, Mārkaṇḍeya says 'it is hard to learn painting without a knowledge of the Nāṭya Śāstra'.

विना तु नृत्तशास्त्रेण चित्रसूत्रं सुदुर्विदम् ।

Thus both Citra and Nāṭya have to show Sādṛśya. Their basis is Nature. Regarding the supernatural worlds, which also

are portrayed in picture and drama, the poets have conceived and described the forms of the denizens of those worlds ; the mythology gives us their shapes and actions and following them, the Citra Śāstra lays down rules for drawing gods. The artist has to follow these rules and steep himself in the Sanskrit Kāvyas and Purāṇas.

However much Nāṭya dharmī idealises certain parts of drama, the very basis of drama, Loka or Nature, gives an equal emphasis to Loka dharmī or Sādṛśya. How can an imitation of the world be dissimilar, Asadṛśa or Visadṛśa ? Bharata defines drama as the imitation of the three worlds, of the states of men and other beings. Texts say :

"त्रैलोक्यानुकृतिर्नाट्यम् " "अवस्थानुकृतिर्नाट्यम् "

The word 'Anukāra' or imitation itself is used as a synonym for drama and dance. Rājānaka Ratnākara's Haravijaya says in I. 45 :

यस्यानुकाररभसोत्थितदण्डपाद etc.

and the commentary of Alaka says :

अनुकारो नृत्तम् । p. 12. K. M. edn.

विभोः शिशिरकाल इवानुकारे । *Ibid.*, II. 46.

आविष्कृतानुकृतिविभ्रम etc. *Ibid.*, II. 61.

Bharata himself uses the word Anukāra or Anukṛti in the sense of drama :

तदन्तेऽनुकृतिर्बद्धा यथा दैत्याः सुरैर्जिताः । I. 57.

'Anukaraṇa' is repeated at every step by Bharata.

त्रैलोक्यस्यास्य सर्वस्य नाट्यं भावानुकीर्तनम् । I. 104.

लोकवृत्तानुकरणं नाट्यमेतन्मया कृतम् । I. 109.

सप्तद्वीपानुकरणं नाट्ये ह्यस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठितम् । I. 116.

कृतानुकरणं लोके नाट्यमित्यभिधीयते । I. 118.

He ends by saying 'the imitation of action is Nāṭya'. It is because the basis of drama is the world that Bharata says that the dramatist should be well versed in the world and in its intricate traffic of actions and emotions.

लोकस्वभावं संप्रेक्ष्य नराणां च बलाबलम् ।
सम्भोगं चैव युक्तिं च ततः कुर्यात्तु नाटकम् ॥ N. S. XXI. 128.

Abhinava lays the same emphasis on Loka sādṛśya or Loka dharmī in the passage quoted in the previous section on Nāṭya dharmī :

"यद्यपि लौकिकधर्मव्यतिरेकेण नाट्ये न कश्चिद्धर्मोऽस्ति etc.

p. 356. Vol. II. Abhi. Bha. Mad. MS.

But the imitation of worlds, men and actions through those conditions that go to make up the drama,—language, action, the small space called stage, etc., necessarily brings in a series of idealisations and conventionalisations called Nāṭya dharmī, as seen in the previous section of this paper. Thus drama is doubly woven with Nāṭya dharmī and Loka dharmī. The latter stands for all realistic features.

The name Nāṭya stands for drama as well as dance. The Sanskrit Theatre has two classes of performances, Rūpaka and Uparūpaka ; Nāṭya applies sometimes only to the former and the latter is called Nṛtya and Nṛtta. The ten kinds of dramas called the Daśarūpaka and the Nāṭikā, the Troṭaka and the Saṭṭaka form the former class ; the latter comprises Srīgadita, Ḍombī, Rāsaka etc. The former depicts a continous theme with a unity of one Rasa running as the motif and employ in an equal measure all the four Abhinayas of speech, physical action (Vācika), action of Sāttvika bhāvas (Āṅgika), Sthambha, etc., and dress (Āhārya). Absence of speech or Sāttvika-abhinaya or of dress produces the latter, the dance varieties. The latter *i.e.*, the Nṛtya-prabandhas are rendered in gesture by a single dancer who sings the theme in which figure many characters. Such Nāṭya of the Nṛtya class is Loka dharmī only in so far as some human state is portrayed in it. Since there are no actors to take the part of each of the characters, since the theme is not so designed, since the theme is made musical, the whole class of Nṛtya is marked by a great degree of Nāṭya dharmī. Compared to these dances, dramas proper, in which, as in the world, there are as many persons, each character being enacted by an actor, have a greater degree of Loka dharmī. Therefore the first Loka dharmī in a drama as distinguished from dance which is Nāṭya dharmī, is the acting of each character by an actor.

Drama has the maximum Loka dharmī as contrasted with dance, in another respect also. In dance the Vācika is purely a song and because other conditions pertaining to stage and drama are lacking, the dance employs the maximum amount of

Āṅgikābhinaya, especially that part of the Āṅgika called the Hasta-abhinaya, the hand-symbols.

That much of Hastābhinaya is not needed in drama. There is the Vācika in the drama written in powerful poetry and aiding it, action of limbs (Āṅgika-abhinaya) appears only as much as in the natural accompaniment of speech, thought and emotion by physical movement, as in the world. The emphasis in drama is upon the Sāttvikabhāvas; tears are to be shown by shedding tears; quiver has to be depicted by the quivering body but even these are shown by symbols of hand in dance. The former method is Loka dharmī, the latter is Nāṭya dharmī. Thus compared to Nṛtya or dance, drama has only natural action.

धर्मी च द्विविधा प्रोक्ता मया पूर्वं द्विजोत्तमाः ।
लौकिकी नाट्यधर्मी च तयोर्वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ।
स्वभावभावोपगतं शुद्धं त्वविकृतं तथा ।
लोकवार्ताक्रियोपेतम् अङ्गलीलाविवर्जितम् ॥
स्वभावाभिनयोपेतं नानास्त्रीपुरुषाश्रयम् ।
यदीदृशं भवेन्नाट्यं लोकधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ N. S. XIV 69-71.

Among the types in the Daśarūpa, the Bhāṇa is performed by only one actor; it is Eka-hārya, rendered by one. The earlier variety of the Vīthī was also Eka-hārya. These two therefore have greater Nāṭya dharmī than the other types. From the point of view of theme, the heroic types depicting gods and great Purāṇic kings, the Nāṭaka, the Samavakāra and the Ḍima are Nāṭya-dharmī dramas. They are so because they are extraordinary and supernatural. The realistic types depicting society, the Prakaraṇa, the Prahasana and the Bhāṇa are Loka dharmī dramas. The Nāṭaka is the perfection of Nāṭya dharmī drama and the Prakaraṇa, of Loka dharmī drama. In the latter there is greater human interest and hence is the modern cry for social dramas, dramas like the Mṛcchakaṭika. But Loka dharmī, left to itself works havoc. The modern age, all over the world, in the disregard of the heroic, the classic and the ideal and in its preference for the realistic and the social, has led literature to newspapery degeneration. Better example on the stage, to exalt and enthrall, is not favoured; in the world and in the world of the theatre, men delight to wallow in their own follies. Verbal humour, table chats, exchange of social ritualistic courtesies, sitting, standing, dining—these are put down as plays.

The emphasis upon speech was pointed out previously as a point of Loka dharmī in drama. For men naturally speak out and exhibit only so much action as is natural in life. It is only the dumb that enact every bit of thought that they have to convey. There is another aspect regarding speech where Bharata has secured complete similarity to the world. He has ruled that the characters should speak in accordance with their nature, position, culture, province, nationality, etc. The eighteenth Chapter of the Nāṭya Śāstra is devoted to consider this subject of character, speaking their natural languages. It is called Bhāṣāvidhāna. The Vidūṣaka, though he is a Brahmin, is uncultured and fallen and hence talks Prākṛta; the courtezan, though as a woman she has to speak Prākṛta, speaks Sanskrit, because she is highly cultured and has artistic attainments to her credit. The dialects of various parts of the country may even be introduced; for the drama is the imitation of Nature.

अथवा छन्दतः कार्या देशभाषा प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
नानादेशसमुत्थं हि काव्यं भवति नाटके ॥ N. S. XVIII. 34.

Having given a few details about the various local dialects, Bharata says, as he always says, that he can give only a few indicative details and that the artist must look to the world for his drama.

एवं भाषाविधानं तु कर्तव्यं नाटकाश्रयम् ।
अथ नोक्तं मया यच्च लोकाद् ग्राह्यं बुधैस्तु तत् ॥ N. S. XVIII. 48.

Thus this Bhāṣāvidhāna, a prominent emphasis on Realism, is another Loka dharmī of Bharata's stage.

The next emphasis on Realism is in the concept of Pravṛtti, given by Bharata as one of the eleven topics of the Nāṭya Śāstra. Pravṛtti is the way of the world, the way which varies with each province. Just as Bharata speaks of the necessity of provincial dialects in drama, so also he speaks of provincial manners. The dramatist has to be a man of vast worldly experience. His drama, dealing with the characters of many countries and provinces, must depict the provincial shades in the behaviour of these characters. Otherwise the characters lose their reality. Even the Sūtradhāra who is the producer, Bharata says, must be very well acquainted with all the manners and mannerisms of various people.

पृथिवीद्वीपवर्षाणां पर्वतानां जनस्य च ।
प्रमाणचरितज्ञश्च* * * * ॥
सूत्रधारलक्षणम् . N. S. XXXV. 48-49.

This realism is emphasised in the concept of Pravṛtti, which is a variety of the main concept of Realism called Loka dharmī. After dealing with a Nāṭya dharmī called Kakṣyāvibhāga, Bharata treats of this Pravṛtti in Chapter XIV, in section two.

"अत्राह—प्रवृत्तिरिति कस्मादिति ? उच्यते पृथिव्यां नानादेशवेषभाषाचारवार्ताः प्रवृत्तिः ।" p. 165. Kāśī edn.

He speaks of four main 'manners' or Pravṛttis—of the Southerners, of those Avanti, of the Pāñcāla people and of the people of the Orissa and Magadha regions. This fourfold classification is merely to indicate, and Bharata is the first to realise, that it is not exhaustive. He says : though Pravṛtti varies infinitely and is hence innumerable, four main or clearly distinguishable styles of it are given for the sake of explaining the concept. The case is similar to that of the two Rītis of Daṇḍin who says :—

अस्त्यनेको गिरां मार्गः सूक्ष्मभेदः परस्परम् ।
तत्र वैदर्भगौडीयौ वर्ण्येते प्रस्फुटान्तरौ ॥ K. Ā. I.40.

Bharata says of his four Pravṛttis :

"अत्राह—यथा पृथिव्यां बहवो देशाः सन्ति कथमासां चतुर्विधत्वमुपपन्नम् ? समानलक्षणश्चासां प्रयोग उच्यते ? सत्यमेतत् । समानलक्षणः प्रयोगः, किन्तु नानादेशवेषभाषाचारो लोक इति कृत्वा लोकानुमते अनुवृत्तिसंश्रितस्य नाट्यस्य मया चतुर्विधत्वमभिहितं भारती सात्त्वती कैशिकी आरभटी चेति । वृत्तिसंश्रितेष्वमीषु प्रयोगेषु अभिरता देशाः, यतः प्रवृत्तिचतुष्टयमभिनिवृत्तं प्रयोगश्चोत्पादितः ।"

Rājaśekhara summarises Bharata very clearly thus :

"चतुष्टयी गतिर्वृत्तीनां प्रवृत्तीनां च, देशानां पुनरानन्त्यम्, तत्कथमिव कात्स्न्येंन परिग्रहः" इत्याचार्याः । अनन्तानपि हि देशान् चतुर्धैव आकल्प्य कल्पयन्ति । p. 9, K. M. Gaek. edn.

Leaving the subtle differences, the major features can be emphasised and Bharata has accordingly classified the provincial manners into four main classes. The Dākṣiṇātyas or the Southerners are described as characterised by the Dākṣiṇātyapravṛtti

which denotes elegance, gaiety, delicacy and taste for music and other arts; their movements are very graceful.

"तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुनृत्तगीतवाद्याः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुर-ललिताङ्गाभिनयाश्च ।"

The chief southern country referred to is Vidarbha, the classic home of beauty in ancient India, the Country of the graceful Vaidarbhī style of poetry of Daṇḍin. Bharata means by southern countries the whole of the land lying between the Vindhyas and the southern ocean. The Draviḍas and the Āndhras are included. (Chap. XIV-Śl. 37-39.) In the end, Bharata, as usual, says that the dramatist and the actor should learn the rest from the world and reproduce according to the province and country.

येषु देशेषु या पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिः परिकीर्तिता ।
तद्वृत्तिकानि रूपाणि तेषु तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥ N. S. XIV. 54.

Another very important point of emphasis on Realism is in the concept of Prakṛti. Prakṛti by itself means 'Nature'. Bharata means by it 'nature of man' or 'character". The characters are divided into man, semidivine and epic heroes, and god. For imitation to be perfect, the dramatist and the actor must be ominiscient of the characters handled and personated. Of these three kinds of characters the epic semidivine men like the five Pāṇḍavas and the gods are described in the mythological books and the poems; the details laid down there have to be strictly followed. It is as regards the Prakṛti called 'Man' that we are concerned most. In it is the greatest emphasis on Loka dharmī. Among men themselves, there is infinite variety. Sex, Varṇa, Āśrama, culture, manners and a host of other conditions distinguish one human being from another. Broadly speaking, there is a threefold classification of men into the noble, the ordinary and the vulgar—उत्तम, मध्यम and अधम. These are further distinguished, each single individual himself at different times, by mood and mental condition. These intricate differences modify gait, speech and all other characteristics. The master dramatist and actor should have studied his characters most minutely.

भावो य उत्तमानां तु न तं मध्येषु योजयेत् ।
यो भावश्चैव मध्यानां न तं नीचेषु योजयेत् ॥ N. S. XXVI. 91,

In Tamil, the word 'Naḍai' meaning 'gait' means 'style' also. It is also closely related to the word meaning character and behaviour—'Naḍattai'. The very gait can loudly proclaim the nature of the man. The first impression of an actor is the best one and it is the appropriate gait as the actor makes his entrance which creates the proper impression. In Chapter XIII, Bharata speaks of this gait or Gati on the stage, according as it differs with each type of character.

स्थितं मध्यं द्रुतं चैव समवेक्ष्य लयत्रयम् ।
यथाप्रकृति नाट्यज्ञो गतिमेवं प्रयोजयेत् ॥
धैर्योपपन्ना गतिरुत्तमानां
मध्या गतिर्मध्यमसम्मतानाम् ।
द्रुता गतिश्च प्रचुराधमानां
लयत्रयं सत्त्ववशेन योज्यम् ॥ XIII. 12-13.

This distinction of gait refers to normal mental conditions. The change of mood affects these natural gaits and introduces further modifications.

अयं विधिस्तु कर्तव्यः स्वच्छन्दगमनं प्रति ।
सम्भ्रमोत्पातरोषेषु प्रमाणं न विधीयते ॥
सर्वासां प्रकृतीनां तु अवस्थान्तरसंश्रया ।
उत्तमाधममध्यानां गतिः कार्या प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ XIII. 29-30.

Nature of man and nature of his mental state affect or fashion his gait. The two will modify each other, character and emotion. The Uttama, even if he gets into anger, will have restraint and try to hide it where as a vulgar man, an Adhama, in passion, will swear and rashly do havoc all around.[1] The age,—childhood, youth, etc., forms another factor of differentiation; sex constitutes another factor, for in the same mood, a woman exhibits her feelings differently from man. Thus Aucitya or all round propriety or appropriateness is sought to be secured by Bharata. He says :

वयोऽनुरूपः प्रथमस्तु वेषः
वेषानुरूपश्च गतिप्रचारः ।

---

1. Compare Ānandavardhana's remarks in the section on Saṅghaṭanādhvani and वक्तृवाच्यौचित्य, in the third Uddyota.

गतिप्रचारानुगतं च पाठ्यं
पाठ्यानुरूपोऽभिनयश्च कार्यः ॥

N.S. XV. 68.

'Dress according to age; gait to suit that; speech in accordance with gait; and action in harmony with speech.'

It is the Sanskrit writer's way of studying character that is contained in the elaborate classification of Nāyaka and Nāyikā, upon which subject there is a big literature. Age or Vayas is one of the chief factors in the study of women in love. Bharata devotes Chapters XXIV and XXXIV to this subject.

Veṣa, dress or make-up, is comprehended to some extent in the above dealt with Pravṛtti. At the very outset, we pointed out that one of the chief differences between drama and dance is the absence of Āhārya-abhinaya in the latter. Āhārya refers also to every other stage-accessory, notably scenery (though mostly absent in Bharata and old Indian drama) arms, etc.[1] Dance omits all these and forms the climax of Nāṭya dharmī.

"—पारिशेष्यात् बहिरङ्ग आहार्य एव निवर्तनीयो भवति ।"

Kallinātha on the Saṅgītaratnākara, VII, p. 629, Ānanda. Edn.

Therefore the very fact of many persons personating the various characters, in appropriate dress, which distinguishes drama, emphasises Loka dharmī. Dress as such points to Realism. If imperfect action does not portray the character and convey the emotion properly, imperfect make-up also prevents Rasa-realisation. Says Abhinava that appropriate make-up is essential, for, without that, the spectator's sense of the drama as real is disturbed.

"आहार्यस्यापि धनुःप्रतिशीर्षकमुकुटादेः प्रत्यक्षबुद्धौ उपयोगेऽन्तरङ्गत्वं सूचयति ।"

Abhi. Bhā. VI, p. 270, Gaek. edn.

Hence it is that Bharata devotes one long Chapter to it, pointing out its importance in the opening verses :

आहार्याभिनयं विप्राः प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।
एवमेव प्रयोगोऽयं यतस्तास्मिन् प्रतिष्ठितः ॥

---

1 "वर्णाद्यनुक्रियाहार्यः बाह्यवस्तुनिमित्तकः । III. 153.

वर्णः श्वेतादिः । आदिशब्दात् रसगन्धकल्प-आयुध-वाहन-अङ्गाधिक्य-केश-नदी-नगर-वन-पक्षि-द्विपद-चतुष्पद-अपद-प्रासाद-पर्वतादेः ग्रहः ।

Rāmacandra, Nāṭyadarpaṇa, p. 191, Gaek, edn.

आहार्याभिनयो नाम ज्ञेयो नेपथ्यजो विधिः ।
तत्र कार्यः प्रयत्नस्तु नाट्यस्य शुभमिच्छता ॥

* * *

नाट्यस्येह त्वलङ्कारो नेपथ्यं संप्रकीर्तितम् ॥

N. S. XXIII. 1-3.

Characters differ and are in different moods and when they enter, they will be able to reveal themselves, their character and mood easily if they come in appropriate dress. Preceding as it does the appearance of action, dress will facilitate understanding.

नानावस्थाः प्रकृतयः पूर्व[वं]नेपथ्यसूचिकाः[ताः] ।
अङ्गादिभिरभिव्यक्तिमुपगच्छन्त्ययत्नतः ॥ *Ibid*. 4.

Bharata takes into account Avasthā or mental state, Deśa or country, Jāti or class (देशजातिसमुद्भवम्—Śl. 15). Bharata's Nepathya is of four kinds: Pusta, Alaṅkāra, Aṅgaracanā and Sañjīva: Mask, ornaments, painting of faces, images of animals, etc. Masks are of three kinds and of various sizes. Alaṅkāra includes dress, ornaments, garlands and other decorations. The colour of facial tint, varying according to nationality, province, etc., is elaborately described. Shaving, putting mustache and all other details of make-up should accord with province, character, position and age.

देशजातिविशेषेण देशानामपि कारयेत् ।
वेषं तथा चाभरणं क्षुरकर्मपरिच्छदम् ॥
अदेशजो हि वेषस्तु न शोभां जनयिष्यति ।
मेखलोरसि बन्धे च हास्यायैवोपजायते ॥

* * * *

एवं स्त्रीणां प्रयोक्तव्या देशावस्थासमुद्भवाः ॥ XXIII. 68-72.
वर्णानां तु विधिं ज्ञात्वा वयः प्रकृतिमेव च ।
कुर्यादङ्गस्य रचनां देशजातिवयःश्रिताम् ॥[1] XXIII. 88.

Of clothes appropriate to each character also, Bharata gives careful details. Having done with make-up rather elaborately he

---

1. Says Rāmacandra—
"अयं [आहार्यः] च देश-काल-कुल-प्रकृति-दशा-स्त्रीत्व-पुंस्त्व-षण्डत्वादौ [त्वौ] चित्यानुसारतो विधेय इति ।" N. D. p. 191, Gaek. edn.

ends by saying in his usual way that the actors must finally look to the world.

एवं नानाप्रकारैस्तु आयुधाभरणानि च ।
नोक्तानि च मया यानि लोकग्राह्याणि तान्यपि ॥

We have already spoken of appropriate gait as also of appropriate speech to some extent. We noted how Bharata laid down that characters should talk their natural language, Sanskrit or their own provincial dialects. In delivering this Sanskrit or Prākṛta speech from the stage, the actor must take care that his voice rises and falls, runs, slackens or stops in accordance with the current of emotion. It is very easy to sing but most difficult to speak effectively. 'How to speak on the stage' is the subject of the second section of the nineteenth Chapter of Bharata, called Pāṭhya Guṇas, qualities pertaining to speech. The Guṇas are six in number: the seven Svaras; the three Sthānas or places from which the sound arises, *viz.*, chest, throat and head; four Varṇas or accents, high or acute (Udātta) low (Anudātta), the third tone between the two (Svarita) and a modification of Svarita called Kampita which can be called shaking or tremor; two kinds of intonation or Kāku; six Alaṅkāras of the voice, high, higher, low, lower, fast and slow; and lastly six Aṅgas which are Stopping in the middle of utterances according to Bhāva, 'Full' or 'Filling utterance', Sentence-stop, Continuity of the utterance of the words in a sentence, Mounting up and coming down without being discordant. *See* Chapter XIX, pp. 221-226.[1]

The last point emphasised by Bharata in the verse quoted above (XV. 68) is appropriate Abhinaya : पाठ्यानुरूपोऽभिनयश्च कार्यः । As given by Bharata and his followers, Abhinaya or gestures for objects and feelings are many. One and the same object and feeling may have more than one symbol and gesture. This is understandable for there are so many aspects to a thing and to a mental mood. But just as there are no synonyms in language,

1. Rājaśekhara K. M., pp. 30—31. "यतो नाटकादावीश्वरादीनां देवानां च प्रवेशे तच्छायावन्ति वाक्यानि विधेयानि इति दिव्यम् । etc." Besides appropriate speaking of the text, the text itself, in various places should have been written according to the character; just as women and fallen Brahmins talk Prākṛta, its appropriate manner of phrasing and chosing words must be adopted by each character.

there are no synonyms in the language of gesture also. Speaking generally in drama as well as dance, the gestures have to be graceful and beautiful; the more decent and charming aspect of a thing should be taken while creating a gesture-symbol, except in cases of abuse, satire and loathing, when one must emphasise the other aspect.

> अर्थस्यैकस्य भूयांसः सम्भवन्ति यदा कराः ।
> शोभाकारी तापा[दा] तत्र करः कार्यः प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥

Bharata—quoted by Kallinātha: S.R. Vyā: p. 665.

In Abhinaya also, the factor of sex makes for some distinction. Man's anger and way of rebuke must be rendered not by the same gesture as in the case of woman. The actions of woman are all modified by a permanent quality of softness and delicacy where as those of man are always marked by vigour. Says Bharata:

> धैर्यलीलाङ्गसंपन्नं पुरुषाणां विचेष्टितम् ।
> मृदुलीलाङ्गहारैश्च स्त्रीणां कार्यं तु चेष्टितम् ॥
> करपादाङ्गसञ्चारः स्त्रीणां तु ललितो भवेत् ।
> सधीरश्चोद्धतश्चैव पुरुषाणां प्रकीर्तितः ॥ XXVI. 56-47.
> सर्वे तु ललिता भावाः स्त्रीणां कार्याः प्रयोगतः ।
> धैर्यमाधुर्यसंपन्नाः भावाः कार्यास्तु पौरुषाः ॥" ,, 63.

In the same sex, there is difference of character, notably the difference between an Udātta and an Uddhata, a sublime and sweet temparament and a violent and hot one. The actions of the former character which can be seen in Mahāpuruṣas like Rāma will always be subdued and mellowed in expression whereas those of the latter which can be seen in such characters as Bhīma will be very vehement and loud. Even the exhibition of love by the Uddhatas like the Rākṣasas will be terrible, as remarks Bharata under the Raudra Rasa:

> शृङ्गारश्च तैः प्रायशः प्रसभं सेव्यते ।

VI. 78, p. 323, Gaek. edn.

Even the fury of an Udātta will be modified by his natural sweetness, Mādhurya, which is defined as क्रोधादावप्यतीव्रता.

> सर्वावस्थांविशेषेषु दीप्तेषु ललितेषु च ।
> अनुल्बणत्वं चेष्टायां माधुर्यमिति कीर्तितम् ॥ Bharata, XXIV. 27.

This Prakṛiti-aucitya in Abhinaya will be further modified by the emotional context. One gesture of rebuke cannot be good or appropriate in all situations. The rebuke in love differs from the rebuke between two fighters. As pointed out above, when one is laughed at, the aspects of his nature which will receive emphasis differ. Words are approximate labels on a huge bundle of ideas and every time we say a word, we do not refer to exactly the same set of ideas. Action and gesture must be done with a careful eye on appropriateness (Aucitya) to character (Prakṛti) and condition of emotion (Avasthā).

The concept of Prakṛti is found in Aristotle's Rhetoric, where the subject is studied in connection with the persuasive speech of the orator. His language, Aristotle says, should be appropriate to the different kinds of subjects. Aristotle divides people here into various classes, conditions, habits of life, stages, etc. In an earlier part of his Rhetoric, Aristotle, while analysing the 'passions', speaks of the many classes and sub-classes of men and women, each class and sub-class having its own characteristic which, the orator aiming at persuasion, ought to know. Here Aristotle uses two words "disposition" and "condition", in much the same sense as Bharata uses Prakṛti. Aristotle says :

"Let us next go over in detail the *dispositions* of men; considering of what kind of a turn they are, in reference to their *passions, habits, ages* and *fortunes.*

"I call anger, lust and the like by the name *passions;* * * By the name *habits,* I designate virtures and vices; * * * And the *ages* are youth, prime and old age. By *fortune* I mean high birth and wealth and abilities and their opposites and in one word, good and bad fortune."

In Chapters XII—XVII, Aristotle explains these 'dispositions' and points out that the orator must word his speech in the disposition of the subject. In the next section on the means of persuasion where Aristotle speaks of style and the figures (Chapter VII), he again says: "But moreover, this mode of showing by means of signs is expressive of character; because, on every *condition* and *habit* of life is consequent a language suited to it. I use the expression *condition,* in reference to the *stage* of life; as youth, manhood or age; and (to the sex) as man or woman; and (to nation) as Lacedæmonians or Thessalians. I mean by *habits* those confirmably to which one is of a certain

character in life; * * * * *
if then one expresses himself in the language appropriate to the habit, he will produce the effect of being characteristic; for a rustic and a man of eduction will express themselves neither in the same words, nor in the same manner."

Not only the speech (Pāṭhya) but the Dhruvā songs also have to be composed according to Prakṛti, Deśa, Kāla, Vayas and Avasthā. Says Bharata:

देशं कालमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा योज्या सदा [ध्रुवा] बुधैः । 369
उत्तमाधममध्या तु त्रिविधा प्रकृतिः स्मृात । 371.
शिशुयौवनऋद्धत्वं वयश्चैव प्रकीर्तितम् । 372.
अवस्था चैव विज्ञेया सुखदुःखकृता तथा । 373

N. S. XXXII. 368—374.

Ānandavardhana treats of this same subject of Prakṛtyaucitya in Uddyota III., pp. 145-147. These three pages of the Dhvanyāloka. are practically a resume of the relevant portions of the Nāṭya Śāstra. To the varieties of Prakṛti in human world, *i. e.*, in the sub-class of Mānuṣī Prakṛti, Bharata again devotes a whole chapter in the end. Chapter 34 deals with three classes of men, Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama, similar classification of women and the sub-classes of these. Thus Bharata reverts to this concept of Prakṛti often and often. It is the main concept which emphasises comprehensively Loka dharmī, standing as it does to connote 'Nature' and features obtaining in the world, of which drama is a representation, Anukīrtana. If Bharata had not emphasised Sādṛśya or similarity to nature, he need not have elaborately dealt with the various elements above dealt with. More than once he says: characters differ in conduct; on it is Nāṭya based.

नानाशीलाः प्रकृतयः शीले नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् । XXVI. 119.

We pointed out at the outset how, compared to Drama, Dance (Nṛtya) is a form revelling in Nāṭya dharmī. The actors are reduced to one individual and greatest possible scope for Hasta-abhinaya has been given in Dance. It is often said that Indian Dance is highly conventional having a set of fixed hand-gestures, which lay writers call Mudrās. The reference is to Hasta-abhinaya, interpretation of objects and ideas by a series of suggestive symbols of the dancer's hand. The hand-symbols are of the single hand (Asaṁyuta) and of both the hands (Saṁyuta).

While certain writers stop with calling these conventional, others who take much less trouble to understand art and expect it to reveal itself in spite of their own unwillingness to try to understand it, cry these down as arbitrary and meaningless. If they have the patience to study the Hasta-abhinayas carefully and with interest, they will find that they are least conventional and that they are based upon nature. They derive life from the fact of being based upon nature. The same artistic principle of symbolic suggestion or Dhvani, propounded in connection with Rasa, is applicable here also. Therefore, in the midst of Nāṭya dharmī, there is Loka dharmī; the former is the latter taken up in art and beautified.

The Hastas given by Bharata in chapter nine are not sheer inventions or arbitrary formulæ. Each gesture of hand suggests the objects for which it has been given as the symbol, because it does indicate those objects, as can be seen and verified by studying the objects in the world. Thus the Ardha-candra hand cuts the very graceful sickle shape of the half-moon and hence is used to suggest the half-moon on God Śiva's head or in the sky. It is because damsels set their hair in order in life by both of their hands in Ardha-candra shape that Bharata gives Ardha-candra (of double—Saṁyuta) hand as the Abhinaya for ladies doing their hair:

एतेन पुनः स्त्रीणां केशानां सङ्ग्रहोत्कर्षौ । N. S. IX. 41.

If Bharata says that the first hand 'Patākā' is to be used for slapping, it is because we slap in the world with the palm flattened, fingers close and stretched, and the thumb slightly bent and close at its own place which is the description of Patākā hasta. This hand is called Patākā or flag because when this hand is bent at the wrist perpendicular to the forearm, we see clearly the similarity to a flag. The language of hand-gesture has been enriched vastly in later times and the life-giving principle regarding these Hastas is that they are directly derived from Nature. When a tiger is gestured, the danseuse in the Nautch, with the appropriate and accompanying expression of fierceness in her eyes, gives a tiger's jump to her limbs and stretches out her two hands with the fingers separated and bent into curved claws. When one understands this secret and soul of Hasta-abhinaya, and is a master of the emotions endowed with a keen sense of Aucitya or appropriateness to place, time, idea, the form

of art and the nature of the individual concerned, he becomes a master of Hastas. He can invent suitable symbols for any new idea that may confront him. Bharata gave a few Hastas and others that followed him some more, only to indicate; the world has to be studied and the artist must enrich himself with Abhinayas for other objects and ideas. Bharata lays this down clearly and gives the means to create new symbols when an artist comes upon new objects and ideas.

"अभिनयकरा ये त्विह ते ह्यत्राप्यर्थतः साध्याः ॥
आकृत्या चेष्टया चिह्नैः जात्या विज्ञाय तत्पुनः ।
स्वयं वितर्कात् कर्तव्यं हस्ताभिनयनं बुधैः ॥
नास्ति कश्चित् तथा हस्तो नाट्यार्थाभिनयं प्रति ।
यस्य यद् दृश्यते रूपं बहुशस्तन्मयोदितम् ॥
अन्ये चाप्यर्थसंयुक्ताः लौकिका ये करास्त्विह ।
छन्दतस्ते नियोक्तव्याः रसभावविचेष्टितैः ॥
देशं कालं प्रयोगं च अर्थयुक्तिमवेक्ष्य च ।
हस्ता ह्येते प्रयोक्तव्याः स्त्रीणां नृणां विशेषतः ॥

N.S. IX, 151-5.

New symbols are created by observing the *shape*, the characteristic *action* of a being, the characteristic *mark*, and by the nature of the *class* to which the being or object belongs. This will make the whole technique of what is called Indian classic dance as having its chief characteristic in Hasta-abhinaya, popularly called Mudrās, easily intelligible and most intelligent.

Thus, for Nāṭya which is Loka-anukṛti, imitation of the world, the world is the foundation. Therefore only a few rules can be indicated; exhaustive canons are not given by Bharata; they are impossible and even bad. Bharata refers us to the world at every step. He has paid greatest possible respect to Nature. He had the full understanding of what Oscar Wylde calls 'Health in art' which is " the artist's recognition of the limitations of the form in which he works ", " the honour and homage which he gives to the material he uses."[1] Side by side with his Nāṭya dharmī born of the limitations of the form and of artistic idealisation, Bharata lays emphasis on Loka dharmī which perfects

---

1. The English Renaissance of Art.

Anukaraṇa or Imitation as much as possible and tries to secure maximum similarity, Sādṛśya. He says. "What I have not said here, must be taken from the world; therefore, the world is the authority or 'proof' for dramatic presentation; therefore the world must be made the source, the proof, the authority and the measure for valuation of success by those doing Nāṭya."

"एतेऽभिनयविशेषाः कर्तव्याः सत्त्वभावयुक्ताः स्युः ।
अन्येऽपि लौकिका ये ते सर्वे लोकतः साध्याः ॥
नानाविधैर्यथा पुष्पैः माल्यं ग्रथ्नाति माल्यकृत् ।
अङ्गोपाङ्गरसैर्भावैः तथा नाट्यं प्रयोजयेत् ॥

....

एवमेते मया प्रोक्ताः वागङ्गाभिनयाः क्रमात् ।
नोक्ता ये च मया तत्र लोकात् ग्राह्यास्तु ते बुधैः ॥
लोको वेदास्तथाध्यात्म प्रमाणं त्रिविधं स्मृतम् ।

....

लोकसिद्धं भवेत् सिद्धं नाट्यं लोकस्वभावजम् ।
तस्मान्नाट्यप्रयोगे तु प्रमाणं लोक इष्यते ॥

....

न हि शक्यं हि लोकस्य स्थावरस्य चरस्य च ।
शास्त्रेण निर्णयं कर्तुं भावचेष्टाविधिं प्रति ॥
नानाशीलाः प्रकृतयः शीले नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
तस्माल्लोकः प्रमाणं हि कर्तव्यं नाट्ययोक्तृभिः ॥

N. S. XXVI, 108-120.

SUMANTU DHARMASŪTRA

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D.,

Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit,

University of Madras.

The name of Sumantu, as an authority on Dharma appears first in the work of Paiṭhīnasi, a Dharmasūtrakāra, whose work is no longer extant. The citation from Paiṭhīnasi is as follows :—

सुमन्तुः कश्यपो बभ्रुः पैठीनो व्याघ्र एव च ।

....

इति धर्मप्रणेतारः षट्त्रिंशदृषयः स्मृताः ॥[1]

Mādhava refers in his Parāśara Mādhavīya to the Aśvamedhaparvan of the Mahābhārata where Sumantu is regarded as one of the oldest Smartās. The same passage, with few alterations appears in the Vṛddha Gautamasmṛti also. In the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa Sumantu is referred to as a Smartā in the following passage :—

सौमन्ता जैमिनीयाश्च पुलस्त्यस्य महात्मनः ।[2]

The Bhāgavata purāṇa refers to Sumantu as a son of Jaimini[3] and as one of the promulgators of the Atharva Veda.[4] The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata gives us the additional information that Sumantu was one of the pupils of Vyāsa.

On the other hand Yājñavalkya who mentions several writers on Smṛti does not refer to Sumantu. Similarly Śaṅkha who gives a list of writers on Smṛti does not mention Sumantu.[5] In one of the citations which is given below, Sumantu is seen to

---

1. Smṛticandrikā, Saṁskāra p. 2.
   Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 108.
2. Chapter 146.
3. Skandha XII-vi-75.
4. Skandha XII-vii-1.
5. Smṛticandrikā, Saṁskāra p. 2.

refer to Aṅgiras. This is in agreement with the extract from Aṅgiras found in the Smṛticandrikā[1] where the name of Sumantu does not occur. In another of the verses of Sumantu, quoted by Aparārka[2] and others, Sumantu is seen referring to Śaṅkha also and this too is in agreement with the omission of Sumantu in Śaṅkha's list. From these it is possible to infer that Sumantu was a comparatively old writer but later than Yājñavalkya and others.

The earliest digest (*i.e.*) that of Viśvarūpa quotes profusely from Sumantu and from that date to the 19th century we find several writers extracting from Sumantu. The citations are prose passages some times and metrical stanzas, mostly in the anuṣṭup. The metrical citations have not been referred to in the following pages.

A prose work called Sumantu Dharmasūtra is deposited in the G. O. Mss. Library,[3] Madras, and many of the prose citations in the name of Sumantu in Dharmaśāstra nibandhas are found in this work. There are a few that could not be traced. In the following passages the text of the Sumantu Dharmasūtra as found in the ms. is given with footnotes indicating the differences in the reading of the sūtras as found in nibandhas. Such of the prose citations as are not found in the ms. but which are cited in digests on Dharmaśāstra are given in an appendix.

---

1. Saṁskāra, p. 2.
2. Aparāka, I, 223.
3. R. No. 3457.

॥ सुमन्तुधर्मसूत्रम् ॥

अथातः सुमन्तुधर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ १ ॥

धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च ॥ २ ॥

वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराणकुलगणजातिदेशपाषण्डाश्रमश्रोत्रियधर्मकर्मव्यवस्था-प्रवर्तकानामेतेषां तु धर्मकर्मव्यभिचारात् संस्कारो न भवति ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात्तन्निवृत्त्यर्थमिदं शास्त्रं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ ४ ॥

ब्राह्मणक्षत्त्रियवैश्यानां प्रवृत्तिकानां गर्भाधानपुंसवनसीमन्तोन्नयनजातकर्म-नामकरणोपनिष्क्रामणान्नप्राशनचौलोपनयनव्रतचर्याध्ययनसमावर्तनविवाहयज्ञदाना-दीनि[1] ॥ ५ ॥

यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनप्रदानप्रतिग्रहं चेति ब्राह्मणवृत्तिः ॥ ६ ॥

यजनमध्ययनं प्रजापालनं [चेति[2]] वृत्तिः राजन्यस्य ॥ ७ ॥

यजनमध्ययनं दानं कृषिः पशुपालनं वाणिज्यानि पोषणं प्रश्वि [?] प्रयोगश्चेति वैश्यस्य ॥ ८ ॥

त्रयाणां वर्णानां शुश्रूषेति शूद्रस्य ॥ ९ ॥

दशैकादशद्वाशरात्रयः ब्राह्मणक्षत्त्रियवैश्यानां मरणेष्वाशौचम् ॥ १० ॥

न शूद्रस्याधिकारो न प्रतिषेधः ॥ ११ ॥

स्त्री [?] दशाहोरात्रमित्येके ॥ १२ ॥

प्रतिभूतं तु यः शूद्रो ब्राह्मणो ज्ञानदुर्बलः ।
नीयन्तमनुगच्छेत त्रिरात्रमशुचिर्भवेत् ॥ १३ ॥

त्रिरात्रे तु ततः पूर्णे नदीं गत्वा समुद्रगाम् ।
प्राणायामशतं कृत्वा घृतं प्राश्य विशुध्यति ॥ १४ ॥

विनिवृत्ता यदा शूद्रा उदकान्त उपस्पृशाः ।
तदा पश्यन्ति ये विप्रा इति धर्मविदोऽब्रुवन् ॥ १४ ॥

---

1. ब्राह्मणक्षत्त्रियवैश्यानां गर्भाधानसीमन्तोन्नयनजातकर्मनामकरणान्नप्राशनचूडो-पनयनव्रतचर्याध्ययनसमावर्तनविवाहयज्ञदानानि समानानि ।
Vīramitrodaya Saṁskāra Prakāśa, p. 134.

2. The words within brackets are omitted in the ms.

चण्डालैश्च[श्चैव] गोभिश्च विप्रैरात्महतस्य च ।
न विधिर्न च संस्कारो नाशौचं नोदकक्रिया ॥ १६ ॥

भृग्वग्निजलसंग्रामेषु देशान्तरिते नाशकेऽन्त्यजातगोब्राह्मणगुर्वर्थहतानां सद्यः शौचम् ॥ १७ ॥[1]

अनुदकमूत्रपुरीषकरणके रुधिरप्राशने च एकरात्रोपवासश्च घृतकुशहिरण्योदकप्राशनं च ॥ १८ ॥[2]

गर्भमासतुल्यानि गर्भस्रंसने शुद्धिः ॥ १९ ॥

त्रिवर्षादूर्ध्वं संस्कारादर्वाग्वर्षप्रमाणमाशौचं दीक्षितऋत्विग्ब्रह्मचारिणः अशौचम् [?] ॥ २० ॥

लशुनं जनपलण्डुकुम्भीकः [?] श्राद्धसूतकाः ॥ २१ ॥[3]

न मधुमांसमूत्रपुरीषरेतोऽमेध्यभक्षणे गायत्र्यष्टसहस्रं जपेत् ॥ २२ ॥

प्रभोजनाद्यरञ्जी [?] अपिक्षी [?] प्रतिषिद्धभोजने ॥ २३ ॥

तथान्नपानेऽपि च ॥ २४ ॥

---

1. Aparārka reads this sūtra :—

भृग्वग्निजलसंग्रामदेशान्तरसंस्थसंन्यास्यनशनाशनिमहाध्वनिकानां उदकक्रिया कार्या सद्यः शौचं भवति । III, 21.

Hāralatā too reads in the same way with this difference—संन्यास्यनशनि—p. 115.

The reading in the Gadādharapaddhati is :—

अग्निजलसंग्रामदेशान्तरस्थसन्यास्यनमहाध्वनिकानाम् उदकदानं कार्यम् ।

Kālasāra, p. 312.

2. Another reading is :—

अनुदकमूत्रपुरीषकरणे नखकेशरुधिरप्राशने सद्यः स्नानं घृतकुशहिरण्योदकप्राशनं च । Vīramitrodaya, Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 213.

Gadādharapaddhati—Ācārasāra, p. 244.

Aparārka reads as in the Vīramitrodaya but omits अनु. . .रणे III, 289.

3. Aparārka reads :—

लशुनपलाण्डुगृञ्जनकुम्भीकश्राद्धसूतिकाभोज्यान्नमधुमांसमूत्ररेतोऽमेध्याभक्ष्यभक्षणे सावित्र्यष्टसहस्रं मूर्ध्नि संपातानावयेत् । III, 289.

Mādhava reads :—

लशुनपलाण्डुगृञ्जनभक्षणे सावित्र्यष्टसहस्रेण मूर्ध्नि संपातान्नयेत् ॥

Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 402.

मृतसूतकयोः प्रवृत्तेऽपि च वातकोपमे द्विजस्य गायत्र्यष्टसहस्रं जपेत् ॥ २५ ॥

श्ववानरसिंहमूषिकप्रवगसृगालनखदंष्ट्रानाम [?] भारिवार्धुषिकतस्कराणां भिन्नभाजनभिन्नभाण्डभक्तानां भोजने प्राजापत्यम् आपोहिष्ठीभिः स्नानं प्राणायामत्रयं च गायत्र्यष्टसहस्रं च ॥ २६ ॥

अथ कनकमणिरजतशङ्खशुक्त्यब्दोपलानां त्रिः परिमार्जनं शुद्धिः ॥२७॥

वस्त्रविदलरज्जुविदलचर्मणाम् अद्भिः प्रक्षालनं प्रोक्षणं च ॥ २८ ॥

भूम्यस्थिकाष्ठानां तक्षणम् ॥ २९ ॥

मृत्पात्राणामग्निनोत्तापनम् ॥ ३० ॥

चण्डालसूतिकपतितोदक्याशवस्पर्शने त्यागः ॥ ३२ ॥

सीसकत्रपुकांस्यताम्ररूप्यानामुदकभस्मभिः परिमार्जनं शुद्धिः ॥ ३२ ॥

गोपलैः [?] पत्रफलानां रज्जुपुष्पाणाम् अद्भिरेव ॥ ३३ ॥

एकशफाष्टसन्धीनां क्षीरप्राशने गोमहिषाजाविकानाम् अनिर्देहप्राशने त्रिरात्रं त्रिषवणस्नानं च ॥ ३४ ॥

कलविङ्कप्लव [?] चक्रवाकहंसचाषभासक्रौञ्चक्रूरकाककङ्कगृध्रश्येनवलौकमल्गुटिट्टिभखञ्जरीटोलूकरक्तपादादिमांसभक्षणे वधे च गायत्र्यष्टसहस्रं जपेत् ॥ ३५ ॥

गोघ्नस्य सशिखं वपनं सचेलोपगाहनं पञ्चगव्यप्राशनं गोष्ठे शयनं च दशरात्रमुदकतर्पणमुपस्पर्शनं गवामनुगमनं च । ऋषभैकादश गावो दक्षिणा ॥ ३६ ॥[1]

सृगालनकुलमार्जारमयूरखरमतङ्गकुञ्जराणां वधे प्राजापत्यं चरेत् । हिरण्यं दक्षिणा ॥ ३७ ॥

सर्पवराहमण्डूकवधे यथासङ्ख्यं लोहदण्डं घृतकुम्भं पलालभारम् ॥ ३८ ॥

गोधाशलभशल्यकमत्स्यकूर्मशिशुमाराणां वधे प्राजापत्यं चरेत् ॥ ३९ ॥

---

1. Viśvarūpa reads:—

गोघ्नस्य गोष्ठे शयनं द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्यभोजनं गवामनुगमनं च ।
III, 265.

Aparārka reads :—

गोघ्नस्य गोप्रदानं द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्यप्राशनम् उदकतर्पणोपस्पर्शने गवामनुगमनं च । III, 265.

यूकमत्कुणपूतीकलिथमातृवाहकशजल्ककण्डूषवाहकानां वधे प्राणायाम एकः ॥ ४० ॥[1]

अशुच्यवेक्षणे सूर्यदर्शनम् ॥ ४१ ॥

श्वपाकसंभावेषु एषणे ब्राह्मण्यादिव्यवहारः ॥ ४२ ॥

बिडालनकुलकाकानां तूच्छिष्टभक्षणे त्रिरात्रोपवासः ॥ ४३ ॥

विड्वराहकपिकाकगोमायूनां पुरीषभक्षणे चान्द्रायणेन शुद्धिः ॥ ४४ ॥

असनोत्र[?]शवस्पर्शने कृच्छ्रपादः ॥ ४५ ॥

अगम्यागमने स्त्रीवधचाण्डालसंयोगेषु कृच्छ्रत्रयं षष्टिं गवां दद्यात् ॥४६॥

उक्त्वेन सादे छेदे [?] स्पर्शनदर्शनेषु मांसभैक्षाहारः स्नानं त्रिषवणं च धेनुर्दक्षिणा ॥ ४७ ॥

मातृष्वसृस्नुषाभगिनीभागिनेयीचण्डालीनामभिगमने तप्तकृच्छ्रं गोसहस्रं दद्यात् ॥ ४८ ॥

मातुलसुतामातृष्वसृगोत्रापौ [?] समानेष्टायां [?] विवाह्य चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ ४९ ॥[2]

गोब्राह्मणशरीरे रुधिरमुत्पाद्य उदकवासं कुर्यात् ॥ ५० ॥

उष्ट्रयानं समारुह्य खरयानं सकामतः ।

स्नात्वा च विप्रो दिग्वासाः प्राणायामेन शुध्यति ॥ ५१ ॥

---

1. Aparārka reads :—

यूकामषकमक्षिकामत्कुणपूतिकीटमातृवाहकजलौकगण्डूपदादीनाम् अन्येषां वानस्थिमतां वधे प्राणायामः । अस्थिमतां वधे पणो देयः । वृक्षादीनां छेदने ऋचां शतं जप्यम् । III, 276.

2. Aparārka reads :—

मातुलसुतां पैतृष्वसेयीं समानार्षगोत्रां च चान्द्रायणं चरेत् । परित्यज्यैनां बिभृयात् । I, 53.

Mādhava reads :—

पितृष्वसृसुतां मातुलसुतां मातृसगोत्रां समानार्षेयीं च विवाह्य चान्द्रायणं चरेत् । परित्यज्य चैनां बिभृयात् । Vol. II, pt. i, p. 337.

Mitramiśra reads as Mādhava does, but omits मातृसगोत्रां (Yānjñ. Vyā.) p. 112, C. S. S.

The same writer reads in the Vīramitrodaya as follows:—

पितृष्वसृसुतां मातृष्वसृसुतां मातृसगोत्रां तथैव च समानप्रवरां विवाह्य चान्द्रायणं चरेत् । Saṁskāra Pra., p. 683 and 715.

ब्रह्महसुरापसुवर्णस्तेयगुरुतल्पगानां महापातकिनां वक्ष्यमाणः ॥ ५२ ॥[1]

ब्रह्महा द्वादश वर्षाणि कृच्छ्रं चरेत् । अधश्शायी स्वकर्माचक्षाणो भिक्षाहारो दिव्यनदीपुलिनसङ्गमेऽष्टाश्रमपर्वतप्रस्रवणतपोवनविहारी स्यात् । द्वादशवर्षेषु पूर्णेषु हिरण्यमणिगोवृषतिलभूमिसर्पींषि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दद्यात् पूतो भवति । तेषामेवाश्वमेधावभृथस्नानेन वा सद्यः शौचमिच्छति ॥ ५३ ॥[2]

सुरापस्य समुद्रादुद्धृतस्नानं गायत्र्याः शतसाहस्रं वा तेनाभिमन्त्र्य शिरसि गोसहस्रं दद्यात् पूतो भवति ॥ ५४ ॥[3]

---

1. Viśvarūpa reads :—

ब्रह्महसुरापगुरुतल्पगसुवर्णस्तेयिनां महापातकिनां वक्ष्यामः प्रायश्चित्तम् ।

III, 237.

2. Viśvarūpa reads :—

ब्रह्महा संवत्सरं कृच्छ्रं चरेत् अधश्शायी [1]स्वकर्माचक्षाणो भैक्षाहारो दिव्यनदीपुलिनशायी[2] सद्ग्रामाश्रमगोष्ठपर्वतप्रस्रवणतपोवनविहारी स्यात्[3] संवत्सरे पूर्णे हिरण्यमणिगोवृषान्नतिल[4]भूमिसर्पींषि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्त्वा[5] पूतो भवति अश्वमेधावभृथस्नानेन वा सद्यः । *

III, 237.

After this sūtra Viśvarūpa adds :—

यश्चैतैः सह यौनमुख्यब्राह्मणानां संबन्धानामन्यतमेन संपर्कं कुर्यात् तस्याप्येतदेव प्रायश्चितं विदध्यात् ।

III, 257.

3. Viśvarūpa reads :—

सुरापस्य प्रायश्चित्तं षण्मासं वृतसमुद्रोकैः स्नानं सावित्र्या दशसहस्रसंपातः शिरस्यन्ते सान्तपनं सर्वकृच्छ्रेण शुद्धो भवति ।

III, 250.

Aparāka and Mādhava read :—

ब्राह्मणस्य सुरापस्य षण्मासानुद्धृतसमुद्रोदकस्नानम् । सावित्र्यष्टसहस्रं जुहुयात् प्रत्यहं त्रिरात्रमुपवासः तप्तकृच्छ्रेण च पूतो भवति अश्वमेधावभृथस्नानेन ।

Aparārka, III, 254.
Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. ii, p. 83.

---

*Mādhava has the following differences :—

Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. ii, p. 72.

१. कर्मावेदको

२. omit शायी

३. add स्थानवीरासनी

४. गोधान्यतिल

५. ददन्

सुवर्णस्तेयी तु गायत्र्याः शतसहस्रम् आज्याहुतीर्हुत्वा दशरात्रमुपवासश्च तैः सह वसतिमाप्नोति ॥ ५५ ॥[1]

गुरुदाराभिगामी संवत्सरचारी कण्टकिनीं शाखां परिष्वज्य स्वकर्माचक्षाणो भैक्षाहारः सर्वस्वं दद्यात् ॥ ५६ ॥[2]

अथ सव्रणं शिश्नं परिवास्याञ्जलावाधायोत्तराभिमुखोत्यैप्सतो [?] भवति । एभिः संबन्धं नः कुर्या [?] बन्धानामन्यतमेन वा तस्याप्येतदेव ॥ ५७ ॥

क्षीरक्षारलवणविक्रये कृच्छ्रद्वयं घृततिलतैलपत्रपुष्पमूलफलकेशगुरक्तवस्त्रपक्वान्नविक्रये प्राजापत्यं चरेत् ॥ ५८ ॥

अशुचि वसुतिलोपजीवी चाकचाम्मीक [?] पूर्वारस्वर्णकारलेख्याकारगुणकगणिकान्नानि चाभोज्यानि ॥ ५९ ॥[3]

---

1. Viśvarūpa reads :—

सुवर्णस्तेयी मासं सवित्र्याष्टसहस्रमाज्याहुतीनां जुहुयात् । सर्वकृच्छ्रेण च पूतो भवति । III, 257.

Aparārka reads :—

सुवर्णस्तेयी मासं गायत्र्यष्टशतमाज्याहुतीः जुहुयात् प्रत्यहं त्रिरात्रमुपवासः । तप्तकृच्छ्रेण च पूतो भवति । अश्वमेधावभृथस्नानेन वा । III, 258

In another place :—

सुवर्णस्तेयी द्वादशरात्रं वायुभक्षो भवति । III, 258.

2. Aparārka reads :—

गुरुदारगामी संवत्सरं कण्टकशिखां परिष्वज्याधश्शायी त्रिषवणी स्वकर्माचक्षाणो भिक्षाहारः पूतो भवति अश्वमेधावभृथस्नानेन वा । III, 260.

Mādhava adopts Aparārka's reading with the following differences:—

गुरुदारगामी...कण्टकिनः शाखां...त्रिषवणो भैक्षा...भवतीति...वा.

Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II pt. i, p., 338—9.

Madanapārijāta reads :—

अथ वा गुरुदाराभिगामी सवत्सरं कण्टकिनीं शाखां परिष्वज्याधश्शायी त्रिषवणी भैक्षाहारः पूतो भवति । p. 840.

3. Aparārka reads :—

अभिशस्तपतितपौनर्भवभ्रूणहपुंश्चल्यशुचिशस्त्रकारतैलिकचाक्रिकध्वजिकसुवर्णकारलेख्यकपण्डकबन्धकीगणगणिकान्नानि चाभोज्यानि । सौकरिव्याधनिषादवरुटचर्मकारा अभोज्यान्ना अप्रतिग्राह्याः तदशनप्रतिग्रहयोः चान्द्रायणं चरेत् । III, 286

Hemādri reads in the same way but omits तदशन- . . . चरत् ।

Pari. I, p. 477.

केशकीटयुतघ्रातवाससाहतश्च ॥ ६० ॥

चण्डालप्रेक्षितं ग्राससंसृष्टं चाभोज्यम् ॥ ६१ ॥

अथ तस्करकीकपाजविक्रयी पाषण्डगणगणिकाप्रेष्यपरिविण्णपरिवेत्तृअग्रेदिधिषुपर्याहितधेनुपुनर्भवान्धबधिरवारणक्लीबाभिशस्तावकीर्णिवार्धुषिककारुगायककूटसाक्षिस्तेयीवृषलीपत्यहुताशिनो विसृष्टानि [?] सोमविक्रयी कुण्डगोलकाशियन्त्रकास्कान्धवृषुदुकीटश्वश्वापदआपणीशिलोपजीवीवादित्रनृत्तगानोपजीवी संवत्सरमहापथिकाश्मकूटश्च विक्रमीणामेकनकप्राशने याचित [?] त्रिरात्रं त्रिषवणं चैके नैके दिवसाधिकः कृच्छ्रम् ॥ ६२ ॥

सलिलक्षीरघृतान्युष्णान्युपवासश्चेति तप्तकृच्छ्रम् ॥ ६३ ॥

वायुभक्षा द्वादशरात्रं वराकः गोमूत्रगोमयक्षीरदधिसर्पिःकुशोदकान्येकरात्रोपवासश्चेति सान्तपनम् ॥ ६४ ॥

संपरो [?] कृच्छ्रचन्द्रमसो गत्या [?] वृद्धयुच [?] ययोनश्चेति चान्द्रायणम् ॥

बयश्शरीरकर्मबलाद्यपेक्ष्य प्रायश्चित्तानि विदध्यात् ॥ ६६ ॥

एवं कुर्वाणो ब्राह्मणः सायुज्यं गच्छति सुमन्तोः सुगन्तोरिति ॥ ६७ ॥

॥ इति सुमन्तुस्मृतिः समाप्ता ॥

APPENDIX.

The following are some of the sūtras that are attributed to Sumantu but are not found in the ms. copy of Sumantu Dharmaṣūtra, now discovered. They are classified according to the subject they deal with :—

Ācāra.

लशुनपलाशकुम्भीनवश्राद्धसूतिकामधुमांसमूत्ररेतोऽमेध्यभक्षणे मूर्ध्नि संपातानवनयेदुपवासश्च । एतान्येव व्याधितस्य भिषक्क्रियायामनिषिद्धानि भवन्ति यानि चान्यान्येवंप्रकाराणि ॥[1]

Mādhava slightly differs from Aparārka thus :—

अभि. . .सुवर्णकारवर्मकारपङ्क्तिवर्धकिगणगणिकासौनिकव्याधनिषादरजकबुरुडचर्म..अप्रतिग्रह्या अयाज्याश्च ॥ Vol. I, pt. i, p. 175.

The same writer in another place reads :—

अभि. . .र्भवपुंश्चल्य. . .लेखकलैङ्गिकषण्डकबन्धकगणका. . .नि । सौनिकक्व्यादनिषादबुरुडचर्म. . . ग्राह्याश्च अशनप्रति . . .रेत् ॥ Vol. II, pt. i, p. 384.

1. G. P. Ācārasāra, p. 436.

Āśauca.

मातुरेव सूतकम्, तां [१]स्पृशतां च, नेतरेषाम् ॥[1]

गर्भमासतुल्या दिवसा [२]गर्भस्रंसने सद्यः शौचं च[३] ॥[2]

Bhojyābhojyānnāḥ.

कृषिगोपालक्षेत्रिकपरिचारकनापितनिवेदितात्मानश्च भोज्यान्नाः ॥[3]

Apāṅkteya.

तस्करकितवाजपालगणगणिकाशूद्रप्रेष्यागम्यागामिपरिवेत्तृपरिवित्तिपर्याहितपर्याधातृपौनर्भवान्धबधिरचारणक्लीबावकीर्णिवार्धुषिकगरदायिकूटसाक्षिनास्तिकवृषलीपत्युपहतादोत्सृष्टाग्निसोमविक्रय्यविक्रेयविक्रेतृपौस्तिककथककुण्डाशिकुण्डगोलकयन्त्रकारकाण्डपृष्ठदुश्चर्मचण्डविद्धशिश्नदेवलकषण्डारूढपतितप्रायोत्थितकुनखिकिलाशिश्यावदन्तर्वाणकृशिल्पवादित्रनृत्यगीतालोपजीविमूल्यसांवत्सरिक महापथिकाश्मकुट्टकहीनातिरिक्ताङ्गाः विरागवाससश्च अपाङ्क्तेयाः[4] ॥

Prāyaścitta.

[४]नाततायिवधे [५]प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः [६]गोब्राह्मणं यदा हन्यात् तदा प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् [5]॥

अगम्यागमनस्त्रविधचाण्डालसंपर्केषु कृच्छ्रत्रयं चरेत् ॥[6]

---

1. Hemādri Pariśeṣa Khaṇḍa, I, p. 486—7.
2. Smṛticandirkā Āśauca, p. 8.
   Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 261. Hāralatā, p. 17.
3. Smṛticandrikā Āśauca, p. 3.

Kullūkabhaṭṭa has a slightly different reading :—

गर्भमासतुल्या...गर्भसंस्रवणे...वा भवति ॥

Manu. Vyā. V, 66.

१. स्पृशतः पितुश्च नेतरेषां Hāralatā, p. 17.

२. गर्भसंस्रावे Hāralatā, p. 68.

३. वा भवति Hāralatā, p. 68.

४. आततायिन्यदोषोऽन्यत्र is the reading in Madana Pārijāta, p. 785.

५. दोषोऽन्यत्र Mitramiśra on Yājñavalkya, p. 431.
Vīramitrodaya, Vyavahāraprakāśa, p. 167.

६. गोब्रा...कुर्यात् is found only in the Vīramtrodaya Vyavahāraprakāśa, p. 21.

4. Hemādri Pari. I, p. 787.
5. Viśvarūpa, III, 262.
6. Viśvarūpa, III, 254.

This is read in another place by Viśvarūpa himself thus :—

अगम्यागमने...चण्डालसङ्करे च...

अतोऽर्धमर्धं क्षत्रियवैश्यवधे व्याख्यातम् ॥[1]

पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मारतरः तद्भ्रातरः मातुलाः तद्भगिन्यश्च मातृष्वसारः तथा भगिनीसपत्न्यश्च भगिन्यस्तदपत्यं च भागिनेयः । अतोऽन्यथा संस्कारकाणि कृत्वा याप्याः पतिताश्च भवन्ति ॥[2]

रागद्वेषादलभ्यमाने प्रायश्चित्ते जपहवनाध्ययनब्रह्मचर्यपरोभैक्षाशी दण्डी मेखली त्रिषवण्यधःशायी स्वयमेव महदशुभं पुनाति न ब्राह्मणस्य पतनमिच्छन्त्याचार्याः किल्बिष्युपगतः पातव्य इत्याङ्गिरसः ॥[3]

---

1. Viśvarūpa III, 254.
2. Viśvarūpa, III, 254.

The same quotation occurs in Haradatta's Ujjvalā, where the reading is :—

पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरः तद्भ्रातरो मातुलाः तत्सुता मातुलसुता तस्मात्ता नोपयन्तव्याः ।

Hālāsyanātha Śāstrī, edn. p. 145.

The following variations are found in the reading of Mādhava :—

पितृपत्न्यः . . .मातृष्वसारः भगिनीसपत्न्यश्च. . .भागिनेयम् . . .सङ्करकारणानि कृत्वा अयाज्याः.

Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 326

The same is found in a different manner in the Smṛticandrikā where the reading is :—

पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरः तद्भ्रातरो मातुलाः तद्दुहितरश्च भगिन्यः तदपत्यानि भागिनेयानि अन्यथा सङ्करकारीणि स्युः ।

Saṁskārakāṇḍa, p. 188.

This extract is again found in the Parāśara Mādhavīya where the reading is :—

पितृपत्न्यः . . .मातुलाः तद्भगिन्यो मातृष्वसारः तद्दुहितरश्च. . . सङ्करकारिण्यः ॥

Parāśara Mādhvīya, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 64.

The reading in the Gadādhara Paddhati is :—

पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरः तद्भ्रातरो मातुलाः तद्दुहितरश्च भगिन्यः तदपत्याः भागिनेयाः स्युः ताः सङ्करकारिणः तत्सकुल्यां नोद्वहत् ।

Kālasāra, p. 224.

3. Viśvarūpa, III, 237.

Another reading is :—

अथ वा रागद्वेषादलभ्यमानेषु प्रायश्चित्तेषु यज्ञहवनाध्ययनब्रह्मचर्यपरो भिक्षाशी

स्त्रीरजतगोस्तैन्यं गोश्च गमनं नाशकं भूम्यनृतं क्षत्रियवैश्यगोघ्नता परिवित्तितावकीर्णिता प्रतिरूपकवृत्तिश्चेति उपपातकानि ॥[1]

साहचर्ये वा संवत्सरं प्राजापत्यं चरेत् ॥[2]

कन्यादातृयाजकानां द्वादशरात्रं सक्तुपानं ब्राह्मणतर्पणं च तां पुनर्भुवमित्याचक्षते भूयश्चैनामभिगच्छेत् ॥[3]

समानार्षेयीगमने कूष्माण्डैः होमः त्रिरात्रमुपवासश्च ॥[4]

श्वसृगालमहिषाजविकखरकरभनकुलमार्जारमूषकप्लवबकपुरुषदष्टानामापोहिष्ठी–याभिः स्नानं प्राणायामत्रयं च ॥[5]

सुरापस्याघ्राय गन्धं सोमपः उदकमग्नः त्रिरघमर्षणं जप्त्वा घृतप्राशनमाचरेत् ॥[6]

शूद्रोच्छिष्टभोजने त्रिरात्रमघमर्षणं जपेत् ॥[7]

उद्बन्धनपाशछेदनवहनेषु मासं भैक्षमभक्षणं त्रिषवणं स्यात् ॥[8]

शूद्रयाजकः सर्वद्रव्यपरित्यागात् पूतो भवति ॥[9]

वानरसिंहमार्जारमण्डूकमूषकश्ववधे प्राजापत्यम् ॥[10]

चण्डालदर्शने सूर्यदर्शनम् । संभाषणे ब्राह्मणाभिव्याहारः । संस्पर्शने सचैलं स्नानमाचरेत् ॥[11]

स्त्रीबालमशकमक्षिकामार्जारमूषिकाच्छायासनशयनयानाम्बुविप्रुषो¹ नित्यं मेध्याः ॥[12]

दण्डी मेखली स्वयमेव संवत्सरेण महापातकादितत्परो व्यपोहति किल्बिषी न ब्राह्मणस्य पतनमिच्छन्त्याचार्याः ।

Madanapārijāta, p. 780.

1. Viśvarūpa, III, 236.
2. Aparārka, III, 260.
3. Aparārka, III, 268.
4. Aparārka, III, 268.
5. Aparārka, III, 276.
6. Aparārka, III, 289.
7. Aparārka, III, 289.
8. Aparārka, III, 292.
9. Aparārka, III, 289.
   Smṛticandirkā Āhnika. p, 462.
   Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 175.
10. Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 92.
11. Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 109.
12. Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 190.

१. छायापांसुविप्रुषो is the reading in Vīramitrodaya, Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 208.

मातृष्वसृपितृष्वसृस्नुषाभगिनीभागिनेयीगोचण्डालीनाम् अभिगमने तप्त-कृच्छ्रम् ॥[1]

देवर्षिगोब्राह्मणाचार्यमातृपितृनरेन्द्राणां प्रतिषेधने आक्रोशने जिह्वां दहेत् । हिरण्यं दद्यात् ॥[2]

देवद्विजगुरून् हत्वाप्सु निमग्नोऽघमर्षणं सूक्तं त्रिरावर्तयत् मातरं भगिनीं गत्वा मातृस्वसारं स्नुषां सखीं चान्यद्वागम्यागमनं कृत्वाघमर्षणं वान्तर्जले त्रिरावर्तयेत् । एतस्मात् पूतो भवति ॥[3]

रेतोविण्मूत्रप्राशनं कृत्वा लशुनपलाण्डुगृञ्जनककुम्भीकादीनामन्येषां च अभक्ष्याणां भक्षणं कृत्वा हंसग्रामकुक्कुटश्वसृगालादिमांसभक्षणं कृत्वा ततः कण्ठमात्र-मुदकमवतीर्य शुद्धवतीभिः प्राणायामं कृत्वा ब्रह्मणा व्याहृतीभिः करगमुदकं पीत्वा तदेतस्मात् पूतो भवति ॥[4]

Dravyaśuddhi.

मणिकनकरजतशङ्खशुक्त्युपलप्रवालानां प्रमार्जनं शुद्धिः । वस्त्रविदलरज्जु-चर्मणामद्भिः प्रक्षालनम् । भूम्यस्थिकाष्ठानां तक्षणम् । मृत्पात्रलोहानां अग्निनो-त्तापनम् । सीसत्रपुकांस्यताम्रायसकुद्दालानाम् उदकभस्मभ्यां त्रिः प्रमार्जनात् शुद्धिः । गोबालरज्ज्वा पुष्पफलानाम् । अन्यत्र शकुनोच्छिष्टेभ्यः । तेषामदोषः । श्वदष्टानां च मांसादीनां स्रुक्स्रुवाणामन्येषां च भाण्डानाम् उष्णेन वारिणा शौचम् । तैजसानां च भूजतुचर्मचीरवेणुफलवल्कानामद्भिः प्रक्षालनम् ॥[5]

स्त्रीबालमशकमक्षिकाछायासनशयानाम्बुविप्रुषो नित्यं मेध्याः । घृतकद्वलागा-राणाम् अत्याज्यानामदोषः । [6]

---

1. Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 307.
In a different place the same extract is cited with this difference :—

मातृष्वसृ. . .चण्डालीगमनेषु तप्तकृच्छ्रत्रयं सान्तपनं च ॥

Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 327

Hemādri reads :—

मातरं भगिनीं गत्वा मातृस्वसारं स्नुषां सखीं वान्यद्वागम्यागमनं कृत्वा अधमर्षणसूक्तमन्तर्जले त्रिरावर्त्य तदेतस्मात् पूतो भवति ।

Hemādri Pari. I, p. 838·

2. Parāśara Mādhavīya, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 459.
3. Madanapārijāta, p. 971.
4. Madanapārijāta, p. 994-4.
5. Hemādri Pari. I. p. 814.
6. Hemādri Pari. I p. 545.

Sāpiṇḍya.

तथा ब्राह्मणानाम् एकपिण्डस्वधानाम् आदशमात् धर्मविच्छित्तिर्भवति आसप्तमात् रिक्थविच्छित्तिर्भवति आतृतीयात् स्वधाविच्छित्तिर्भवति ॥[1]

Śrāddha.

केशकीटक्षुतवचोऽभिहतं[१] श्वभिराघ्रातं प्रेक्षितं वा[२] दधि पर्युषितं पुनस्सिद्धं[३] चण्डालावेक्षितम् अभोज्यमन्यत्र हिरण्योदकैः स्पृष्टात् ॥[2]

बीजपूरकमाषं च न श्राद्धे दद्यात् ॥[3]

Vivāha.

कन्याकुत्सितान्यजातिकर्मशीला व्याध्युपहता परिणीता यद्यक्षतयोनिः स्यात् परित्यक्तव्या ॥[4]

त्रीनतीत्य मातृतः पञ्चातीत्य पितृतः ॥[5]

Vyavahāra.

स्वाम्यमात्मना संरक्षेत् । अमात्यान् संमानेन । वर्णान् रञ्जनेन । जनान् वर्णधर्मरञ्जनेन । दुर्गं धनधान्यादिसमृद्ध्या । कोशमुचितव्ययेन । मित्रं सत्यभाषणेन ॥[6]

---

1. Hāralatā, p. 99.
The Śuddhikaumudī reads this as follows :—
ब्राह्मणानामेकपिण्डस्वधानाम् आदशमात् सपिण्डतविच्छित्तिर्भवति ।
p. 51.
2. Smṛticandrikā Śrāddha, p. 229.
3. Hemādri Pari. I, p. 562, 903.
१. चोपहतं Vīramitrodaya, Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 517.
२. चा Vīramitrodaya, Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 517.
३. सिद्ध Vīramitrodaya, Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 514.
Another reading is :—
क्षुतवचोऽभिहतं श्वभिराघ्रातं प्रेक्षितं चान्नमभोज्यमन्यत्र हिरण्योदकैः स्पृष्टात् यस्यान्नस्य निकटे क्षुतं कृतं यस्य वा निकटे वचनमुच्चारितं तत् क्षुतवचोऽभिहतम् । प्रेक्षितं श्वभिरेव । एतेषूपघातेषु हिरण्यमिश्रजलसेकः शोधकः तदकृत्वा भोजने गायत्र्यष्टोत्तरशतजपः ।
G. P. Ācārasāra, p. 411.
4. Aparārka, I, 65.
5. G. P. Kālasāra, p. 224
6. Sarasvatīvilāsa, p. 46.

A NOTE ON A GREEK TEXT BEARING ON THE AŚVAMEDHA.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M. A.,

Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras.

In the *Journal Asiatique* Oct.-Decr. 1930, pp. 280-5, M.Roger Goosens draws attention to the only Greek text known to him on the Aśvamedha, which has not been noticed by other scholars like Negelein, the author of *Das Pferd im arischen Altertum* (Konigsberg, 1903), or P. E. Dumont-*L'Aśvamedha* (Paris, 1927). The text occurs in Philostratus' Life of *Apollonius of Tyana* and is translated as follows: "The Indians say that the king comes to the banks of this river (the Indus), in the season of the floods, and that he sacrifices to it bulls and horses, black (indeed the Indians value white less than the black, because, I think, of their own colour). After this sacrifice he throws in the river a measure of gold, similar to that which is used to measure corn. To what end the king does this, the Indians do not understand, but they (Appllonius of Tyana and his companion) suppose that this measure is thrown into the water for obtaining, it may be an abundance of the fruits of the earth which the cultivators measure, or the just proportion of the flood which, if it were very strong, would inundate the country."

Philostratus is not an unimpeachable authority and his 'romantic biography' contains many purely imaginary details. But his picture of India about 40 to 50 A. D. does not seem to be absolutely fanciful.

At first sight, it may seem that this passage on the Indus is inspired by what Herodotus says on the Persians offering on the banks of the Strymon a number of white horses to the river.[1] But Philostratus gives us details and looks for rationalistic explanations which recall, among other things, the explanatory comments

1. Herod. VII, 113.

of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. We shall see that there is a fairly close resemblance of these details to those found in sanskrit texts, and we may accordingly reject the hypothesis of a borrowing from Herodotus.

First, the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* list of the domestic animals sacrificed on the second day of pressing (the Soma) during the *Aśvamedha*, includes thirty bulls of all sorts and ages, exclusive of those immolated in the course of the sacrifice preparatory to the *agnicayana*. Each of these animals, it is laid down, should be black in colour; it is not clear, however, whether in Philostratus' text the adjective 'black' applies only to the horses or to the bulls also.

On the other hand, the Black Yajur Veda, more ancient than the White, lays down that the horse of the sacrifice must be entirely black. Lastly, the Vedic ritual furnishes the explanation of the final ceremony which intrigued Philostratus so much, the throwing by the king, after the sacrifice, of the measure of gold into the river. In fact, the ceremonies of the second day of pressing include two grahas (puisees) of Soma called Mahiman Grahas (of grandeur, of power); of these the first should be made by means of a cup of gold.

Moreover, all the objects which have had contact with the Soma should be thrown in the water, on the last day of the sacrifice, in the course of the ceremony of *avabhṛtha*. What is more strange is that Philostratus tells us not of a cup of gold, but of a measure of corn. There are, however, *annahomas* to be performed by means of measures, in the night on the first and second day of the pressing; it is possible that the Greeks confounded these measures with Soma cups.

Our text, however, is interesting precisely on account of two details in it, which cannot be reconciled with those of the classic ritual. First, the sacrifice is offered, not to Prajāpati, but to the river[1] on the banks of which it takes place; then a number of horses were sacrificed, and this perhaps every year—both

---

1. Perhaps, it would not be unreasonable to conjecture here that, in the Greek text under notice, the river, on the banks of which Aśvamedha is performed, was mistaken by Philostratus for the *Deity*. In none of the available Sanskrit texts dealing with Aśvamedha, a river is referred to as Devatā.

[S. K.]

features in direct contradiction with the essential character of the *Aśvamedha* of the *sūtras*.

These details, however, make a close approximation to three *gāthas* preserved in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII 5, 4, 11-13, and alleged to show that the kings of earlier times practised the *Aśvamedha*.

"On the bank of the Yamunā, Bharata Dauṣyanti sacrificed to Indra Vṛtrahan seventy-eight horses; on the bank of the Gaṅgā, he sacrificed fifty-five.

"After sacrificing a hundred and thirty-three horses suitable for the sacrifice, king Saudyumni, abler than the others, overcame those who lacked skill.

"At Nāḍapit, the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata, who, after conquering the whole earth, offered to Indra more than 1000 horses fit for sacrifice."

The number of horses, the sacrifice being offered to Indra, the presence of the river—possibly a memento of a time when the sacrifice was to Varuṇa, the god of the waters,—all point to an earlier horse-sacrifice different from the classical *Aśvamedha*. But it is doubtful if this form could have survived to the first century A. D. as Philostratus narrates. This more primitive sacrifice, being connected with the annual floods in the rivers, may have taken place, if it is a reference to spring time floods, in the bright half of the month of Phālguna. The resemblances between this sacrifice and the *Aśvamedha* are enough to show that the latter grew out of the former and was a more developed form of the earlier ritual.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY—BY M. HIRIYANNA M.A., L.T., FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, MAHARAJAH'S COLLEGE, MYSORE—PUBLISHED BY GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD., MUSEUM STREET, LONDON, 1932,—15 shillings net. —Pages, 419.

I

This work is an important and distinctive contribution to the recent literature in English, on Indian philosophy. Its importance chiefly consists in this—that it is the most complete and reliable account in English of Indian philosophy, in its more important phases of development, that has so far been made available in a single volume and that it is compact without sacrificing lucidity, comprehensive without sacrificing terseness, historical without neglecting exposition, expository without neglecting history and elucidative and critical without forgetting the requirements on the side of fidelity to the original sources. Its distinctiveness mainly rests on this—that, since the publication, long ago, of Professor Max Muller's rather sketchy, though valuable, account of the Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, it is the only comprehensive account, within the limits of a single volume, of Indian philosophy by a distinguished and ripe Professor of Sanskrit, who has been studying and teaching for a long time, the original philosophical texts in Sanskrit and lecturing on Indian philosophy for many years to the students of a modern University; and the author has carried out, as perfectly as possible, that plan of elucidation and criticism, which one of the greatest scholiasts in Sanskrit has set forth in the oft-quoted dictum "*Nāmūlam likhyate kiñcinnānapekṣitamucyate*—" Nothing is written which does not rest upon the original sources and nothing is said which is not wanted ".

This work consists of an introduction and three parts dealing with the evolution of Indian thought in the Vedic period, early post-Vedic period and the age of the systems. In the introduction, a clear and brief account is given, in a general manner, of the early development of two divergent currents of

thought in India, one having its source in the *Veda*, and usually called the *Vaidika* or *orthodox* current and the other, independent of, and opposed to, the Veda and usually called the *a-vaidika* or *heterodox* current; and the common features of these two types of thought are also stated in a concise and lucid manner, with particular reference to the Indian views of the goal of philosophy and the means of its attainment. Part I describes the nature of Pre-Upaniṣadic thought and of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. It is noteworthy that the author does not subscribe to any of the fashionable views now prevalent among some writers, in regard to the nature and value of the contribution made by Kṣatriyas to early philosophical thought, to the question of the presence of a well-integrated type of philosophical thought in the Upaniṣads, and to the question of the nature of the dominating spirit of Upaniṣads—whether it is fundamentally thaumaturgical or philosophical. In respect of these and kindred questions, the author has maintained a perfectly judicial attitude and the statements which he has made cannot be easily challenged. In part II, after indicating the general philosophical tendencies, the author describes the nature of the teaching of the Gītā and expresses the opinion that the central point of this teaching is *activism* or *karma-yoga*. Though this view does not clash greatly with other considered views in this matter, it is clearly different from the generally accepted view, according to the Advaitic tradition, that the central teaching of the *Gītā* is *jñāna-yoga* as synthesised with *karma-yoga* on the one hand and with *bhakti-yoga* on the other. Part II contains an eminently readable account of the chief *a-vaidika* systems. In his able and careful exposition of the Buddhistic thought, the author has rightly stressed the view that the core of the *Śūnya-vāda* of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism is nihilistic and that, except as a result of a rather subjective mode of interpretation and criticism, it would not be correct to describe the *śūnya* of that school as implying a positive reality. Part III is a compact and complete exposition of the distinctive features of the six philosophical systems. The chapters dealing with the Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Vedānta systems form the strongest and best contributions in this part. The readers of this book are bound to be impressed very favourably with the author's clear analysis of the Sāṁkhya-postulates and lucid comments on the Guṇa-doctrine. The able and correct account of the Sāṁkhya doctrine of error (*bhrama*),

as given by the author, deserves a very careful study and will be very useful in removing some of the current misapprehensions about the Sāṁkhya view of error. Some fancy, not quite correctly, that the Sāṁkhya theory of *bhrama* is *sadasatkhyāti*, while, as Professor Hiriyaṇṇa points out, it should be understood as a type of *a-khyāti* or *sat-khyāti*, according to the earlier sources in Sanskrit. The exposition of the Vedānta system, particularly in its phase of Advaita, in the concluding chapters, is characterised by a critical and fair judgment, accuracy, and clearness. Almost every statement in the chapters on Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita reminds one familiar with the original sources in Sanskrit of the corresponding statements made by the great Ācāryas of the Vedānta system in their Vedāntic classics. The author's contribution, in these chapters, regarding the Pre-Śāṁkara Vedānta is of very great value.

The delightful plan of keeping distinct historical, ontological and epistemological questions, has been systematically adopted throughout, in this work. The execution and get-up of this handy volume are quite worthy of the high reputation of Messrs. Unwin Brothers, Ltd., the famous British printers and publishers. It may be stated, with great pleasure and confidence, that this book will be found to be of great value by teachers and students of Indian philosophy and also by the general reader who is interested in getting a general and correct knowledge of the Indian solutions of familiar philosophical problems.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

II

Professor M. Hiriyanna's "Outlines of *Indian* philosophy" is a notable contribution to the fast growing Literature (in English) on the subject of *Hindu* philosophy. The term "Indian" in the title will be considered by some as somewhat over comprehensive for there is in his book nothing about what is non-Hindu philosophy in one sense or another. There is nothing in it for example, about the Indian developments of "sufism" or of the aspects of Christian Theism associated with the preaching of Sadhu Sunder Singh. These have fairly good claims to be called aspects of *Indian* philosophy. Perhaps the reason for the omission to refer to them may be the non-Indian origin of the original concepts of which they are only developments. Be the reason what it may, Professor Hiriyanna may

explain that his use of the term "Indian" is sanctioned by previous writings on the same subject.

There is a real need for the writing of text-books in English on modern lines, on the subject of Hindu philosophy. Mere translations of old treatises have ceased to be enough though they may be useful for very advanced students engaged in research. Nor are descriptive books of the "Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha" type with no attempt at tracing the growth of philosophical ideas, of much use. Treatises on the lines of Lewes's well-known book on European philosophy have become very necessary. It is to the credit of Indian scholars that within a few years, many such books of outstanding merit have come into the field. To write a useful book on such lines, mere erudition in Sanskrit and the philosophical treatises in it are not enough. Nor can one whose acquaintance with such treatises is confined mainly to translations of them can do full justice to the subject, whatever the depth of his knowledge of the western systems of philosophy and ethics may be, Mr. Hiriyanna's book shows that he possesses both the qualifications. Captious critics have said of another notable book on the subject that its author knew more philosophy than Sanskrit and of a third that his work was all Sanskrit and no philosophy. Professor Hiriyanna cannot be easily made the subject of either attack.

His book consists of three parts, besides an "Introduction" which deals in a general way about the aim of Hindu philosophic thought. Part I covers "Pre-Upaniṣadic thought and the Upaniṣads." Part II is devoted to "the early Post-Vedic Period" and deals specially with the Bhagavadgītā, early Buddhism and Jainism. In Part III which is the longest of the three, the author increases materialism as known to the Hindus, later Buddhistic schools, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya-Yoga, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and the Advaita aud Viśiṣṭādvaita schools of the Vedānta.

The work it seems is based "on lectures delivered for many years to students" and is intended "as a text book for use in colleges where Indian philosophy is taught." The students are sure to find it is a useful text book. We think that the hope of the author "that the book will also be of use to others who are interested in the Indian solutions of familiar philosophical problems" will be fulfilled in a large measure. The book has this advantage so far as the general reader is concerned over the

comprehensive works of Professor Radhakrishnan and the detailed examination of Das Gupta in that it attempts a *briefer* outline calling for less time to study it. But the general reader will not miss any of the essential elements of the great subject in this short study of it. The style is concise and clear.

Professor Hiriyanna's method of approach is that of a true scholar—not wedded to any theory but always anxious to state what is apprehended by him as the truth. He has brought to bear on his work a great deal of learning and a fairly critical mind. In stating the opinions and views of other writers and describing the view-points of the several schools of thought he has been generally fair and accurate. He has adopted the chronological divisions now commonly adopted and he seems to be aware of the uncertainty that dogs such divisions for he confesses in more than one place that "it is difficult to be sure about it." In the earlier chapters the documentation is predominently western. Perhaps this is due to the use to which the book was intended to be put *viz.* reading for examinations in the Universities where western methods of scholarship and western books still dominate. In many places the general reader who wishes to know both sides of a question would have been glad if the views of the Paṇḍits on the view-point criticised had been more fully stated. This is a dificiency not only of this book but of even longer treatises. A casual reader would fancy that the argument demolished was utterly untenable—something like the case for materialism which the learned Professor himself feels is not properly stated by its opponents of old. Yet one often finds that if the criticism is put before a Paṇḍit he is able to meet it easily—at any rate to show that he is not so hopeless as the critic would make it out. A clear statement of the Paṇḍits' view is the least justice that a modern writer can do to their vast learning. The book under review would have been more useful than it is and is likely to be if the Dvaita school of Vedānta had not been altogether ignored. The author's explanation of the omission is that "anything like a complete treatment of the many sided teaching of Vedānta is out of question here" and Viśiṣṭādvaita which is treated represents the non-Advaitic or Theistic school. Dvaita is in the opinion of many not merely a minor side of Vedānta. It is as important a side as the other two dealt with by the Professor.

C. V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR.

SUBSTANCE AND ATTRIBUTE IN ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

BY

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

Reader in Indian Philosophy, University of Madras

One of the crucial questions in metaphysics relates to substance and attribute. Common sense believes that while attributes are many and sometimes fleeting, the substance that possesses them is one and constant. Such a position, however, does not stand inquiry; for the possession of attributes is itself an attribute; the conception of substance as the possessor of this too launches us on an infinite regress; and in any case we are left with a substance which is a "something I know not what" an irrelevant ghost, which merits no recognition whether on the ground of intelligibility or that of utility. Even assuming the existence of such a substrate, numerous problems arise as to its unity or plurality and as to its relation to the attributes. If substance is one, why should certain attributes alone be cognised sometimes and certain others at other times? If there be many substances, how are they differentiated one from another? To say that the attributes differentiate them would involve reciprocal dependence in that plurality of attributes requires plurality of substances, while there would be no plurality of substances but for the plurality of attributes. Again, how does the substance possesses the attributes? The relation between the two, call it inherence or whatever else you like, is it other than the terms related, or identical with either or both of them? If identical with either, it cannot relate the other; if different from both, we require a further relation to relate this to the relata; if identical with both, there is no difference between the relata and consequently no relationing. The concept of substance as a substrate of attributes has, therefore, to be discarded. Either there is no substance at all or it must be conceived in some way other than as the possessor of attributes. The former is the way of Buddhistic Idealism, which denies permanent substances, without

and within; the latter is the way of Vedānta Idealism, which recognises one supreme substance which is neither substrate nor quality, both substrate and quality being illusory manifestations thereof.

The Śaiva Siddhānta is not idealistic. It is pluralist in ontology and realist in epistemology. It accepts the independent reality of God, souls and the material world, and treats right cognition as that which corresponds to the object. It may be expected that in such a system the concept of substance as substrate will be kept on somehow in spite of the metaphysical difficulties. Strange to say, it is thrown out, for reasons that savour strongly of Idealism. We shall let the Siddhāntin (in this instance, Śivajñāna Yogin, the Tamil commentator on the *Śivajñānabodha*) speak for himself, and then offer our comments.

Translation

Be this so: since it is said "that which is sound alone is Śabda-tanmātra, that which is touch alone is Sparśa-tanmātra, that which is colour alone is Rūpa-tanmātra", it follows that the Tanmātras are mere qualities; for, if it were also possessor of the qualities, it could not intelligibly be called Mātra, signifying the exclusion of all else. That being so, the Tanmātras, which are of the nature of qualities, cannot be the causes of ether etc., which are possessors of qualities.

If you say this, you speak in ignorance. You seem to have forgotten what was said about the whole world from the intellect down to the earth being the product of the three Guṇas (qualities). Understand then the following: since the whole world is of the nature of luminosity, calmness and happiness constituted of the Sattva-guṇa, of the nature of activity, fearfulness and misery constituted of the Rajo-guṇa, and of the nature of inertia, stupidity and delusion constituted of the Tamo-guṇa, the material cause of what is thus cannot be anything but Mūlaprakṛti; that being so, the whole world is but of the nature of the Guṇas (qualities); just as in experience many men grouped together are called an army, and many trees grouped together are called a forest, the qualities themselves when associated *inter se* are in experience designated as the possessor of the quality or as substance; other than this, there is nothing called possessor of the quality; hence, the view of the Vaiśeṣikas and others, who maintain a great difference between the quality and its possessor

is not acceptable to the Śaiva Siddhāntin; this being so, the origination of gross elements like ether from the subtle sound etc., which are Tanmātras, is intelligible.

Further, the Vaiśeṣikas and others, not realising that the whole is but the aggregate of the parts, declare a great difference between the whole and the parts; they say also that activity (*karma*), generality (*sāmānya*) and particularity (*viśeṣa*) are different from substance; these (doctrines) are not acceptable; this being so, there is no relation of inherence (*samavāya*) as distinct from that of identity (*tādātmya*); all this is to be understood from the reasoning set forth in respect of the quality and the possessor of the quality.

Be this so: since there is the experience "I saw that with my eyes; I touched the same with my hands", it follows that one thing alone is the object for both the sense of sight and the sense of touch; that following, since it is not possible for the eyes to cognise touch or for the skin to cognise colour, should it not be concluded that other than these and as the object for both the senses there exists a thing which is the possessor of the qualities?

If this be asked, that is not so; because of the rule that senses like sight cognise only colour etc. respectively; even if it be assumed that other than the qualities, colour etc., there is a thing which is the possessor of the qualities, this cannot be the object (of cognition) for the senses; further, the evidence here offered to the effect that other than the quality there is no possessor of the quality is strong; therefore, the experience "I saw that, I touched the same," which occurs as if both senses had one and the same object, may be a delusive experience; or it may be a figurative usage due to (the qualities) when aggregated being named the possessor of the qualities and standing as a unit; instead of holding to either of these views, it is not intelligible to hold that because of that (experience) the possessor of the quality is a distinct thing.

This being so, it is to be understood that the qualities themselves from a collective point of view are called the possessor of the qualities, and from a distributive point of view are called qualities.[1] A more detailed statement will be too extensive; it is to be found in the *Pauṣkara* etc.

---

1. *Cf*. Samudāye guṇi-vyavahāraḥ, pratyekam guṇa-vyavahāro bhavati (*Pauṣkarabhāṣya*, p. 459).

From this there result the following: the state where the five qualities from sound to smell stand collectively without differentiation is the Tanmātra of smell; the state where the four qualities from sound to taste stand collectively without differentiation is the Tanmātra of taste; the state where the three qualities from sound to colour stand collectively without differentiation is the Tanmātra of colour; the state where sound and touch stand together without differentiation is the Tanmātra of touch; the state where even the one quality of sound stands in its general nature, without differentiation into loud sound, soft sound etc., is the Tanmātra of sound; hence quality alone is called Tanmātra; this being so, there follows the causality of these with regard to ether etc. respectively, which have each one quality more (than the earlier in the series).[1]

It will be evident from the above passage that the Siddhāntin is fully alive to the difficulties of looking on substance as a substrate in which attributes inhere. His consciousness of these difficulties leads him to treat it as a mode of looking at attributes. Just as we speak of men individually and of humanity in the aggregate, we speak of attributes individually and substance in the aggregate. Even what is ealled a single attribute may be treated as a substance, because that too is an aggregate of differences within itself; thus 'colour' is an attribute in relation to 'touch', 'taste' etc., while it is a substance in relation to 'white', 'black' etc. The difference between substance and attribute is thus entirely one of points of view. What is or is not a substance depends on how we look at it. Nor is this all; the very existence of substance depends on our experience; for, whatever one may hold as to the external reality of substance, it cannot seriously be contended that attributes are real independently of our experience. There is no colour or taste or smell except in and for experience. It is possible to imagine a material collocation that presents these experiences to us, but with this we are back at the stage of belief in a "something I know not what", wherein qualities inhere. If reason makes us discard this substrate, it cannot justify the ascription of independent reality to attributes. The path the Siddhāntin treads seems thus to lead to the inevitable conclusion that the one reality is experience, that substance and attribute are

---

1. The translated passage is from the *Māpādiyam*, pp. 184-186. A comparison with pp. 455-460 of the *Pauṣkarabhāṣya* will be found to be of great interest.

but abstractions therefrom dependent on the purpose and view-point of the observer; there is no fixed demarcation between substance and attribute; it is possible and indeed necessary to pass from one to the other until we rest finally in experience which is neither substance nor attribute though the substrate of both. This is Absolute Idealism, which, however acceptable to others, is the *bete noire* of the Siddhāntin. How, then, does he consent to adopt this line of criticism ?

It is not as though the Tamil commentator developed the argument for himself. He takes it over bodily from the *Pauṣkara Āgama*[1] and the commentary thereon ascribed to Umāpati Śivācārya. It is not certain that the commentator is identical with the Santānācārya of that name (14th century A.D.), but it is certain that the Āgama itself should be of some considerable antiquity. And because of its age, its interpretation of the term "guṇa" deserves some consideration. It will be noticed that in the passage cited above, reference is made to the Sāṅkhya doctrine (which is common to the Siddhānta too), that the entire universe is the product of Prakṛti, which consists of three Guṇas; as evidence therefor, we are asked to observe the qualities of the world, luminosity, calmness, happiness, activity, fearfulness, misery and so on. By Guṇa, we ordinarily understand a quality; to say that the world is derived from Guṇas would therefore mean that it is made up of qualities. But this sounds rather absurd (at least to those with realist prejudices); hence the word "guṇa" is interpreted as a "subsidiary", "constitutent", or "strand (as of a rope)"; every attempt is made to give substantiality to the denotation of that term. But the result is not entirely convincing; the modern student at any rate finds that term a snag and wonders repeatedly whether the Sāṅkhya philosopher could not have used a less ambiguous word. When we turn to the *Pauṣkara*, however, we come across a doctrine similar to, if not identical with, the Sāṅkhya, wherein "guṇa" bears its ordinary sense of quality, while providing a not unintelligible basis for the evolution of the world from itself. It is possible to hold that the *Pauṣkara* misunderstood the Sāṅkhya use of "guṇa" and based a fanciful metaphysics thereon. It is also possible to urge on the contrary that the *Pauṣkara* understanding of "guṇa" is the earlier and sounder, and that all the later difficulties about the interpretation

1. Cf. *Pauṣkarabhaṣya*, pp. 455-460.

of that term were due to the realistic prejudices. It is not possible to decide finally between the two, in the absence of conclusive knowledge as to the antiquity of the Āgama. Philosophically, it is not possible to say anything decisive; for, while the Siddhānta is undoubtedly realistic, it also claims to be a higher synthesis of all systems; this synthesis may be due to its pristine purity or to its being a later compromise. In any case, the doctrine of substance is some evidence of its synthetic nature, its desire to combine idealist critique with realist demands.

Realism that reduces things to "logical constructions" is not unknown in the west. Earl Russell (at the stage of development marked by his Lowell Lectures) is an example; ". . . . the aspect is not the thing; the aspect—that is to say, that which is immediately experienced—is a set of sense data, and the thing—which is the system of all the different perspectives—is a logical construction and not a real existent. An analogy will be found in the logically contructed concept 'humanity', which is the system of all the real men who compose humanity, but which has no real existence in its own right."[1] But Russell goes further on the Idealist path when in his later works he abolishes the distinction between sense data and sensation. "An object is the sum total of the appearances (of which the appearance which is a perception is one) presented by it at all places at a given moment."[2] It is true that in this view, reality is reduced to a system of natural particulars, and mind is only a certain arrangement of those particulars; but it is rash to conclude, as Joad does that such reduction "is clearly opposed to any form of Idealistic interpretation of the universe."[3] Idealism cannot subscribe to the independent reality of particulars but it need not exalt mind over matter; both may be conceived as aspects of Spirit and this is what Vedānta Idealism does.

---

1. *Introduction to Modern Philosophy* C.E.M. Joad (p. 28). Cf., also *Our Knowledge of the External World* (Open Court, 1914), p. 89. "Thus an aspect of a 'thing' is a member of the system of aspects which *is* the 'thing' at that moment . . . . All the aspects of a thing are real, whereas the thing is a mere logical construction." For a criticism, see Radhakrishnan, *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy*, pp. 352-356.
2. Joad, p. 32.
3. Joad, p. 33.

The doctrine in question is of some value to the Siddhāntin. He maintains that God is both immanent and transcendent, immanent as His Śakti, but transcendent as God; He is the material cause of the world through His Śakti; as God He is but the efficient cause; the predication of both sets of attributes is however, justifiable, since between Śakti and Śaktimat, the attribute and the substance, there is non-difference. Such gain, however, is counter-balanced by difficulties elsewhere. The souls, it is said, are naturally omniscient, though the omniscience is veiled by connate impurity. This impurity is called Āṇava. Both because of Scriptural declaration and the principle of parsimony we assume only one Āṇava. But souls are many and of diverse grades of spiritual progress. Some have been released, while others are in various stages of release. If Āṇava be really one, with the release of one, Āṇava should have been destroyed and all souls released simultaneously. We have therefore to assume that the one Āṇava has many Śaktis, that what relates to each soul is a particular Śakti and that on the release of any soul that Śakti alone is destroyed. This is an interesting explanation, but not good enough. The Siddhāntin maintains the eternal reality of all the three categories, Pati, Paśu and Pāśa. Āṇava, which is one of the Pāśas, is then never destroyed. But if its Śaktis are destroyed with the release of soul after soul, how can the indestructibility of the Āṇava be maintained, unless it is made out that its substance is something other than the attributes (the Śaktis)? This is a serious difficulty; and it is noticed by some Siddhāntins like Śivāgrayogin who maintain therefore that what is destroyed at release is not a Śakti of Āṇava, but only its conjunction with the particular soul. This raises the question of the nature of conjunction, whether it is purely external, whether it is not in some sense a quality of the conjoined and so on; and this is not the place to go into that. But enough has been said, it is hoped, to show the presence of an interesting idealist doctrine in the realist *milieu* of the Siddhānta, a doctrine whose affiliations to other systems and inter-relation with the rest of the Siddhānta system will repay further consideration.

PŪRṆABHADRA AND HIS PAÑCATANTRA

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Mysore

The text of Pūrṇabhadra's Pañca.[1] has been edited in Vol. 11 of the Harvard Oriental Series by Prof. Johannes Hertel who has published in Vol. 12 his introduction and also the readings of the different MSS. In Chap. II of this Introduction, Hertel has cited first (p. 21) the statement of Aufrecht (Cat. Cat. 1, 344) that 'Pūrṇabhadra revised by desire of Soma-mantrin the Pañcatantra', and then reproduced the following observations of a like tenor made by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report, Bombay, 1897, p. lix :

"This is an edition of the Pañca. prepared under the direction of a Mantrin or minister of the name of Soma and completed on the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 1255 by a man of the name of Pūrṇabhadra. The text of the Pañca., he says, had become corrupt, and he corrected every letter, word, sentence, story and verse. Accordingly we find on comparing

---

1. The following abbreviations have been used in the course of this article:

Pañca.	for	Pañcatantra and also for Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und Verbreitung.*
Pn	,,	Pūrṇabhadra and also for the Pañcatantra version that goes under his name.
PR	,,	The *Pañcatantra Reconsructed* (2 Vols.) of Prof. Franklin Edgerton.
SP	,,	The Southern Pañcatantra (Hertel's edition).
Spl	,,	The Textus simplicior of the Pañcatantra. The only printed edition that is representative of this version is Būhler-Kielhorn's edition in the Bombay Sans krit Series.
T.	,,	Tantrākhyāyikā (edn. 1910).

this edition with the existing text as printed in the Bombay Sanskrit Series that there are differences of reading in almost every line. Some of the prose passages and verses in the latter are omitted and sometimes there are others in the place of those occurring there. Sometimes there are verbose prose passages to which there is nothing corresponding in the existing text. The work might be characterized as Pañcatantra rewritten."

Dissenting from this view of Aufrecht and Bhandarkar, Hertel then goes on to write (p. 22, op. cit.) that he has, in 1902, 'proved[1] that both the *textus simplicior* and the text called by Kosegarten *textus ornatior* are Jaina works, and that Pūrṇabhadra, who amongst other sources used the textus simplicior, was the author of the socalled *textus ornatior*', and not a mere reviser or editor.

This statement, that Pn was the author of the Pañca. version in question, is repeated by Hertel on pp. 20, 76 of his *Pañca.* and in other writings also. And since Hertel, having brought out an edition of Pn's Pañca. is in the best position to know all about that Pañca. version, its MSS and its redactor, the above opinion of Hertel has been accepted unquestioningly by Prof. Franklin Edgerton and others including myself; compare, for instance, Edgerton's PR. 2, 31 (top) and pp. 31-40 generally, where he speaks of the second Jainistic recension being composed by Pn, and also my own observation in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 7, 15 and 8, 234 about Pn borrowing stories from a Pañca. codex belonging to Vasubhāga's recension.

The above opinion of Hertel is based solely on the *praśasti* at the end of Pn's Pañca. which reads as follows :

kathānvitaṃ satkavi-sūkta-yuktaṃ
 śrī-Viṣṇuśarmā nṛpa-nīti-śāstram |
cakāra yeneha paropakāraḥ
 svargāya jāyeta budhā vadanti || 1 ||
śrī-Soma-mantri-vacanena viśīrṇa-varṇam
 ālokya śāstram akhilaṃ khalu pañcatantram |
śrī-Pūrṇabhadra-guruṇā guruṇādareṇa
 saṃśodhitaṃ nṛpati-nīti-vivecanāya || 2 ||
praty-akṣaraṃ pratipadaṃ
 prativākyaṃ pratikathaṃ pratiślokam |

---

1. In his paper, *Ueber die Jaina-Recensionen des Pañcatantra,* Berichte der kgl. Sāchsichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1902, Phil.-hist. Kl., pp. 92ff., 97 ff.

śrī-Pūrṇabhadra-sūrir
viśodhayāmāsa śāstram idam || 3 ||
yad-yat kiṃ-cit kvacidapi mayā neha saṃyak prayuktaṃ
tat kṣantavyaṃ nipuṇa-dhiṣaṇaiḥ kṣāntimanto hi santaḥ |
śrī-Śrīcandra-prabhu-parivṛḍhaḥ pātu mām pātakebhyo
yasyādyāpi bhramati bhuvane kīrti-gaṅgā-pravāhaḥ || 4 ||
smārtaṃ vacaḥ kvacana yat samayopayogi
proktaṃ samasta-viduṣāṃ tad adūṣaṇīyam |
somasya manmatha-vilāsa-viśeṣakasya
kiṃ nāma lāñchana-mṛgaḥ kurute na lakṣmīm|| 5 ||
praty-antaraṃ na punar asty-amunā krameṇa
kutrāpi kiṃ-cana jagaty-api niścayo me |
kiṃ tv-ādya-sat-kavi-padākṣata-bīja-muṣṭiḥ
siktā mayā mati-jalena jagāma vṛddhim || 6 ||
catvārīha sahasrāṇi tat-paraṃ ṣaṭ śatāni ca |
granthasyāsya mayā mānaṃ gaṇitaṃ śloka-saṃkhyayā || 7 ||
śara-bāṇa-taraṇi-varṣe
ravikara-vadi Phālgune tṛtīyāyām |
jīrṇoddhāra ivāsau
pratiṣṭhito' dhiṣṭhito vibudhaiḥ || 8 ||

But even the most minute examination of this *praśasti* fails to disclose anything that supports in the least Hertel's above opinion.

In this *praśasti*, Pn states clearly in stanzas 2, 3 that the minister Soma, finding the Pañca. to be full of corruptions from beginning to end, asked him to revise the book and that he had therefore revised with great care every syllable, word, sentence, stanza and story of the book; and with the modesty of a true scholar, he begs in stanza 4 to be forgiven if he has unwittingly committed mistakes.

The only additional matter (*i.e.*, matter that was not contained in the MSS before him) which he allowed himself to incorporate in the book are some *samayocita* sayings, *i.e.*, *subhāṣita* verses,[1] that he knew by heart and that, he thought,

1. *Samayopayogīni* or *samayocitāni vākyāni* are sayings that can be used on, or are suited to, occasions, that is, quotations, almost always in verse, that can be introduced on suitable occa-

would read well in the context. Regarding them, he says in stanza 5, "That sayings which are useful on occasions and are known to me by heart, have been 'said' (*i.e.*, added) here and there (by me), should be considered to be unblamable by all learned men. Does not the hare (*i.e.*, the dark spot) enhance the beauty of the moon who gives distinction to the charm of Manmatha (the God of Love) ?"

Such interpolated stanzas are comparatively few in number; for excluding the eight stanzas of the *praśasti*, there are 1018 stanzas in Hertel's edition of Pn's Pañca. and the comparative table contained in pp. 78-84 of Hertel's Pañca. shows that all, except 198, of these stanzas are found in either T or Spl. Of these 198 too, 71 belong to stories that, not occurring in these two versions, are found in Pn; 18 are found in SP, Nepalese Pañca. or Hitopadeśa (*see* Hertel's footnotes in l.c.), that is, in other Pañca. versions, and nine others in Durgasiṃha's version of the Pañca. This leaves but 100 stanzas, of which too, some belong, without doubt, to Pañca. versions not now known to us. Hence the *subhāṣita* verses interpolated in the work by Pn are in any case less than ten per cent of the stanzas contained in Pn's Pañca. and are thus a negligible quantity.

It is however contended by Hertel (*Introd.*, pp. 29-30) that Pn's words, *kiṃ tv-ādya-sat-kavi-padākṣata-bīja-muṣṭiḥ siktā mayā mati-jalena jagāma vṛddhim,*[1] in stanza 6 show that Pn wanted, not only to restore the old text, but to amplify it, and that Pn has,

---

sions to embellish one's speech with. Compare the contents of the book *Samayocita-padya-mālikā* compiled by Gaṅgādhara Kṛṣṇa Draviḍa and published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in 1917.

The meaning of Pn is, that, though the *subhāṣita* verses that he has interpolated may, in themselves, be not fine, they will nevertheless but enhance the beauty of the book in the same way as the dark spot in the moon enhances its beauty. Compare in this connection the statement *rasavattara-Bhoja-kāvya-lagnā kṛtir asvādu-rasāpi naḥ kavibhyaḥ | svadate saguṇasya sāha-caryād amṛtāṃśor malineva lakṣma-rekhā* made by the poet Garalapuri Śāstrin in the beginning of his *Yuddhakāṇḍa* which is a continuation of Bhoja's *Campū-rāmāyaṇa*.

1. "But the handful of seeds, namely, uninjured words of the estimable original author, having been sprinkled by me with water of sagacity, has increased in number."

in fact, amplified it by adding many stories, stanzas and prose passages. With this opinion I cannot agree. The meaning of the above distich is: "In the MSS examined by me, only a handful of words used by the original author, were found without corruption; the rest were all corrupt; but I have, through my sagacity, restored to them their original forms, and now, in the revised MS, instead of a handful of words, there are whole heaps of words in their pristine uncorrupted forms"; and it does not at all signify that Pn made any additions to the original text.

The above meaning will perhaps be better understood by a comparison of the following two passages:—[1]

> Atroktākhyena Śāṭyāyana Śāṭyāyanakaṃ | Asamātiṃ Rājyāproṣṭhaṃ Gopāyanā abhy-agāmaṃs te Khāṇḍave sat-ram āsatādya hāsāmātau Rājyaproṣṭhe Kiṃlātākulī dūṣatur asumīyau ta ha smānagnau nidhāyodanaṃ yavato 'gnau māṃsa yathāsurā rā nnaṃ dagdhaṃ kṣākavaḥ parāvabhū-vuḥ tam Asamāti Rāṃya-proṣṭha Gopāyanām āhutayo 'bhy-anayana sātra vīdimau Kilātākulī imāṃ vai mā Gaupāya-nānām āhutayo 'bhi-tapantīti tāv abrūtāṃ tasya vā avam eva bhejo sthā avaṃ prāyaścittir āpaṃ tathā kariṣyāvo yathā nv aitā nābhi-tapantīti tau paretya Suvadhor Gopāyanasya svapataḥ prattasyāsum āhutyātaḥ paridhi ny-adhattānam ity-ādi ||

> Atroktākhyāne Śāṭyāyanakaṃ | Asamātiṃ Rāthaprauṣ-ṭhaṃ Gaupāyanā ahby-agamaṃs te Khāṇḍave satram āsatā-tha hāsamātau Rāthaprauṣṭhe Kilātākulī ūṣatur asura-mā-yau taṃ ha smānagnau nidhāyaudanaṃ pacato 'gnau māṃ-sam athāsurā annaṃ dagdhvekṣvākavaḥ parābabhūvuḥ tam Asamātiṃ Rāthaprauṣṭhaṃ Gaupāyanānām āhutayo 'bhy-atapan so 'bravīd imau Kilātākulī imā vai mā Gaupāyanā-nām āhutayo 'bhi-tapantīti tāv abrūtāṃ tasya vā āvām eva bhiṣajau sva āvāṃ prāyaścittir āvāṃ tathā kariṣyāvo yathā nv etā nābhi-tapantīti tau paretya Subandhor Gaupāyanasya svapataḥ pramattasyāsum āhṛtyāntaḥ-paridhi[2] ny-adhattām ity-ādi ||

---

1. I would have liked much to give here a passage from a MS of the Pañca. itself. Having, unfortunately, no such MS at hand, I have reproduced instead a passage from Sāyaṇa's Ṛ. V.—bhāṣya.
2. Instead of *āhṛtya*, Müller's edition reads here *āhutyā* which seems to me to be incorrect.

The first of these passages is the reading of the manuscript AD of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda-saṃhitā (*see* Max Müller's first edition of it, Vol. 5, Preface, p. XIX f.); the second is the same passage correctly written. It will be seen that the number of corrupt words in AD's reading of the passage is so great that a reviser who restored the correct text can claim justly that 'the number of uncorrupt words of the original author was a handful', and that he has, 'through his sagacity, caused a great increase in snch number'.

The fact is, in the compound word *ādya-sat-kavi-padākṣata-bīja-muṣṭiḥ* that occurs in the above-cited distich, Prof. Hertel seems to lay stress on the word *ādya-sat-kavi*, and hence infers that the majority of words found in Pn's revised Pañca. were not written by the original author but were added newly by Pn. The stress however is really on the word *padākṣata-bīja-muṣṭiḥ;* and Pn wants here to contrast the 'handful of uncorrupt words' found in the MSS with the great number of such words found in his revised text.

It is also the opinion of Hertel (*Introd.* p. 27) that the expression *śāstram akhilam* in stanza 2 of the *praśasti* signifies 'all the existing recensions', and that the copious materials supplied to Pn for the purpose by the minister Soma who commissioned him with the work of revising the Pañca. included MSS of different Pañca recensions. "Pūrṇabhadra's text", writes Hertel on p. 44, op. cit. "is a compilation of Śār. B, of the textus simplicior, and of sources unknown to us, amongst which there was a source composed in Prākṛt". Similarly, he writes on p. 27 ff. (in op. cit.) as follows:

"No doubt Pūrṇabhadra knew several redactions of this work which are unknown to us. But two recensions have been proved to be his main sources, *viz.* the second recension of the Tantrākhyāyika (Śār. B), and the textus simplicior, both in the H-class and in the S-class. None of these recensions, he says, preserved the genuine text, as the author himself had written it down. But Pūrṇabhadra was well aware of the fact that the order of the tales preserved in Śār. B, and no doubt in other recensions which he used, was the original one. Hence he adopted this order in his third book, whereas the textus simplicior in this third *tantra* deviates considerably from it. The last two books were very short in the old recensions of the Pañca-tantra; but they were enlarged in the textus simplicior, which

in an even higher degree than Pūrṇabhadra's recension is not a mere revision of the old text, but rather a free imitation of it. Consequently Pūrṇabhadra very largely availed himself of this 'remaniement', not only in these books, but throughout all the text. As to the fifth book, he took it over into his text, with only slight alterations, in the form which it had in the textus simplicior.

"Our Parallel Specimens I to IV show how he chose his wording, now from the one and now from the other source, according as he was more pleased with the former or with the latter. In most cases it is impossible to say what principles guided him in his choice. . . . . From our parallel Specimens I to III, and from the text printed below, p. 58 ff., it is certain that Pūrṇabhadra had before him MSS of the H-class as well as of the S-class of the textus simplicior. Perhaps he also knew of the north-western abbreviated recension from which the so-called Southern Pañcatantra, the Nepalese recension (N) and the source of the Hitopadeśa have flowed. He therefore was in a still more puzzling situation than Kosegarten. But the principles he followed in constituting his text were exactly the same as those of this scholar; both of them *contaminated* the texts they had before them to such a degree that the results were in fact virtually new recensions."[1]

These opinions seem all untenable to me:

(*a*) The colophon, *etat-samāptau samāptaṃ Pañcatantrā-para-nāmakaṃ Pañcākhyānakaṃ nīti-śāstram* at the end of Pn's Pañca, and stanza 1 of the praśasti: *kathānvitaṃ sat-kavi-sūkta-yuktaṃ śrī-Viṣṇuśarmā nṛpa-nīti-śāstraṃ cakāra* . . . . make it plain that Pn looked on the Pañca as a *śāstra* and spoke of it as such. The expression *akhilaṃ śāstram* in stanza 2 of the *praśasti* signifies therefore 'the whole *śāstra* that is known as the Pañcatantra; the whole book Pañca from beginning to end', and not 'all the recensions of the Pañca' as interpreted by Hertel. That the latter interpretation is wrong becomes clear from the stanza itself where the passive participle *saṃśodhitam* in d stands in opposition and has to be construed with the words *Pañcatantram akhilaṃ śāstram* in b. Even Hertel will hardly venture to interpret that Pn revised all recensions of the Pañca! Nor, I believe,

1. I have omitted the footnotes given by Hertel in connection with the above sentences.

will any one interpret the words *akhilaṃ Pañcatantraṃ śāstraṃ viśīrṇa-varṇam ālokya śrī-Soma-mantri-vacanena* in that stanza to mean that 'the minister Soma had seen all recensions of the Pañca and found every one of them full of corruptions'.

Again, I feel very doubtful if the minister Soma or Pn himself knew of different recensions of the Pañca. It is only since about 1850, since the coming of railways, posts and telegraphs, printing-presses, newspapers and other periodicals, that the people in one part of India know of matters pertaining to other parts. Before that time, the word Pañcatantra signified to one living in South India the Southern Pañca (*i.e.*, the SP and its enlarged versions), and to one living in Gujarat, the Spl or Pn's Pañca.[1] Compare in this connection the list of Pañca MSS contained in the *Alphabetical Index of the Government Oriental MSS Library at Madras* and in Burnell's *Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS in the Palace Library at Tanjore.* Both these lists are reproduced by Hertel on pp. XXVI-XXVII of the *Introduction* to his edition of the SP; and one can see that all the twenty-four Pañca MSS referred to therein contain the text of but one Pañca version, to wit, of the SP. Similarly, the MSS of the Sanskrit Pañca, eight in number, contained in the Government Oriental Library at Mysore, too, all contain the text of the SP only.

Hertel's reference (in p. 27, *op. cit.*) to King Jayasiṃha of Gujarat, his procuring copies of the Eight Systems of Grammar from the temple of Sarasvatī in Kashmir, and his placing them at the disposal of the Jaina monk Hemacandra whom he had commissioned to write a new Sanskrit Grammar, seems to me to be quite out of place in this

1. As a matter of fact, even now, the people of this country, including those that may be called 'learned', are, with the exception of a few, still ignorant of the fact that there is more than one version extant of the Sanskrit Pañca. The only editions of this Pañca that are printed and current in this country are those of Kielhorn-Bühler, Parab, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, and other reprints of these; and they all contain the text of one Pañca version only, of the textus simplicior. Hertel's editions of the *Tantrākhyāyika, Southern Pañcatantra* and *Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra* that are printed in Europe and America are mostly unknown; so likewise are his many articles on this work that are written mostly in German and are a sealed book to my countrymen.

connection. Every student of Sanskrit Grammar, whether in Bengal, Gujarat, Kashmir or the Kerala country, knows that there are eight systems of Sanskrit Grammar, bearing the names of Indra, Candra, Kāśakṛtsna, Āpiśali, etc.; and hence there is nothing strange in King Jayasiṃha taking pains to procure copies of these books to help the work of Hemacandra. Of the Pañca, however, in all probability, no one, neither Pn, his patron the minister Soma, nor anybody else, knew that several recensions were current; nor was the minister Soma or the monk Pn possessed of such influence as to be able to get MSS from distant countries like Kashmir or Karṇāṭaka. What the minister Soma probably did when he wanted to read the Pañca was to procure some copies of it, one after another, from the neighbourhood of the town wherein he dwelt; and when he found all these MSS full of corruptions,[1] he made them over to Pn and asked him to make out a copy of the text free from corruptions. This task Pn accomplished to his own satisfaction, and concerning his revised text he says in stanza 6 of the *praśasti*, " I am convinced that there does not exist in this world anywhere another copy that has been so revised and so free of corruptions as this: the number of words retaining their original uncorrupt state that are found in other MSS is very small; but in my revised MS, such words are vary many (*i.e.*, all the words are now in their original uncorrupt form)".

(*b*) In the same way, Hertel's comparison, too, of Pn's work with that of Kosegarten seems to me to be inappropriate. Kosegarten undertook the task of bringing out an edition of the Pañca on the basis of MSS of which, excepting two, all the others

---

1. That the experience of the minister Soma is nothing unusual can be testified to by every one who has had occasion to read Indian MSS. Thus, in a MS of Karṇapārya's *Nēmināthapurāṇa* (a Kannaḍa campū) that I examined some years ago, stanzas free from corruptions were extremely rare. In another MS of a Kannaḍa poem that I saw recently, the stanzas are so corrupt that it is with difficulty that one can make out the sense of some of them; the great majority of them (more than 70 per cent) however are so corrupt that it is impossible to make out their sense. Similarly the editors of Nāgavarma's *Abhidhānavastukośa* have observed on p. i of their *Introduction*: 'It would be no exaggeration to say that, in the two MSS. that we have made use of, there is hardly one stanza which is free from corruptions.'

differed in respect of their wording and the stories they contained (see in this connection Hertel in ZDMG. 56,293 ff. and particularly p. 323). Instead, however, of making one of these MSS the basis of his edition and reproducing its text faithfully after correcting its errors with the help of other MSS, as one would expect him to do, Kosegarten proceeded capriciously, leaving out stanzas and prose passages here and there and substituting or interpolating passages from MSS belonging to other recensions at his own sweet will, with the result that the text contained in his edition differs from that contained in every one of the MSS which he used, and may be said to form a new recension of the Pañca. Pn, on the other hand, though unaware, like Kosegarten, that the Pañca. was extant in more than one recension,[1] had the corrupt MSS which had been made over to him by the minister Soma, and it was his aim to revise thoroughly the text contained in these MSS and to write out a copy free from all corruptions. Like any one else in such a position, he must therefore have chosen one particular MS as his basis and revised it thoroughly with the help of the other MSS, supplying omissions if any from these MSS. As indicated above, these MSS were in all probability procured from the same neighbourhood and must have thus belonged to the same recension.

(*c*) It is also difficult to believe, as Hertel would have us do (p. 28, *op. cit.*) that in book III of his Pañca., Pn followed T in the *order* of tales, and Spl in the *wording* of tales. As observed by Prof. Edgerton (PR. 2, 32), Pn, in case he had before him and followed T and Spl, would have given the stories of *Old Man, Young Wife and Thief* (Pn. III. 9; T. B III. 6; Spl. IV. 10), *Cuckold Carpenter* (Pn. III. 12; T. III. 9; Spl. IV. 7), and *Mouse-maiden* (Pn. III. 13; T. III. 9; Spl. IV. 8) either in the *wording* of T or in the *position* of Spl; and it is scarcely probable that, while giving these stories in Book III after T, he would have had recourse to Book IV of the Spl for the wording of these tales.

Hertel's argument that Pn followed this course because he discerned that the order of T was that of the original Pañca. is not convincing. If, as Hertel says, Pn was perspicacious enough to see that the order of tales in T was original, he could have

---

1. As observed above, it is to the researches of Prof. Hertel that we owe our knowledge of the existence of many Pañca. recensions.

likewise discerned that Books IV and V too of T were original and would have reproduced them instead of reproducing Books IV and V of Spl.

(*d*) Hertel's observation that Pn had before him MSS of T, Spl (both H and S subrecensions) and the north-western abbreviated recension from which SP, the Nepalese recension and the Hitopadeśa are derived, to be properly understood, requires to be interpreted in the light of the Parallel Specimens published by him in HOS. Vol. 13. Lines 8-15, for instance, of no. I of these Specimens contain the passage *atha tad-vana-jāḥ sarve sāraṅga-varāha-mahiṣa-gavaya-śaśakādayo militvā dīnānanā mahītalāvasakta-jānavaḥ praṇata-śirasaḥ savinayās taṃ mṛga-patiṃ vijñāpayitum ārabdhāḥ: alaṃ deva para-loka-viruddhenāti-nṛśaṃsena niṣkāraṇa-sarva-sattvotsādana-karmaṇā kṛtena* which forms lines 18-21 on p. 40 of the printed edition of Pn's Pañça. This passage, according to Hertel, was constructed by Pn by taking over the words *militvā* and *deva* from a MS of the recension n-w, the words *atha, sarve, -sakta-jānavaḥ, para-loka-viruddhena, nṛśaṃsena, niṣkāraṇasarva-, utsādana-karmaṇā* and *kṛtena* from a MS of T, and the words *tadvanajāḥ, sāraṅga-varāha-mahiṣa-, -śaśakādayo* from a MS of Spl (recension H), the remaining words being either added by Pn himself or taken over from other Pañca. recensions not come down to us; that is to say, the above sentence of Pn is constructed out of pieces gathered from the MSS of at least three recensions and of other words either supplied by Pn himself or gathered by him from MSS of other recension(s) ! This idea is most fantastic; and it appears to me wholly inconceivable that Pn or any other redactor would take so much trouble about the wording of each sentence, constructing it out of pieces gathered from MSS of three or more Pañca. recensions.

The above is, to be sure, an uncommon instance; but even in those instances—and they are plentiful—in which Pn is supposed to have exploited MSS of two recensions only, such a procedure seems to me equally inconceivable. For, so far as we know, there was no reason why Pn should have constructed his sentences of pieces taken over from two Pañca. recensions when there was nothing to prevent him from taking over a full sentence, passage or even story from one recension only.

Even if we grant that Pn *had* a reason for borrowing words from the two recensions, he would surely have followed some

principle in doing so. A comparison however of his text with T and Spl brings to light no such principle (comp. in this connection Hertel's observation, 'In most cases it is impossible to say what principles guided him in his choice' on p. 28 l. c.) which indicates that the hypothesis that Pn constructed his sentences out of pieces taken over from T and Spl is wrong.

This is shown, further, by what Edgerton calls the 'duplication' of passages, *i.e.*, by the occurrence in Pn's text of passages of the same import, taken over from T and Spl, or rather from texts closely resembling them, one immediately after the other; see PR. 2, 71 f. Edgerton has there adduced four instances of such duplication, and it is not improbable that a careful search may bring some more to light; and they indicate that, if Pn did borrow sentences from T and Spl in the way suggested by Hertel, he must have been very dullwitted indeed not to have noticed that the duplicated passages were of the same import and that they led to inconsistencies.

(*e*) From the above-cited opinion of Hertel about the recensions T and Spl being Pn's main sources and his choosing his wording 'now from the one and now from the other source', and from Edgerton's endorsement of the same in PR. 2, 31, one is apt to form the impression that Pn, in respect of the stories which he has in common with T only, Spl only or both, followed faithfully the wording, respectively, of T, Spl, and either of them. Such an impression would be quite erroneous. Compare, for instance, the story of *Old Swan saves others through his advice* which is found in Pn (I. 19) and T (III. 11), but not in Spl; the wording of Pn is so dissimilar to that of T that it becomes obvious that Pn has followed, not T, but some other recension here. This is the case in the story of *Serpent carries Frogs*[1] also that is found in Pn (III. 16) and T (III. 10), but not in Spl. Similarly, in the stories

1. It is incomprehensible to me why Hertel (*Pañca.*, p. 84; p. 15, n. 1) and Edgerton (PR. 2, 30; n. 2) look upon Spl. IV. 1 (*Frog's revenge overleaps itself*) as a variant of T. III. 10 (*Serpent carries frogs*). The moral of the former story is, one who, having been in peril, has escaped with life, should not voluntarily place himself again in peril; and the frog-king Gaṅgadatta of this story is a counter-example to the Ass without heart and ears of Spl. IV. 2, who, once having been in peril and escaped, again put himself in peril and was killed. The moral of T. III. 10, on the other hand, is: one who wants to destroy his enemies should con-

of *Weaver as Viṣṇu* (Pn. I. 8; Spl. I, 5), and *Foolish Friend and Wise Foe* (Pn. I. 30; Spl. I, 22) which are found in Spl and Pn only and not in T, a comparison of the readings shows that the reading followed by Pn is not that of Spl, but of some other recension. In the stories of *Duṣṭabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi, Iron-eating Mice* and many others that are common to Pn, T and Spl, the readings[1] of the three versions differ more or less from one another, while the Parallel Specimen III given by Hertel in HOS, Vol. 13 shows that the wording of Pn differs sometimes from that of T and Spl even when these two recensions have the same reading. Further, it is also worthy of note that even in Tantra V, which is, according to Hertel, taken over bodily from Spl by Pn, there is not one story which does not differ in details from that of Spl, or one passage of ten consecutive lines anywhere which reads exactly the same in Pn and Spl.

These divergences in Pn's wording from T and Spl are, in the opinion of Hertel, due to Pn himself; compare Hertel's observation : "In revising what had grown in course of time to be a 'whole śāstra', he collected the different recensions and contaminated them, as shown above, not without inserting new materials" (p. 74 in HOS. Vol. 12). Prof. Edgerton, on the other hand, seems to opine (PR. 2, 31) that they are due to the fact that the MSS used by Pn were not those of T and Spl, but of texts closely similar to them.

A comparison[2] of Pn's Pañca. with T shows that the following three stories of T, namely, *Treacherous Bawd* (A recension,

---

sider nothing too mean or unbearable but must have infinite patience. The stories thus differ from each other as much as two stories can, and there is not the slightest reason for holding that one is a variant of the other.

1. In respect of the Spl, we can compare the reading of Buhler-Kielhorn's edition only, that is of a MS of the S-class only. But we know from the Parallel Specimens published by Hertel in HOS. Vol. 13 and from the readings on pp. 58 ff of HOS. Vol. 12, that the difference in reading between the S and H-class of Spl MSS is comparatively slight and since, in the case of Pn. I. 8 and 30, the readings of Pn differ greatly from those of Buhler-Kielhorn's edition, we can definitely negative the idea of his having followed here a MS of the H-class.

2. This comparison is based on the table given on p. 12 ff. of Hertel's Pañca.

III. 5), *King Śibi* (III. 7) and *Onion-thief* (IV. 1) are lacking in Pn. A similar comparison of Pn and Spl shows that the following Spl stories, namely, *The Ascetics' Clothes* (IV. 9)[1], *The Rich Man and his Sons-in-law* (IV. 6), *The Book-learned Youths* (V. 5)[1], *Crab saves Brāhmaṇa's Life* (V. 15), *Imprudent Camel* (IV. 12) are lacking in Pn. Now, this mátter has not been discussed by either Edgerton or Hertel; but Hertel seems to think that the absence of these stories in Pn's Pañca. is due to caprice on the part of Pn.[2]

Hertel's opinion that Pn was the author and not merely the reviser of the Pañca version that now goes under his name thus involves the presuppositions (1) that Pn knew of the existence of many Pañca. recensions and had before him MSS of them ; (2) that he was a capricious and fanciful person—that he constructed the sentences of his redaction out of words borrowed from these MSS on no fixed principle, and that he chose for inclusion in it some of the stories found in these recensions and rejected other stories; and (3) that he was a dull-witted person who did not even know that some of the passages which he borrowed and put into his text were 'duplications' of others he had already put there.

These suppositions are all unfounded. (1) I have already pointed out above the extreme improbability of Pn's having known of the existence of many Pañca. recensions or of having had MSS of them before him. (2) It is only after a comparison of Pn's Pañca. text with the MSS which he used that one can say (if at all) that he has proceeded capriciously in the matter of choosing his wording and stories. Since however the MSS used by Pn have not come down to us (*i.e.*, are not known to us), one can not with any justice charge Pn of being capricious and fanciful. (3) And, for the same reason, one cannot, with justice, accuse him of being

---

1. These two Spl. stories, (IV. 9 and V 5) are, according to the above-mentioned table, found in the S recension only, and not in the H recension.

2. According to Hertel (HOS. Vol. 12, p. 28, n. 1), Pn knew, in addition to T (B), Spl, the recension n-w and a Prākṛt source mentioned above, the Pañca. versions in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, the SP, and also the Sanskrit original of the lost Pahlavi version.

Edgerton, on the other hand, thinks (PR, 2, 38) that, beside T and Spl or recensions very closely similar to them, Pn made use of but one other Pañca. version and not more

dull-witted also. On the other hand, the very fact that the minister Soma, out of the many Paṇḍits that were doubtless known to him, chose Pn and entrusted him with the work of revising the text of the Pañca., indicates that Pn must have been very learned, capable and industrious, that is, that he was not capricious or dull-witted.

It thus becomes plain that Hertel's opinion that Pn was the author of the Pañca. redaction known by his name, is unfounded. An unbiassed reading of the stanzas in the above *praśasti* shows that the above-cited opinion of Aufrecht and R. G. Bhandarkar about Pn having revised the text of the Pañca. is correct; and it hence follows that the 'duplication' of passages and other peculiarities noticed by Hertel, Edgerton and others in Pn's Pañca. are not due to Pn, but were present already in the MSS before they were made over to Pn for being revised.

As observed above, these MSS have not come down to us; but, looking at Pn's text, I am inclined to think that its basis was a Pañca. recension which, like T, was fairly faithful to the original,[1] and which I shall call here Western Pañcatantra or WP.

The text of this WP, in the course of being copied by a series of copyists, was added to and altered until it assumed the form which we now see in Pn and became in effect a new redaction. Compare in connection with the activities of Indian copyists the very apposite remarks of Hertel in HOS. Vol. 12, p. 74 f. Compare also the parallel readings given by him on p. 68 f. (l.c.) and note how the copyist of the Ms Bh has, in the words of Hertel, 'transposed or omitted the words of the original or replaced them by synonyms without any evident reason' and how he has also 'duplicated' a passage[2] from the H recension of the Spl. Finding the MSS of this new redaction to be wholly

---

1. This explains the similarity of many passages in Pn to those of T; WP and T being fairly faithful to the original Pañca., resembled each other closely in wording. This also explains why the stories of *King Śibi* and *Onion Thief* do not occur in Pn; these stories are not original but were added at some later time to T, and hence are not found in Pn.

2. The only difference between this instance of 'duplication' and those pointed by Edgerton is this: the former 'duplicate' passsage has been added (in Ms Bh) after the text of Pn's Pañca. was constituted, while the latter 'duplicate' passages were inter-

corrupt, the minister Soma commissioned Pn to revise thoroughly the text, and Pn executed this work with great diligence and zeal.[1]

The observations referred to above of Hertel concerning copyists, it may be pointed out, do not apply to Pn; for not only was Pn not a copyist, but even the work of revision was undertaken by him, not of his own volition, but at the instance of the minister Soma. And he has himself told us in his *praśasti* that he has subjected to careful examination every syllable, word, sentence, stanza and story which he found in the original text and that the only matter interpolated by him consists of some *subhāṣita* verses.

These, as observed above, are not many in number and can be neglected. Leaving them thus out of consideration, stanzas 6, 8 of the *praśasti* show that Pn did not add anything, neither stories, stanzas nor passages, to the text. In stanza 6, Pn says, 'There is no other copy like this anywhere in this world; such is my conviction'. The expression 'like this' means 'that has been so carefully revised and that is so absolutely free from corruptions as this'; compare Pn's words *śrī-Pūrṇabhadra-sūriḥ idaṃ śāstraṃ praty-akṣaraṃ prati-padaṃ prati-vākyaṃ prati-kathaṃ prati-ślokaṃ viśodhayāmāsa* in stanza 3 of the *praśasti*. It cannot have reference to any added stories, as Hertel is inclined to think.

---

polated before Pn's text was constituted and thus came to be included in Pn's Pañca. For the rest, there can be no doubt that the interpolators of the latter 'duplicate' passages also were as stupid as the copyist of the Ms Bh.

Note also that, like the duplication in the story of *The Hare and Partridge* (see PR. 2, 77), this duplication in Bh too has led to an inconsistency in the story which has been pointed out by Hertel on p. 69 l.c.

1. The borrowings from SP, Spl and other recensions, the omissions and transpositions of words and their replacement by synonyms, the 'duplication' of passages, and the addition of stories, etc., are thus all the work of copyists, and not of Pn. The 'duplication' of passages and the inconsistencies must have been, without doubt, noticed by Pn; but his object was not a drastic revision of the text in respect of its subject-matter but a restoration of the original forms of corrupt words.

I consider therefore that Hertel is mistaken when he interprets these words to mean 'a new redaction of the Pañca. like this' for, if it were right and if Pn had really added some stories to the text and produced a new redaction, there would not be any necessity for him to say *iti niścayo me* 'such is my conviction'. Every author who produces something new *knows* naturally there is no other MS like it anywhere in the world. There is nothing extraordinary in that fact, and no one would think of drawing pointed attention to it. On the other hand, it is because Pn has added nothing new to the text, and because the text in his revised MS is the same as that found in many other MSS but quite free from corruptions, that he thinks it worth while to call attention to it.

Similarly, in stanza 8 of the *praśasti*, Pn says, 'This book, *asau* (*granthaḥ*), like a renovated temple, has been inaugurated[1] in the presence of learned men in Hasta, on Sunday, the third day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna, in the year 1255'. *Jīrṇoddhāraḥ* denotes the renovation of any ruined building; but usually, as here (compare the word *vibudhaiḥ*), it refers to the renovation of a ruined temple. As we know, in the process of renovation, nothing new is added to temples; and its mention here as *upamāna* indicates that, in respect of the *jīrṇagrantha* too, the ruins only have been repaired but nothing new added, by Pn.

It thus becomes clear from the foregoing that Pn merely revised the text contained in the MSS that he had before him, and that he did not add anything (except some *subhāṣita* verses)

---

1. *pratiṣṭhā*, in connection with temples, refers to the ceremony of inauguration or consecration. In connection with a book, it refers to some kind of ceremony which marks the completion and 'publication' of the book. It is interesting to note that the Kannaḍa poet Janna too has used this word in connection with his *Anantanātha-purāṇa* (*māḍisidaṃ pratiṣṭheyam Ananta-śrīpurāṇakke . . . Jannamarasaṃ*) and says that he performed in the Śāntinātha temple at Haḷēbīḍ the *pratiṣṭhā* ceremony in connection with that work in the Nakṣatra Puṣya, on Thursday, tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Caitra, in the Śaka year 1152 (Thursday, 16th March 1228 A.D.). The word *pratiṣṭhā* is used by him in connection with his *Yaśodharacarita* also, written in about 1209 A.D.

to it. This was the opinion of Hertel himself once, when he wrote as follows in ZDMG. 56, p. 324.

"It may justifiably be assumed that this recension is not one that has been recast purposely, but is merely an old version which has been amplified by the interpolation of new stories. We have up to now no parallel instance where an amplification by twenty-seven stories such as is found in the Textus Ornatior [*i.e.*, Pn's Pañca] can be traced back to *one* interpolator. Also, in none of the MSS of the Ornatior is found an account, like, for instance, that in the version of Anantabhaṭṭa or in the introduction to the SP, which points to such recasting on purpose".

This opinion, however, was soon after abandoned by Hertel (see *Nachtrag* on p. 326 l.c.), principally because he found in some MSS of the Ornatior which were received after he wrote the above paper, the *praśasti* at the end which contains the name of Pūrṇabhadra whom Hertel took to be author of the redaction. This, as pointed out above, is a mistake; for the words (*viśodhayāmāsa, saṃśodhitam*) used by Pn to denote the work done by him in connection with the Pañca MSS by no means indicate that he was the redactor of a Pañca version. Anantabhaṭṭa on the other hand, with whom Hertel compares Pn, not only has the following stanzas—

natvā kṣīrābdhijā-jāniṃ Brahma-Śarvādikān api|
Gaṇeśaṃ vighna-hantāraṃ vande Haimavatīsutam|| 1 ||
pada-vākya-pramāṇa-jño 'nantabhaṭṭa iti śrutaḥ|
Bhaṭṭa-śrī-Nāgadevasya tanūjaḥ Kāṇva-śākhinaḥ|
kautukāt tanyate tena Pañcopākhyānasaṃgrahaḥ|| 2 ||
kathā-mātrasya vistāro jñātavyo 'tra subuddhibhiḥ|
tathopayukta-padyasya navaḥ[19] sarvasya saṃgrahaḥ|| 3 ||

at the beginning of his book, but has also, as pointed out by Hertel in ZDMG. 56, 297, described himself as *viracayitṛ* at the end. He has thus indicated plainly that his work is a recast of the *Pañcopākhyāna* or *Pañcatantra*; and it is hence improper to compare Pn with him.

Regarding the date contained in stanza 8 of the *praśasti*, Hertel has cited on p. 22 of his *Introd.* the opinion of Prof.

---

19. See Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra,* p. 250, n. 2. The reading *nava* found in the MSS in 3d stanza stands, it seems to me, for *navaḥ,* and not for *na ca* as Hertel believes.

Jacobi that it corresponds to Sunday, 17th January 1199 A.D. This seems to me to be incorrect; as I have shown elsewhere (see p. 55 above) the month mentioned here is not the *pūrṇimānta*, but the *amānta* month Phālguna, and the equivalent of the given date is Sunday 14th February, 1199 A.D. It was on this Sunday that Pn finished this work of revision and performed the *pratiṣṭhā* ceremony of the book. And since it requires the passing of at least one hundred and fifty years for all the (MS) copies of a book to become full of corruptions from beginning to end, it follows that the Pañca redaction revised by Pn must have been in existence in A.D. 1050 at the latest.

The name 'Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra' is a misnomer, since, as shown above, Pn was not the redactor of the version in question. Because, however it has been already used by Hertel, Edgerton and other scholars to denote that Pañca version; and because moreover, it is necessary to have a distinctive name by which one could refer to it (the names *textus ornatior*, *textus amplior* and the like are capable of being applied to other Pañca versions),[20] it is convenient to retain it for that purpose, with the explanation that Pn is not the redactor, but the reviser only, of the version in question.

Editorial Note.—An old meaning of the root '*tan*' is '*to spin*'. '*Tantra*' means '*warp*'. It would not be difficult to see that the word '*tantra*', in the name *Pañcatantra*, should be taken to preserve its old derivative sense '*a fable*'. A fable is something that is spun out. In this connection, it would be interesting to note the *semantic* relation between *tantra* in the sense of '*fable*' and the English phrase '*to spin a yarn*'='*to tell a story*'.

S. K. Sastri.

---

20. There are at least two versions of the SP that can be referred to as 'textus ornatior' or 'textus amplior' of the SP.

A TAMIL INSCRIPTION FROM ŚUCĪNDRAM.

BY

S. DESIKAVINAYAGAM PILLAI.

The subjoined inscription is found engraved in two columns on a wall near the Vāhanappuri situated in the Western prākāra of the famous Śiva temple at Śucīndram. It is dated Thursday the 19th of Dhanus 432 M.E. It registers the gift of சொக்கத்தாண்டாள் alias உலகமுழுதுடையாள், queen of Śrī Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva, for providing offerings to the God at Śucīndram as also for feeding three Brahmins at the time of worship every day. The language and the characters employed are both Tamil. A few Sanskrit words occur here and there and they are written in Grantha alphabet. The last 3 or 4 lines of the first column and the right ends of some lines of the second have been built in.

The record is of more than usual interest to the South Indian Epigraphist as it gives for the first time the name of the wife of Vīra Pāṇḍya. The fact that this gift-deed of a Pāṇḍya queen is dated in the Malabar Era and not in the regnal year of her royal consort as usual deserves to be noted in particular.

Now, we have another epigraph[1] from Valliyūr dated in the 4th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya in which one சொக்கத்தாண்டாள் alias உலகமுழுதுடையாள் figures as the builder of the மூன்றுயுகம் கண்ட அம்மன் temple in that village. She is then referred to as a dancing-girl (சாந்திக் கூத்தி) attached to the temple at திருவானைக்காவு in ராஜகம்பீரவளநாடு.

In these circumstances I can not resist the temptation to hold that the name சொக்கத்தாண்டாள் represents one and the same individual in both the records mentioned above. The question may arise: Did Vīra Pāṇḍya marry a courtesan and elevate her to the rank of a queen? The pages of South Indian History bear ample evidence to show that some of our early sovereigns have not only kept and treated Devadāsis as their wives but even

---

1. A.R.E. (Madras) for 1929-30; No. 364. p. 37.

appointed their sons to succeed them as rulers in preference to their legal heirs.

The identification of the king presents little difficulty. From the dates supplied by the two records it can easily be seen that he is none other than the Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya who began his rule in or about the year 1253 A.D.

SUCĪNDRAM TEMPLE.

COLUMN I

1. கொல்லம் ௪௱௩௰௨ மாண்டை(த்)தனு ஞாயிறு ௰௬ சென்ற வி(யாழ) வாட்சையும்வி

2. சாகமும் ஏகாதெஷியும் பெற்ற இந்நாளால் நாஞ்சி நாட்டு ஸுசீந்த்ரஶா (னசுந்தர சோழச்சது வேல்வ)

3. திமங்கலமுடையார் ஸுசீந்த்ரம் உடைய நயினார் ஸ்ரீகோயி லில் திருச்சுற்று மண்டபத்தில் இருந்து

4. ஸபையும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வாரும் இருந்தெழுதின செய்கட ஓலை(க்)கரணமாவது உடையார் ஸுசீ

5. ந்த்ரமுடையாரார்க்கு பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீ வீரபாண்டிய தேவர் நம்பிராட்டியார் சொக்கத்தாண்டாளான

6. உலகமுழுதுடையார் நித்தல் செல்வதாக திருவமுதுக்கு கற்பிச்ச அரிகுறுணி இருநாழிக்கும் அஞ்சிரண்டால்

7. நெல் முக்குறுணி ஒருநாழியும் ஸந்திஜாகாலத்து அமுது செய்யும் ப்ராஹ்மணர் மூவற்கு வெஞ்ச

8. நமுட்பட நெல் முக்குறுணியுங் கூட . . . . . . க்குங் கல்ப்பிச்ச புதுப்பொன் அச்சு இருநூறு

9. இவ்வச்சு இருநூற்றிலும் இவ்வூர் தேவரடியாள் குன் றூண்டி திருவாண்டி கெக்கொ

10. ண்ட அச்சு ௱௫௰௫-க்கும் நாளொன்றுக்குச் செலுத் தும் அரி குறுணி யிதில் பெரிய நாயனார்(க்)கு திருவமுதுக்கு அரி

11. அஞ்ஞாழியும் திருவேங்கடத்துக்கு திருவமுது செய் விச்சு சோறு தான் கொண்டு வரும்

12. அரி முந்நாழியும் ப்ராஹ்மண ஹோஜனத்துக்கு ஓராண் டில் இவள் செலுத்தும் மாஸம் ஒன்பது

13. ம் இப்படி செலுத்துவாளாகவும் செலுத்துமிடத்து முட்டுகில் இவள் கைக்கொண்ட அச்சு ருு

14. ௰ரு-க்கும் ஒன்றொன்றே காலாக வரக்கண்ட அச்சு ரு௰சுங்கூட அச்ச ருரு௰சுக்குஞ் செலுத்தின நில

15. ங்கள் வேட்கைக் குளத்தின்கீழ் அமரபுயங்க வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு . . . .

16. கீழ்மருதறை தடி க நில . . . . . . பள்ள மடை தடி . . . . . . யும் இந்திர வீரவாய்க்காலுக்கு தெற்கு . . . .

17. . . . . யும் ஆகத்தடி மூன்று . . . . ன் மேல் அச்சு . . . . மேல்படியாள் அ . . . . . .

18. . . . . . . அமரபுயங்க வாய்க்காலுக்கு தெக்கு . . . . கேசவநாராய . . . .

19. . . . . . பனையறைதடி ஒன்று நிலம் . . . . வாய்க்கால் . . . . . கு வடக்கு

20. றைதடி க நில. . . . . ஆக . . . . யின் மேலும் ஒ . . . .

21. . . . . யின் மேலும் ஒள்ள . . . .

22. அச்சு . . . . ஸ்ரீஹூசுவமில் ரு கண்ணாற்றில் குளத்தில் பெரு . . . .

23. அச்சு சூ௰ கொடுத்து விலைகொண்டுடைய . . . . றொன்றும் ஆன இந்நில . . . . .

24. தொண்ணூற்றநாலும் மேல்படியில் செல்லாண்டி சேகராண்டாள் கைக்கொண்ட . . . . .

(Built in)

COLUMN II

1. காலுக்கு தெற்கு நாலுக . . . . தடிக நில. சம் அமரபுயங்க வாய்க்காலுக்கு

2. வடக்கு . . . . கண்ட மாடத்தி . . . . . ஞெடு ஒற்றியொள்ள சூலத்தறை தடி . . . . .

3. மேல் ஒற்றிமாவில் ஒள்ள அச்சில் கூட்டிய அச்சு சம் ஆக அச்சு ௯ரும் இவ்வூர் சோமாசிமங்கல

4. சங்கரன் இராமன் கைக்கொண்ட அச்சு ௯ருக்கும் ஸ்ராஹ்மண போஜனம் ஓராண்டில் மூன்று . . . .

5. ம் மூவரை ஊட்டுமிடத்து முட்டுகில் அச்சு ஒருக்கும் ஒன்றொன்றேகாலாக வாசிகண்ட அச்சி . . . .

6. செலுத்தின நில. வேட்கைய் குளத்தின்கீழ் பழங்கிடப்பு . . . ளவறை . . . .

7. சலுத்தின அச்சு ஊருய இப்படி செலுத்துமிடத்து பூஜயும் ஸ்ராஹ்மண போஜனமும் ஒ . . . .

8 லமுட்டிாட்டி செலுத்துவாராகவும் இரண்டு மாசம் முட்டுகில் தெண்டமும் முட்டிாட்டி செலு . . . . .

9. கவும் இப்படி செலுத்து மடத்து . . . . . . செலுத்து வாராகவும் . . . .

10. . . . நித்யவல் வஸிஜையும் ஸ்ராஹ்மணஹொஜனமும் முட்டாமல் செலுத்துவாராகவும் . . . . .

11. திருவாண்டிகைக் கொண்ட அச்சு நூற்றைம்ப . . . . . க்கும் செல்வாண்டி சேகராண்டி . . . . .

12. ருபதும் சங்கரன் இராமன் கைய்கொண்ட அச்சு இருபத்துஞ்சும் ஆக அச்சு இருநூற்று . . . . .

13. து மடத்து முட்டுகில் ஒன்றுக்கு ஒன்றேகாலாக அச்சு ஊருயம் இட்டு கொண்ட நிலங்களில் . . . . .

14. டாரத்தில் கைக்கொண்டு வஸ்ராஜித்யவல் . . . . வஸிஜையும் ஸ்ராஹ்மணஹொ ஜனமும் . . . , .

15. லுஞ் செம்பிலும் வெட்டுவிச்சுக் கொள்ளுமாறு கற்பிச்சு இச்செய் கடஓலெ . . . . .

16. ருண்டி திருவாண்டியுஞ் செல்வாண்டி சேகராண்டாளும் சங்கரன் இராமனும் உடையார் ஸ்ரீ ஶாவிஸ்ர . . . . .

17. யனர் தேவகன்மிகளுக்கு இப்படிக் கிவை குன்றுண்டி திருவாண்டி எழுத்து செல்வாண்டி சேகராண்டாள் (எழு)

18. த்து இவை சங்கரன் இராமன் எழுத்து ஸஹெஷய்ப் பெருமக்கள் குறைவற இருந்து அருளி . . . . .

19. யெ இவ்வெழுத்து வெட்டினேன் இக்கோயில் தச்சாசாரியன் சிங்கன் சடையனுன உ . . . . .

20. . . . வாயஸின் எழுத்து அருளிச் செயல்படி . . . . த்திமுகம் கைக்கொண்டு இவ்வெழுத்து . . . .

21. இக்கோயிலில் ஸிவப்ராஹ்மணந் குலமாணிக்கன் தாணு வான ஸ்ரீ பத்மநாபப்ராஹ்மணந் .

No. 364, p. 37. A. R. E. 1929—30, (Madras).

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோச்சடைய பன்மரான த்ரி
2. புவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ வீரபாண்டிய
3. யதேவர்(க்)கு யாண்டு சவது (ராஜகம்பீ)
4. ரவளநாட்டு திருவானைக்காவில்
5. திருப்பதியில் சாந்திக் கூத்திகளில்
6. சொக்கத்தாண்டாரான உலகமு
7. ழுதுடையார் வள்ளியூர் வடக்குவ
8. ாசலில் தேவி கோயிலுக்கு உபான (ஜெ
9. கதி குமுதோபரி பட்டிகையந்தமாகெ)
10. தவியையும் ஆஸிஷ்டிச்சுத்தங்கள் பேத்தி (ய
11. ாரா) சிறிய பிள்ளை (யை உலகத்தாண்டாழுக்)
12. க்கும் . . . . . . லஅவ . . . . . . யு
13. ருளு . . . . . . கொயில் . . . . . .
14. ஞ்செ . . . . . . உலகமுழுதுடையா
15. ாத . . . . க்கு . . . .

KRIYĀ-KALPA

A PRE-BHĀMAHA NAME OF THE ALAṀKĀRA-ŚĀSTRA

(With a note on the evolution of the names of Sanskrit Poetics.)

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, B.A., (Hons.),

Research Student in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

It will not be a surprise if on examining the history of the several names of a branch of knowledge in its long course through the centuries, one finds that it is not always the survival of the best that is the rule in the realm of nomenclatural evolution. This is borne out by an examination of the names of the subject of Sanskrit Poetics which is called Alaṁkāra Śāstra, not because of any innate appropriateness of that name. The name of the concept of Alaṁkāra stuck to the whole subject even though the concept itself got dethroned after a time.

In English the subject called Literary Criticism has the old name Poetics or the Study of Poetry and we have Aristotle's work on the subject called Poetics. In Sanskrit the most common name for the subject and as a matter of fact, the only name which finally stood, is Alaṁkāra Śāstra. Sometimes we have in its place the name Sāhitya Vidyā. "पञ्चमी साहित्यविद्या इति यायावरीयः" says Rājaśekhara. (K. M. p. 4). The name *Sāhitya* is very much later than the name Alaṁkāra. It was evidently born out of Grammar and it slowly came to denote poetry itsef upon the basis of Bhāmaha's definition of poetry:

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् । I. 16.K. A.

Sāhitya was gaining some importance after the time of Ānandavardhana. It was taken up by two prominent writers who came immediately after Abhinavagupta, namely, Bhoja and Kuntaka. Sometime afterwards, we had the first regular work on Poetics which had the name of Sāhitya, namely, the Sāhitya Mīmāmsā of Ruyyaka. After this, the word was in greater use and in later Alaṁkāra literature one of the most important works has this name, namely, the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha.

Whenever accomplishments of men of taste were referred to, the word Sāhitya was always used along with Saṁgīta. Though not as old as Alaṁkāra, Sāhitya is the only name of Sanskrit Poetics, which became as common as Alaṁkāra.

Sāhitya means the poetic harmony, the beautiful mutual appropriateness, (perfect mutual understanding, if we can borrow a phrase from team-sports) of Śabda and Artha. The concept is of great significance and I have dealt with it and its history in a separate paper to be published. Compared with Sāhitya, the name Alaṁkāra is of much less poetic worth. It is but a reminder of that stage in the history of Sanskrit Poetics when the concept of Alaṁkāra was sitting high on the throne of poetic expression. The Alaṁkāra age of Sanskrit Poetics is much older than Bhāmaha and lived up to the time of Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, and Rudraṭa. Its last great votaries were Bhoja and Kuntaka. Bhāmaha's work is called Kāvyālaṁkāra; Udbhaṭa, who commented upon Bhāmaha, names his independent work on the subject as Kāvyālaṁkāra-sārasaṁgraha; Vāmana and Rudraṭa only follow and name their works also as Kāvyālaṁkāra. Though Daṇḍin seems to be an exception, he only proves the rule; for, though he calls his work Kāvyādarśa or Mirror of Poetry, he is the writer who pays the greatest tribute to Alaṁkāra. Bhoja ardently walks behind Daṇḍin and in his stupendous Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa erects a new and huge throne for Alaṁkāra. Guṇas, alaṁkāras, rītis, vṛttis, sandhis, lakṣaṇas, rasas, language, metre, form of composition, namely, epic, drama etc.,—why, everything is Alaṁkara to Bhoja. The Alaṁkāra age of Sanskrit Poetics which can roughly be marked off as ending with Rudraṭa, is also a very significant period in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. For, it is the analysis of the Alaṁkāras that led to the rise of Vakrokti and in another direction through such Alaṁkāras as Dīpaka, Samāsokti, Paryāyokta etc., containing a suggested element, gave rise to the concept of suggestion, Dhvani. Vakrokti is a continuation of Alaṁkāra; its greatest exponent, Kuntaka, describes his work, the Vakrokti Jīvita as Kāvyālaṁkāra.

काव्यस्यायमलङ्कारः कोऽप्यपूर्वो विधीयते । I. 2.

ग्रन्थस्यास्य अलङ्कार इत्याभिधानम् । Vṛtti. p. 3.

V. J., De's Edn.

It is as a result of the importance of this Alaṁkāra stage of Sanskrit Poetics that the whole system got itself named after one

of the several elements of poetry, Alaṁkāra Śāstra. Says Kumārasvāmin:

यद्यपि रसालङ्काराद्यनेकविषयमिदं शास्त्रं तथापि च्छत्रिन्यायेन अलङ्कारशास्त्रमुच्यते ।

p. 3, Ratnāpaṇa on the Pratāparudrīya; Bālamanoramā Edn.

At the hands of Vāmana, Alaṁkāra gained greater proportions; it expanded and attained greater significance and beauty. It came to him from Daṇḍin and when he turned that stone of Alaṁkāra handed to him, it exhibited diverse hues. He realized that it meant Beauty. It had come to mean not only the small graces of the Śabdālaṁkāras and the figures of speech called Arthālaṁkāras but the sum-total of the beauty of poetic utterance as such, distinguished from other utterances. To Vāmana, Alaṁkāra was Beauty, *Saundarya*.

For the nonce, it seems as if Poetics has got a new and comprehensive name, Saundarya Śāstra. The word 'Sundara', the Beautiful, baffles analysis. We have to resign to the magic of the poet's genius ultimately, to what Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Kuntaka would call *Kavivyāpāra*. *Sundara* and *Saundarya* are words which Abhinava uses very often in his descriptions of poetry in the Locana on the Dhvanyāloka. The synonym *Cāru* (चारु) is also used by Ānanda.

1. शब्दगताः चारुत्वहेतवः p. 5 Ānanda. कामनीयकं and चारुत्वहेतु p. 8 Ānanda. काव्यस्य हि ललितोचितसन्निवेशचारुणः p. 13 Ānanda. विविधविशिष्टवाच्यवाचकरचनाप्रपञ्चचारुणः p. 27 Ānanda.

2. प्रतिभा अपूर्ववस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा । तस्या विशेषो रसावेशवैशद्यसौन्दर्यकाव्यनिर्माणक्षमत्वम् । Abhinava, Locana, p. 29.

न हि त्वया रिपवो हता इति यादृगनलङ्कृतोऽयं वाक्यार्थः तादृगयम् ; अपि तु सुन्दरीभूतः । *Ibid*. p. 72.

Beauty is the primary factor and in its absence neither *Alaṁkāra* nor *Dhvani* can have any claim to be called such or make for poetry.

तथाजातीयानामिति । चारुत्वातिशयवताम् इत्यर्थः । सुलक्षिता इति यत्किलैषां तद्विनिर्मुक्तं रूपम्, न तत् काव्येऽभ्यर्थनीयम् । उपमा हि 'यथा

गौः तथा गवयः' इति । (रूपकं) 'गौः वाहीकः' इति । श्लेषः 'द्विर्वचनेऽचि' इति तन्त्रात्मकः । * * * * एवमन्यत् । न चैवमादि काव्योपयोगीति । Abhinava, Locana, p. 210.

This is said of *Alaṁkāra* by Abhinava and the point is stressed by Bhoja also in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Chap. XI, p. 371, Vol. II, Madras MS.), where he says that the statement धूमोऽयमग्नेः cannot be considered any Alaṁkāra, because it is devoid of the primary characteristic common to all Alaṁkāras (Alaṁkāra-sāmānya-lakṣaṇa), namely, *Śobhā*, which is Beauty. Such a significant interpretation, Bhoja gives to Daṇḍin's description of Alaṁkāra, काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मान् अलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते । The point is further stressed in a well-known passage by Appayya Dīkṣita in his Citra Mīmāṁsā.

सर्वोऽपि ह्यलङ्कारः कविसमयप्रसिद्ध्यनुरोधेन हृद्यतया काव्यशोभाकर एव अलङ्कारतां भजते । अतः 'गोसदृशः गवयः' इति नोपमा * ।

p. 6. N. S. Edn.

The same condition of the necessity of beauty applies to *Dhvani* also. It is not enough if one tries to point out in a case the existence of some technical Dhvani. Even Dhvani has to be beautiful.

गुणालङ्कारौचित्यसुन्दरशब्दार्थशरीरस्य सति ध्वननात्मनि आत्मनि काव्यरूपताव्यवहारः । Locana, p. 17.

Commenting on Ānanda's

विविधविशिष्टवाच्यवाचकरचनाप्रपञ्चचारुणः काव्यस्य etc., (p. 27, Dhva.).

Abhinava says:

तेन सर्वत्रापि न ध्वननसद्भावेऽपि तथा व्यवहारः etc. Locana, p. 28.

Therefore the poetic beauty is the real soul of poetic expression. Abhinava accepts that Beauty is the essence, the soul of the art.

यच्चोक्तम्—'चारुत्वप्रतीतिस्तर्हि काव्यस्य आत्मा स्यात्' इति, तदङ्गीकुर्म एव । नास्ति खल्वयं विवाद इति । p. 33. Locana.

It is this Beauty that is otherwise called *Camatkāra* on which word Viśveśvara, the author of the Camatkāra-candrikā, takes his stand. The words *Vicchitti*, *Vaicitrya*, and even the word *Vakratā* finally mean only Beauty. It is the same, the

beautiful in poetry, that is meant by the *Ramaṇīya* in Jagannātha's definition of poetry. From this point of view, it seems that there was good chance for a new name for Poetics, namely, *Saundarya-Śāstra* but it did not come up. The name *Saundarya-Śāstra* would correspond to the western name of Aesthetics. In the western literature on the subject, the words—the *Beautiful* and the *Sublime*—are often met with. There are the works of Longinus on the Sublime, of Burke on the Sublime and the Beautiful, and of Kant on the feeling of the Sublime and the Beautiful. One whole chapter, in his work, 'What is Art?', is devoted by Tolstoy to an examination of the works on Beauty. But the study of Beauty and Sublimity, Aesthetics or *Saundarya-Śāstra*, does not strictly mean Poetics but embraces the critical appreciation of all Fine Arts, sculpture, painting and music.

In Uddyota I, and elsewhere, Ānanda refers to writers on Poetics, as Kāvya-lakṣaṇa-kārins, for, those who wrote on poetry did so with the idea of defining Poetry. (Dhva. pp. 8, 10, etc.) And *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa* can also be taken as a general appellation applied to Poetics in the days of the reign of Alaṁkāra and even earlier. Bhāmaha, who opens his work with the words—

काव्यालङ्कार इत्येष यथाबुद्धि विधीयते ।

closes it thus with the name Kāvya-lakṣaṇa:

अवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म ।

Daṇḍin proposes in I. 2, of his work to write Kāvya-lakṣaṇa:

यथासामर्थ्यमस्माभिः क्रियते काव्यलक्षणम् ।

All these names, Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, Alaṁkāra, and Sāhitya, are however later names. Before Bhāmaha and before the names Alaṁkāra and the much less definite Kāvya-lakṣaṇa came into vogue, what was the name of the subject of Sanskrit Poetics?

It is the list of the sixty-four arts—Catuṣṣaṣṭi Kalāḥ—given by Vātsyāyana in his Kāma-sūtras that gives out the first glimmer in this connection. After mentioning 'the composing of poetry' —Kāvya kriyā—and two of the subjects helpful to that purpose namely, Lexicon (Abhidhāna kośa) and Prosody (Chandojñāna), Vātsyāyana gives a subject called KRIYĀ-KALPA. (I. iii. 16. p. 32.) What does this Kriyā-kalpa mean? Coming close upon composing of poetry, Lexicon and Prosody, it is very likely that Kriyā-kalpa is a subject related to literature and poetry. A reference to the Jayamaṅgalā upon this reveals to us that Kriyā-

kalpa means Poetics or Alaṁkāra Śāstra. क्रियाकल्प इति काव्यकरण-विधिः, काव्यालङ्कार इत्यर्थः । त्रितयमपि (*i.e.*, Abhidhāna, Chandas and Alaṁkāra) काव्यक्रियाङ्गं, परकाव्यावबोधार्थं च । p. 39. To explain, Kriyā-kalpa must be expanded into Kāvya-kriyā-kalpa, a practical treatise showing the way to compose poems.

The name Kriyā-kalpa consists of the two words—Kriyā meaning *kāvya-kriyā* and Kalpa meaning *vidhi*. Kriyā-kalpa is the correct word. Śrīdhara's commentary on the Bhāgavata reads it wrongly as Kriyā-vikalpa and that wrong form is given in the list of sixty-four kalās in the Śabdakalpadruma and the Vācaspatya, both of which reproduce from Śrīdhara. Relying on this reading, Mr. P. K. Acharya, in an article on Fine Arts in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, (Vol. V, p. 206), says that Kriyā-vikalpa is the art of "derivation and conjugation of verbs in various ways" and that "it refers to grammar and poetics as Yaśodhara says"! If the reading Kriyā-vikalpa is taken as correct and is interpreted as verbs and their derivation and conjugation, where does Poetics come in ? And nobody says that it refers to grammar.

2. The Lalita vistara's list of Kalās mentions this Kriyā-kalpa. *See* p. 156, Lefmann's Edn.

3. Daṇḍin says in his Kāvyādarśa, I. 9:

वाचां विचित्रमार्गाणां निबबन्धुः क्रियाविधिम् ।

Here he refers to his predecessors who wrote Kriyā-vidhi. *Vidhi* simply means *kalpa* and here there is an indirect reference to the name Kriyā-kalpa, which Vātsyāyana acquaints us with. Taruṇavācaspati explains Daṇḍin's Kriyā-vidhi as *Racanā-prakāra* and the Hṛdayaṁgamā, as *Kriyā-vidhāna* which mean the same as the *Kāvya-karaṇa-vidhi* of the Jayamaṅgalā.

4. In a list of the sixty-four Kalās attributed to Bhāmaha and quoted on p. 29 of Tippabhūpāla's Kāmadhenu on Vāmana's K. A. S. and Vṛ., which list closely agrees with that of Vātsyāyana, we have in the place of *Kriyā-kalpa*, the word *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*. This again proves that Kriyā-kalpa is the correct word and that it is an old name for the Alaṁkāra Śāstra.

5. Lastly, we find Kriyā-kalpa mentioned in the Uttara-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, along with many other arts and branches of knowledge. Though much of the present Uttarakāṇḍa may be later accretion, I am of opinion that the cantos on the banish-

ment of Sītā and the recitation of the epic by her two sons are genuine parts of Vālmīki's original. Their superior literary merit easily separates and marks them off. In canto 94, (verses 4 to 10), Vālmīki describes the assembling of Rāma and other men of learning in Rāma's court to hear the two boys recite the epic of Vālmīki. Among the learned men who gathered on that occasion are mentioned पण्डिताः, नैगमाः, पौराणिकाः, शब्दविदः (Grammarians), स्वरलक्षणज्ञाः, गान्धर्वाः, कलामात्राविभागज्ञाः (all the three referring to musicians), पादाक्षरसमासज्ञाः, छन्दसि परिनिष्ठिताः (those well-versed in Grammar and Prosody) and then we find the line—

क्रियाकल्पविदश्चैव तथा काव्यविदो जनान् । Sl. 7.

When Grammar and Prosody have been mentioned, surely Poetics is the only subject waiting to be mentioned and who else than one who is learned in Poetics deserves a seat in a gathering assembled to hear a poem ?

Thus, from Daṇḍin in a way, and from Vātsyāyana and the Rāmāyaṇa in a clear manner, we come to know that, in its early stages, the Alaṁkāra Śāstra was called KRIYĀ-KALPA.

ACCENTUATION IN SANSKRIT DETERMINATIVE COMPOUNDS.

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, B.A. (Hons.),

Research Student in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Sanskrit determinative compounds are brought under two categories, the dependent and the descriptive class.

In the determinative compounds, as they are significantly so called, it is but reasonable to expect the prior member to receive the stress, for the reason that it is placed as the determinative element before the second member in order to modify its significance, and that it is naturally somewhat more prominent than the final component.[1]

As a matter of fact, as has been already noticed by Wackernagel (Altindische Grammatik II. i. Sections 17 and 103) the *tatpuruṣa* compounds like *me̍dha-pati, jā̍s-pati* in the Veda seemed to have stressed the prior member. And Frederick Turnbull Wood also in his thesis, "The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian"[2] draws our attention to the remarkable

---

1. And conversely we find the following :—

यदि स्वरः पूर्वपदे तदर्थः प्रस्फुटो भवेत् ।
भगभक्तस्य ते वयं विप्रजूतः सुतावतः ॥
तवेद्धि सख्यमस्तृतमनादृष्टास ओजसा ॥

Mādhavabhaṭṭa's Ṛgvedānukramaṇī.
Part I. i. iii. 4 and 5.
bhága-bhaktasya (R. V. I. 24, 5.)
Vi̍pra-jūtaḥ (R. V. I. 3, 5.)
á-stṛtam (R. V. I. 15, 5.)
án-ādhṛṣṭāsaḥ (R. V. I. 19, 4.)

2. Language dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America. Number VII. December 1930, Supplement to Language.—JLSA.

fact that the determinative compounds in Lithuanian faithfully preserve the accent of the prior member.[1]

It is significant that even in the distantly remote period of the Ṛg-veda, the tendency had set in to accent the suffix of the final member of the determinative compounds. One notices the same tendency in the determinative compounds of Greek and Latin too.[2] How has this tendency set in and what is it due to ? The view adopted by Justi[3] to explain this is that the logical accentuation of the determinative compounds in these languages, has given way to a rhythmical one for it is often easier for the voice to rise gradually to a primarily accented syllable rather than to begin such a syllable. This appears, at first sight, the only possible view of the matter; for as the stress accent, prevalent a short time before the breaking up of the primitive Indo-Germanic community, was superseded by the pitch accent predominant immediately before the breaking up of the primitive Indo-Germanic community, it is conceivable that a rhythmic pattern originally came to replace the logical accentuation and this rhythmic pattern gradually led on to the oxytonisation of the

---

1. Masing says, "The history of the accent of the Indo-European languages consists essentially in the gradual rise into power of the logical principle of stress."

Vide L. Masing: Die Hauptformen des serbisch-chorwatischen Accents 3. (*cf.* also page 16 of "The accentuation of nominal compounds in Lithuanian.")

2. "In ancient Greek the chromatic or pitch accent was a more striking feature than stress. But opinions are however divided whether in the classical period of Latin the prevailing accentual type was pitch or stress." [*cf.* Wilhem Meyer-Lubke, Grammaire des langues romanes, I, p. 533; Ferdin and Sommer, Handbuch der lateinischen Lautund Formenlehre, pp. 83-112.] "In general it may be said that German and English scholars are inclined to the stress theory while French men rather favour the pitch theory, but in subsequent periods it was decidedly the latter as must be concluded from the development of the Romance languages" *Vide* Chapter IV page 163 of Willem L. Graff's "Language and Languages."

3. Uber die zusammensetzung der nomina in den Indogermanischen Sprachen 75.

(*Vide also* page 49 of "The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds.")

final member. In other words, some sort of a law of economy to facilitate the flow of language might have operated.[1]

It may be doubted whether this general rule alone can satisfactorily account for the shifting of accent from the prior member to the second member in Sanskrit determinative compounds, for "each individual Indo-European language, possesses its own system of accentuation for compounds, regulated by factors that do not affect the other languages in the same manner or degree and only to be studied by taking into consideration the stage of development in which the language is found."[2]

Hence an alternative explanation which may be more satisfactory is sought to be offered in this paper for abandoning the logical accentuation in Sanskrit determinative compounds. In this new explanation, Brugmann's transpositional theory of the origin of Bahuvrīhi compounds is taken into account and a clean case is sought to be made out in the following paras that the perception (false as we would call it from one point of view) that the second member is more important than the first in determinative compounds might have had considerable influence in the abandonment of logical accentuation not only in determinative compounds but also in the possessive compounds in Sanskrit. As slowly the view came to prevail that the second member is more important than the first in the determinative compounds, the original logical accentuation gradually led on to oxytonisation of the final member in Sanskrit. This explanation seems to be a more satisfactory one (as will be presently shown) in view of the fact that even in the pitch-dominating period there are determinative compounds of the descriptive class in the Ṛg-Veda which logically accent the first member.

Some of these compounds are the following:[3]

---

1. For after all "Pitch accent is an essentially flowing element." *cf*. Page 163. Chapter IV. Part I of "Language and Languages. An Introduction to linguistics" by Willem L. Graff, Ph.D. Associate professor of Germanic Languages in Mcgill University. Again, "a great antagonizing force of any kind of semantic accent is naturally the need for rhythm." *ibid* page 168.

2. " The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian" page 16.

3. *cf*. Macdonell:—Vedic grammar for students. Section 188 for these compounds.

sto̍ma-taṣṭā (Ṛ. V. III. 39, 1.)

sto̍ma-taṣṭāḥ (Ṛ. V. III. 43, 1.)

sa̍rga-taktaḥ (Ṛ. V. III, 33, 4; 11.)

Vṛṣā̍-kapeḥ (Rv. X. 86, 2 b; 12;)

Atharva-Veda (XX. 126, 2 b.)

Vṛṣā̍-kapiḥ (Ṛ. V. X. 86, 1; 3; 18;)

Vṛṣā̍-kapim (Ṛ. V. X. 86, 4; 8.)

The history of accentuation of the word Vṛṣā̍-kapi is highly interesting. Consistent with its accentuation in the Ṛg and Atharva Vedas, Śāntanavācārya frames the following sūtra :—

"लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वषो गुरुः"

Phiṭsūtra. Second Pāda. Sūtra 42.

But Pāṇinian sūtra

"वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः" (IV. I. 37.)

shows that during the later vedic period, the accent was shifted to the end of the compound.

There is, a close correspondence between the accentuation of the rare determinative compounds of the descriptive class in the Ṛg-Veda, when the last member happens to be a past passive participle and the accentuation of compounds formed by prepositions with past passive participles.

Examples are

puro̍-hitam (Ṛ. V. I. 1, 1a.)

su̍-kṛtas (R. V. I. 35, 11b.)

śu̍-kṛtam (R. V. I. 85, 9a.)

abhi̍-vṛtam (R. V. I. 35, 4a.)

pra̍-yatam (R. V. I, 154, 3c.)

In the Ṛg Veda, the privative *a* is quite logically accented in the *karmadhāraya* compounds when the last member is a present passive participle as *a̍-kṣīyamāṇā* (R. V. I. 154, 4 b.).

How has the law of economy (for Justi's view comes to this)[1] in pronunciation failed to operate in these rare determinative compounds alone in the Ṛg Veda? Significant is the fact that

1. Zusammensetzung 75 See above.

these compounds are of the descriptive class and are to be rarely met with in the Saṁhitā portion of the Ṛg Veda.

Even in the later vedic period similar compounds retained the accent of the first member. Pāṇini says for instance in VI. 2. 29[1] that some determinative secondary adjective compounds of the descriptive class as *pañcāratniḥ* and *pañcakapālaḥ* accent the prior member.

How did this happen? The reason for this seems to us not far to seek. We know that almost all the possessive compounds (Bahuvrīhi), can be shown to consist chiefly of determinatives turned into adjectives and, as a rule we find them most as the determinatives of the adjectivally descriptive class ending in substantives which are made to agree in gender, number and case with another substantive.

(It looks as though that every determinative compound could be turned into a possessive even in the later Vedic period. For instance *indra-śatruḥ* meaning Indraś destroyer is a dependent determinative compound, but *indra-śatruḥ* meaning 'having Indra as his destroyer' is a possessive compound.

Compare the following :—

अथ यदब्रवीदिन्द्रशात्रुर्वर्धस्वेति तस्मादुहैनमिन्द्र एव जघानाथयद्धशश्वद-
वक्ष्यत् इन्द्रस्य शात्रुर्वर्धस्वेति शश्वदुह स एवेन्द्रमहनिष्यत् ॥ 2

and also दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् 3

We have seen that the determinative compounds of the descriptive class are a rarity in the language of the Ṛg Veda and we have also seen that the *tatpuruṣa* compounds could be easily

---

1. इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ
2. Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 6. 3. 10.
3. Mahābhāṣya Paspaśāhnika Page 2. lines 11 and 12 of Kielhorn's edition.

In the shift of accent from the first member to the second member of the compound, a semantic differentiation is involved. In other words, the same sound combination referentially differs according as it retains the original word accent of the first member or throws its accent to the final syllable of the compound.

converted into *bahuvrīhis*. Combining the two, we may arrive at a solution for our problem, that can be stated thus : at one stage in the pro-ethnic period, as Indo-Germanic people intellectually progressed, they should have formed determinative compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class. Prior to this stage, there should have been in their language only determinative compounds of the dependent class. This conclusion is a legitimate one, for adjectives alone tell upon one's power of judgment (*Vide* Earle-Philology of the English tongue). It is reasonable therefore to assume that a long time should have elapsed between the stage of dependent determinative compound formation and the stage of descriptive determinative compound formation. To develop concepts of numeral adjectives, still longer time should have been required by the speakers of the pre-vedic language so that at a later stage alone the *dvigu* compounds must have arisen. The retention of logical accentuation in some secondary adjective compounds even in the later vedic period may perhaps show their later origin.[1]

At a further stage in the pro-ethnic period, almost all the adjectivally descriptive compounds must have been converted into a new class of compounds *viz.* the possessive. The distinction between the two should have been then very slender ; in fact it should have been one without a difference. Hence the paucity of *Karmadhāraya* compounds in the Samhita portion of the Ṛg-Veda.

And this is perhaps the reason why the commentator of Vājasaneya Saṁhitā Prātiśākhya does not mention the *Dvigu* or the karmadhāraya class, probably in accordance with a very old tradition (but himself quite unawares)—Says he in his comment on I. 27 (शब्दमयम्) of Kātyāyana's, " Śuklyayajurveda Prātiśākhya."

तिङ्कृत्तद्धितचतुष्टयसमासाः····चतुः प्रकाराः समासाः अव्ययीभाव-तत्पुरुषद्वन्द्वबहुव्रीहयः

The author of the ṭippani Prātiśākhya Kīrtiprakāśa, noting this serious omission in the above said enumeration of the classes of compounds, attempts to justify Uvaṭa, in the following manner.

द्विगुकर्मधारयौ तत्पुरुषान्तर्भूतौज्ञेयौ ।

---

1. Vide Pāṇini VI. 2. 29 quoted above.

That the commentator of the Prātiśākhya too must have taken tatpuruṣa not only to mean व्यधिकरणतत्पुरुष but also कर्मधारय is quite clear; but the following passage from Bṛhaddevatā which is usually attributed to Śaunaka, wherein are enumerated the six classes of compounds (which is quoted also by Durga, the commentator on Yāska's Nirukta under II. 2.) probably represents a later view than the earlier tradition.

द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वोऽव्ययीभावः कर्मधारय एव च ।
पञ्चमस्तु बहुव्रीहिः षष्ठस्तत्पुरुषः स्मृतः ॥

Bṛhaddevatā II, 105.

In all probability, in times very much earlier than the author of Bṛhaddevatā, the word तत्पुरुष connoted the sence of the व्याधिकरणतत्पुरुष only. In the following passage of Uvaṭa's commentary also on the sūtra समासेऽवग्रहोह्रस्वसमकालः V. I. of Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya, only four classes of compounds are enumerated.

स च समासः चतुःप्रकारो भवति । यथा अव्ययीभाव-तत्पुरुष-द्वन्द्व-बहुव्रीहयः........एवमेतस्मिंश्चतुःप्रकारेऽपि समासपदेऽवग्रहो भवति ॥

In these two places, we suspect that Uvaṭa is recording only an ancient view though he should have mistakenly thought that the word तत्पुरुष included कर्मधारय also.

That at least some determinative compounds passed through a process of transmutation into the bahuvrīhi class can be easily seen by the fact that as an example of *bahuvrīhi*, Yāska in Nirukta II, 2, 3. exemplifies only tatpuruṣa, though without naming it as remarked by Macdonell in his edition of the Bṛhaddevatā.[1]

After the rapid conversion of almost all the adjectively descriptive compounds into those of a new class as we have already seen, it should have been felt quite possible to convert the other class of determinative compounds too into those of the new class.[2] But here the process of conversion could not

---

1. *Vide* foot note a under section 22. Meaning and Analysis of words on II. 107.

2. We have an evidence in support of our view in the following passage of Sāyaṇa (on Rv. I. 16, 8.)

naturally have been so speedy and very soon it should have been arrested.

Even a few *Karmadhāraya* compounds like Vṛṣā-kapī should have successfully resisted this tide of conversion and on analogy with these historic survivals in the Ṛg-Vedic period, many compounds of the same class should have emerged during the subsequent periods.

As rapidly a new class of compounds was formed out of the existing stock of the old compounds of the determinative class, a way to distinguish the new from the old class of compounds must have been a necessity. We shall see presently how it was done.

Now at one time it might have been wrongly perceived that the final member of the determinative compounds was more important than the prior member for when we say Rājapuruṣaḥ. We are more directly concerned with Puruṣa than with Rāja. So even during the Ṛg-Vedic period, stress was begun to be laid on the final member of the determinative compounds.

In a few compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class however, it might have been perceived that the importance of the first member was more pronounced than that of the second member. The logical accent then naturally in these might have been preserved. Only on analogy with this, the original logical accent of a few tatpuruṣa compounds of the other variety too, was in all likelihood restored. But the true reason for accenting the prior member of the determinative compounds should have been almost forgotten.

In *Dvigu* compounds however, the determinative character of the prior member was so distinctly pronounced that its logical

---

सोमऽपीतये

सोमपानाय । व्यधिकरणबहुव्रीहिः इत्युक्तम् । तत्पुरुषे वा दासीभारादित्वात्
(Pāṇini. VI. 2. 42.)

इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् ।

It is to be noted that Sāyaṇa here hesitates to take the compound as a Bahuvrīhi.

1. That the importance of the first member was sufficiently felt even in later times is evident from the following Vārtika of Kātyāyana

accent was faithfully preserved even in the later Vedic language.[16] At this stage, it is immaterial to go into the inquiry whether these compounds pañca-masyaḥ, pañca-kapālaḥ, etc., actually existed in the earlier Vedic or pre-Vedic period. That similar compounds should certainly have existed then is evidenced by the fact that the compound daśa-māsyaḥ actually occurs in R. V. V. 78, 7 and in Atharva Veda III. 23, 2 also.

It is of interest to note that this compound occurs as a double-accented one in Āpastambha Mantra Pāṭha (2. 11. 15.)— daśa-māsyāya. But in I. 13, 9 of Āpastambha Mantra Pāṭha, the compouud accents only the last member—daśamāsyaḥ.

(The compound pañca-kapālaḥ occurs in Śatapatha brāhmaṇa 2. 2. 3. 14.)

At a latter stage, it is likely that further confusion might have arisen as a result of which even some of the possessives with numeral adjectives as the first member might have begun, to accent the final member, on analogy with the then existing determinative compounds of the dependent class.[1]

tri-yugam (R. V. X. 97, 1);
dvi-rāje (Atharva Veda V. 20, 9);
daśāṅgulam (Yajurveda 31. 1).

All these words have a collective sense. One is led to conjecture that in their origin they might have been descriptive

---

"द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालम्पूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः"
which negatives the operation of Pāṇinian rule
"परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः"
(II. 4. 26.)
It is clear from this Vārtika that in compounds like
निष्कौशाम्बिः,
the prior member was decidedly felt to be more important than the last.

1. (*Cf.* Section 189, Macdonell Vedic grammar for students.)

2. Die Accentgesetze der homerischen Nominal composita-dar gestellt und mit denen des Veda Verglichen 110. *See also* page 49 of "The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian."

compounds accenting the prior member. Subsequently when they were shuffled into a new class of compounds (the possessive), to distinguish them from such Karmadhāraya compounds which accented the first member, the accent might have been shifted backwards to the final member on analogy with the then existing determinative compounds of dependent class, according to the distinction which has been formulated by Schroedar as follows, "when the accentuation of the first member (immutata) according to the main rule for all compounds, is not possible, then the accent is not, as in the mutata, drawn back as far as possible, but the second member receives the same stress which it possesses as an independent word."[1]

Analogy seems to have worked in another direction also. Even some Dvandva compounds having numeral adjectives for their first member accent only their first member like the Dvigu compounds which fact is recorded by Pāṇini.[2]

The compound Dvā-daśa[3] represents the earlier type of Dvandva compounds which had a case form for the initial member. The analogical influence of tatpuruṣa on Dvandva is seen also in the later Dvandva compounds which had a stem only for the initial member. Probably these Dvandva compounds were remodelled on the analogy of the older subordinating class which had the simple stem.[4] Further analogy with tatpuruṣa is clearly seen in the following Vārtikas and Patañjali's comments on them under Pāṇini's sūtra

"चार्थे द्वन्द्वः" (II. 2. 29.)

एकादश द्वादशेति कोऽयं समासः । एकादीनां दशादिभिर्द्वन्द्वः । एकादीनांदशादिभिर्द्वन्द्वः समासः ।(Mahābhāṣya.)

एकादीनां दशादिभिर्द्वन्द्व इति चेद्विंशत्यादिषु वचनप्रसङ्गः

(Vārtika. 16.)

---

1. संख्या (Pāṇini VI. 2. 35.)
Dvādaśa trayo-daśa ca mē
(Vājasaneyi Samhitā 18-24.)
[Taittirīya Saṁhitā 4. 7. 11. 1.]
2. * duō-dekm̥.
3. *Cf.* Brugmann Vol. II, Page 90.
4. Mahābhāṣya II. 2. 29.

एकादीनां दशादिभिर्द्वन्द्व इति चेद्विंशत्यादिषु वचनं प्राप्नोति ॥ एकविंशतिः । द्वाविंशतिः । (Mahābhāṣya.)

सिद्धं त्वधिकान्ता संख्या संख्यया समानाधिकरणाधिकारेऽधिकलोपश्च । (Vārtika, 17.)

सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । समानाधिकरणाधिकारे।

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन (*i.e.* in Pāṇini's sūtra II. I. 49.)

वक्तव्यमधिकान्ता संख्या संख्यया सह समस्यतेऽधिकशब्दस्य च लोपो भवति इति । एकाधिका विंशतिरेकविंशतिः । द्व्यधिका विंशतिर्द्वाविंशतिः । यदि समानाधिकरणः स्वरो न सिध्यति । यद्धि तत्संख्यापूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवतीति द्वन्द्व इत्येवं तत् । किं पुनः कारणं द्वन्द्व इत्येवं तत् । इह मा भूत् । शतसहस्रम् इति । अस्तु तर्हि द्वन्द्वः । ननु चोक्तं एकादीनां दशादिभिर्द्वन्द्व इति चेद्विंशत्यादिषु वचनप्रसङ्गः । नैष दोषः । सर्वो द्वन्द्वः विभाषैकवद्भवति । यदा तर्ह्येकवचनं तदा नपुंसकलिङ्गं प्राप्नोति । लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वाल्लिङ्गस्य ॥ २२ ॥

The above discussion as to whether compounds like एकविंशतिः are Karmadhāraya or Dvandva clearly throws a side-light on the question how near Dvandva compounds approached the Karmadhāraya class and hence shows that the former should necessarily have been influenced through analogy with the latter (or more properly the determinative compounds in general).

It looks here that the distinction between the determinative compound and the Dvandva is very slender.

So it is clear that the shifting of accent from the prior member to the final member in the earlier and later Vedic determinative compounds is not merely due to law of economy (or ease) as Justi opines; his view seems to be not altogether acceptable. But so far, the question how Bahuvrīhi compounds must have been distinguished from the determinative compounds in primitive Indo-Germanic has not been taken. We see that the Lithuanian accents the second member of the possessives even as it accents the first member of the determinatives. After the disappearance of the composition vowel which was first accented as in the determinative and descriptive compounds, the second member of the possessive compounds received as a rule the primary accent of the compound. It is indeed a point to be remarked that Lithuanian logically accents the final member of

the possessive compounds, for as Frederick Turnbull Wood says, "Although the prior member of a possessive compound describes or extends the meaning of the second, the compound as a whole does not stand alone; it is (or was) an adjective used to emphasize a particular characteristic of the person or thing described. Thus an individual with a deformed foot is called Kump Kójis 'having a crooked foot' for it is the foot and not some other part of him which is worthy of mention."[1] We are now tempted to revise our opinion with regard to the rare possessives in Sanskrit like tri-yugám which accent the final member. We observed that on analogy with later Tatpuruṣa compounds of the dependent class, they might have been accented on the final member in order to distinguish them from such determinative compounds of the descriptive class which faithfully preserved the orignal logical accent of the first member. But we may now say with greater justification that they might be the historic survivals of the Indo-Germanic compounds of the possessive class.

But whatever view we might adopt with regard to these particular compounds, it looks perfectly reasonable to suppose that through false perception, Sanskrit was not able to faithfully preserve the original and the logical accent of the Indo-Germanic compounds of all classes while Lithuanian could do so. The belief that the final component alone is more important than the first member in determinative compounds (which we call false perception) might have been the root cause of all subsequent confusion in Sanskrit.

Compare also what Mādhava-bhaṭṭa says in his Ṛg-vedānukramaṇī[2]

तत्रोत्तरपदार्थस्य प्राधान्यं यत्र वर्तते । उदात्तस्तत्र भवति सुरूपकृत्नुमूतवे ॥

su-rūpakṛtnúṃ (R. V. I. 4. 1).

Mādhava-bhaṭṭa gives some more examples too in this connection (*see* the following verse of the Ṛg-vedānukramaṇī.) His examples are:

---

1. Page 62. "The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian," Language dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America. Number VII. December 1930. Supplement to Language Journal of the Linguistic Society of America.

2. Part I. I—iii. 2.

draviṇo-dā́ (R. V. I. 15, 7.)

havya-vā́ham (R. V. I. 12, 2.)

dru-padéṣu (R. V. I. 24, 13.)

hiraṇya-rathám (R. V. I. 30, 6.)

Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's explanation for accenting the second member of some Dvandva compounds (of इतरेतरयोग variety) may serve equally well with regard to the end-accentuation in determinative compounds also; the importance of the first member as determinative element is brought out by the position it is given in the compound and the immediate importance of the second member which the users of the language perceive, is brought out by the accent it bears at the end. We venture to suggest that there is every likelihood of some such rationale being invented even in the Ṛg-vedic period. Compare

Ṛg-vedānukramaṇī.[1]

स्थिते पूर्वपदस्यार्थे द्वितीयस्यापि सङ्ग्रहः । अन्तोदात्तस्ततो........ ।

It has been thus shown in the foregoing paragraphs that the earliest Tatpuruṣa compounds in the Indo-Germanic parent speech might have logically accented the prior member at the time when stress or expiratory accent predominated, sufficiently long and yet not too long before the breaking up of the primitive Indo-Germanic community.[2] To avoid any possibility of misconception, it should be noted that it is purely a guess which the facts in the Lithuanian language warrant.[3]

But as the pitch accent came to predominate immediately before the breaking up of the primitive Indo-Germanic community, it may be that the logical accentuation gradually came

---

1. Part I. i. iii, verses 7 and 8.

2. For the question when the expiratory and the musical accentuation preponderated in the primitive Indo-Germanic community, *see* section 670 of Brugmann's "Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages" Volume I.

3. "The Indo-European word accent is in all likelihood better preserved by Lithuanian and Sanskrit than by any other member of the family. But in Sanskrit the laws pertaining to the accentuation of compounds have suffered many changes on account of the ever increasing inclination to stress the suffix." *Cf.* "The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian." Page 1.

to be replaced by the rhythmical one and this replacement was more or less a mechanical occurrence.

The view that the second member was more important than the prior member, in all probability, accelerated this replacement till ultimately this tendency led on to oxytonisation in Sanskrit.

The earliest Bahuvrīhis formed by the transmutation of certain determinative compounds should have too accented the last member quite logically in the Indo-Germanic which is again a guess made after a careful observation of the accentuation of possessive compounds in Lithuanian. But this practice should have been completely reversed in later times during the Vedic period when the tendency to end-accentuate the determinative compounds came to prevail.

In our subsequent paper, it is proposed to make an attempt, at least to conjecture whether various stages of determinative compound accentuation (from the stage of logical accentuation of the prior member to the stage of accentuation of the suffix of the second member) in the earlier Vedic period (and incidentally the corresponding stages of Bahuvrīhi compound accentuation) can be marked out, mainly in the light of Pāṇini's theory of accentuation.

THE REḌḌI KINGDOM OF RAJAMUNDRY

BY

DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

Reader in Indian History, University of Madras

THE SCOPE.—The history of Rajamundry surveyed in this article extends hardly over fifty years; but it is of considerable interest to the general student of Indian history. The territory over which the Reḍḍis ruled was, no doubt, comparatively limited in extent; but its position in the midst of three great kingdoms of the Dekkan gave the Reḍḍis an important place in the field of interstate diplomacy. The Bahmani Sultan, the Gajapati and the Rāya of Vijayanagara displayed great eagerness to secure some footing in the fertile region under the sway of the Reḍḍis, and the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvarī delta, consequently became the battle-ground of South India during the 15th and 16th centuries.

THE SOURCES.—The sources fall into two classes, inscriptions and literature. The evidence of the latter is indispensable for an intelligent study of the history under survey, as two contemporary writers, Śrīnātha and Kommana, furnish much information which is not available otherwise. The Muhammadan historians have also a good deal to offer. Lastly, tradition, in its turn, has much to say about the events connected with the history of this period. An attempt is here made for the first time to give an account of the kingdom of Rajamundry during the 14th and 15th centuries, based on these sources.

SECTION 1: EARLY HISTORY.—The Gōdāvarī delta appears to have been included in the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu almost from the time of its foundation. Prōlaya Vēma is said to have waged a war on the Gajapati, the king of Cuttack. In some of his inscriptions he is said to have sported in the waters of the Brahmakuṇḍi, the Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā, and the Gōdāvarī[1]. He is also said to have granted *agrahāras* to Brahmans "on the banks of the Guṇḍlagamma, the Kṛṣṇā, and the Gōdāvarī which he won

---

1. M. E. R. A. 5 of 1919-20.

by his valour[1]." It is evident from this that Prōlaya Vēma conquered the country extending from the Guṇḍlakamma in the south and the Gōdāvarī on the north. The grant of several *agrahāras* to Brahmans on the banks of these rivers indicates that the conquest was not a temporary occupation of the territory during the course of a raid, but the permanent acquisition of sovereignty over it. It is not possible to know more about his conquest of the Gōdāvarī delta at present. Prōlaya Vēma died in A. D. 1356 after a rule of twenty-six years, and was succeeded by Anapōta, his eldest son, who seems to have been taking an active part in the administration of the kingdom during the reign of his father.

At the time of his accession, Anapōta's authority was recognised throughout the whole of his kingdom. An inscription of A. D. 1356 records his gift of a bell to the temple at Drākṣārāma.[2] It is evident from this that he inherited from his father, the Gōdāvarī delta like the rest of his dominions. His authority in this region was soon challenged by Bhaktirāja, the Cōla chief of Mummaḍiprōlavaram. According to the Rajamundry Museum plates of Annadēva, Bhaktirāja defeated Anapōta in a battle at Sūravaram.[3] This event should have happened very early in Anapōta's reign, for none of his inscriptions of a date later than 1356 A. D. is found anywhere in the Gōdāvarī district. It may be inferred from this that he lost his hold on this region soon after his accession, and could not make any attempt to re-establish it until the last years of his reign, as he had to fight several enemies nearer home.

The defence of Dharaṇikōṭa, the chief stronghold of the Reḍḍis on the Kṛṣṇā, became the most important problem of Anapōta's reign. As it was subjected to a series of attacks by his enemies, he was obliged to provide for its defence constantly. The Muhammadans were the earliest to attack the fort. It is stated in an inscription at Dharaṇikōṭa, dated in A. D. 1361, that the Muhammadans laid siege to the fort of Dharaṇikōṭa; but were defeated and driven away by Kāṭaya Vēma, the commander of Anapōta's troops[4]. According to the Pēdapūḍi grant of Kōma-

1. *Ibid*. 20 of 1915.
2. *Ibid*. 451 A of 1893.
3. *Ibid*. A 8 of 1911-12; J. A. H. S. i. pp. 173-189.
4. *Ibid*. 258 of 1897; S. I. I. VI. No. 226.

ṭīndra, Malla, a brother of Prōlaya Vēma, defeated Alā-ud-Dīn and other Mussalmans[1]. It is stated in the *Burhāni ma'asir* that Alā-ud-Dīn invaded Telingāṇa about 1357 A. D.[2] On this occasion, for nearly one year he travelled through the country of Telingāṇa and having taken possession of the district of Bhōngir, he overthrew the idol-temples and built mosques and public schools in their place. He must have made an attack upon Dharaṇikōṭa during his sojourn in Telingāṇa, but was driven away by the Reḍḍi army commanded by Malla and Kāṭaya Vēma. Singaya Māda, the Velama chief of Dēvarakoṇḍa, was probably the next invader who attempted to capture it. He is said to have inflicted a defeat on Anapōta who came to oppose him before the walls of Dharaṇikōṭa[3]. Notwithstanding his victory, Māda does not seem to have succeeded in capturing the fort, for it remained in the possession of the Reḍḍis till the very last days of their rule. Māda's failure may probably be attributed to the vigilance and ability of Kāṭaya Vēma to whom Anapōta entrusted the defence of the fort. A certain Kēsa, a leader of cavalry, made also an attempt to seize Dharaṇikōṭa, but Anapōta having vanquished him, put him to flight[4].

Anapōta appears to have been left in undisturbed possession of his kingdom subsequent to the Mussalman invasion, when he seems to have made an attempt to recover the territory on the banks of the Gōdāvarī, which he lost during the early years of his reign. He appears to have been successful in his attempt, for it is stated in the Uppugallu grant of his brother Anavēma that he "wrested by force the territory on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and the Gōdāvarī from his enemies[5]."

Although Anapōta had a son called Kumāragiri, for some reason which is not known at present, he was not succeeded by him. After his death his younger brother Anavēma ascended the throne As the earliest of Anavēma's records is dated A. D. 1371[6], it may be assumed that he ascended the throne either in that or the preceding year. He was a

---

1. M. Mss.
2. I. A.
3. Velugotivārivaṁśacaritra p. 51.
4. Jakkana Vikramārkacaritra.
5. Ugādisañcikā.
6. M. E. R. A. 15 of 1922-23.

powerful king, and during his reign, the authority of the Reḍḍis was established in the neighbourhood of Rajamundry more firmly than before. The local chiefs who held sway over the Gōdāvarī delta seem to have rebelled against him soon after his accession. Anavēma marched to the banks of the Gōdāvarī and put down the rebellion with a stern hand. On this occasion he is said to have " destroyed Rājamahēndravara, Niravadyapura and other *sthala durgas*[1]' These events should have taken place before 1374, as his inscriptions testify to his rule over this region from that year onwards. Anavēma displayed considerable statesmanship in settling the conquered territory. He discovered that the Cōḷa princes of Mummaḍicoḷavaram were a source of danger to his authority. Bhaktirāja caused much trouble to his predecessor; and he was probably the real author of the rebellion which he had then suppressed. He might once again defy his authority, on some occasion in the future more suitable for the successful prosecution of his designs. Anavēma considered that it was of utmost importance to secure his alliance for preserving the peace of his kingdom. Therefore, he proposed that his daughter should marry Bhīma, one of the sons of Bhaktirāja. As Bhaktirāja welcomed an alliance with the ruling family, the marriage was duly celebrated.[2] The expectations of Anavēma were fulfilled; and during the remaining years of his reign, the government of the Gōdāvarī delta gave him no cause for anxiety.

The affairs of Rajamundry and its neighbourhood were not heard of until 1385 A. D. Many changes had taken place at Koṇḍavīḍu during the interval. Anavēma died in A. D. 1381, and he was succeeded by his nephew Kumāragiri. The king of Vijayanagara had annexed a good deal of Reḍḍi territory in the south, owing to the incompetence of the king and weakness of the central government. Some trouble was probably apprehended at Rajamundry; and Kāṭaya Vēma, the brother-in-law of the king, took charge of the administration of the district. The advent of Kāṭaya Vēma marks an important epoch in the history of Rajamundry. Before he came to assume the control of affairs, Rajamundry was one of the many provincial towns of the Reḍḍi kingdom; but Kāṭaya Vēma made it the head-quarters of his government, and as a consequence it became the second city in

1. *Ibid*. 20 of 1915.
2. Kommana: Śivalīlāvilāsa.

the kingdom. Vēma did not settle down to the peaceful administration of his province. He wanted to increase its extent at the expense of his neighbours probably as a compensation for what was lost in the south. The condition of the kingdom of Orissa gave him considerable encouragement. Owing to the weakness of the government during the reigns of the successors of Narasiṁha III, several petty principalities arose all over the kingdom; and Orissa became the happy hunting ground of ambitious kings and military adventurers. Taking advantage of the disorganised condition of the country, Kāṭaya Vēma invaded the districts in the neighbourhood of his province, and captured several important forts, such as Makledi Kimmūru, Beṇḍapūḍi, Vajrakūṭa, Rāmagiri and Vīraghoṭṭa.[1]. As a consequence of this invasion, the extent of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi's dominions was greatly increased in the north, and Kāṭaya Vēma was left in undisturbed possession of the conquered territory.

Towards the close of his reign, Kumāragiri appears to have become anxious about the future of his kingdom. His only son Anapōta appears to have predeceased him. Owing to his death, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, one of his distant cousins, became the heir to the throne; but Kāṭaya Vēma who had done so much to the kingdom, did not like his succession. As there was keen rivalry between them, Kumāragiri who loved peace did not want to leave the problem to be solved after his death. Therefore, he divided the Reḍḍi dominions into two halves. He gave Koṇḍavīḍu with all the territory in the south to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and Rajamundry with all the territory in the north to Kāṭaya Vēma.[2] Though this partition of the kingdom was agreeable to neither of the rivals, they abided by the terms of the king's decision for the time being. On the death of Kumāragiri in 1403, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma succeeded him at Koṇḍavīḍu and Kāṭaya Vēma at Rajamundry. The Gōdāvarī delta which remained as an integral part of the Reḍḍi kingdom for nearly sixty years was at last separated from it by the will of Kumāragiri, and constituted into an independent kingdom with the city of Rajamundry as its capital.

SECTION 2:—RIVALRY BETWEEN KATAYA VEMA AND PEDA-KOMATI VEMA.—The rivalry between Kāṭaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma did not come to an end with the death of Kumāragiri and the partition of the Reḍḍi kingdom. On the contrary, it

1. Kāṭaya vēma: Commentary on Kālidāsa's Śākuntala.
2. E. I., IV, p. 318—327.

enhanced their hostility, as each believed that the other had no right to rule the kingdom which he obtained by the will of the late king. Each, therefore, attempted to wrest by force of arms, the portion of the other, when a favourable opportunity presented itself. This rivalry between the two successors of Kumāragiri converted the Gōdāvarī delta into the battle-ground of South India where all the important powers of the south measured their strength with one another.

As soon as Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kāṭaya Vēma ascended their respective thrones, they began to strengthen their position by securing allies whose help might enable them to win victory in the coming struggle. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma sought the alliance of Firoz Shah, the Bahmani Sultan, as he feared the kings of Vijayanagara and Rācakoṇḍa, who were bitterly opposed to him. Firoz Shah gladly promised to support him as the alliance with the ruler of Koṇḍavīḍu offered him an excellent opportunity to penetrate into the very heart of Teliṅgāṇa and establish himself there.[1] Annadēva Cōḍa, the son and successor of Bhaktirāja, who appears to have been impatient under the yoke of Kāṭaya Vēma, joined Kōmaṭi Vēma and the Sultan as it would enable him to assert his independence. He was strongly backed up by his brother-in-law, Uṇḍirāja, the ruler of the principality of Śūravaram.[2] Kāṭaya Vēma and the king of Vijayanagara were drawn towards each other on account of their common enmity to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma as well as the bond of relationship which united their families.[3] The chief of Rācakoṇḍa was obliged to seek their alliance as his territories lay between those of his enemies, Firoz Shah and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma[4]. The diplomacy of the two Reḍḍi rivals divided the states of Southern Dekkan into two groups opposed to each other.

SECTION 3: THE WAR.—The struggle may be said to have commenced immediately after the visit which Kāṭaya Vēma paid to Ahobaḷam in 1410[5] probably with the object of inducing Dēvarāya to invade the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. He must have found Devarāya ready to respond to his invitation, as he was only waiting

1. The Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi.
2. J. A. H. S., i, p. 173—189.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Brigg's Ferishta II.
5. M. E. R., 84 of 1915.

for a favourable moment to recover his territories which Kōmaṭi Vēma conquered from him a few years earlier. As a result of this conference the Vijayanagara armies seem to have moved eastwards, and occupied the territory as far as Bapatla, by the middle of 1411;[1] but that was probably a temporary success; for, some of the forts such as Udayagiri still remained in the hands of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma; and it was not until 1413 that he was ultimately expelled from the Vijayanagara territory.

Vēdagiri, the Vēlama chief of Dēvarakoṇḍa, attacked the fort of Dharaṇikoṭa. Māca, the younger brother of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, who was the governor of the fort, opposed him but was slain in battle. Vēdagiri beheaded him, and caused a spittoon to be made out of his skull. This savage act aroused the indignation of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and he resolved to punish the insolent Vēlama for his savage conduct. Having obtained the assistance of his ally, Firoz Shah, he attacked Vēdagiri probably in the neighbourhood of Dharaṇikoṭa and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. Having captured him, he beheaded him, and had a spittoon made of his skull even as he had done with the skull of his brother.[2]

War appears to have broken out at the same time in the Gōdāvarī Delta. It began probably with an attack of Kāṭaya Vēma upon Annadēva Cōḍa and other chiefs who defied his authority. Soon he seems to have discovered that the rebels were too strong to be vanquished by him without external assistance. He, therefore, appealed to his ally Dēvarāya to send him help. It was in response to this appeal that Dēvarāya despatched his armies across the Kṛṣṇā for the first time.[3]

The arrival of Vijayanagara forces must have considerably reduced the chances of success of the rebels. But Annadēva, the leader of the rebels, was as resourceful as he was capable. Having foreseen a development of this description, he entered into an alliance, as we have already noticed, with Firoz Shah, a powerful enemy of Dēvarāya I. Now that the Sultan was in Teliṅgāṇa helping the king of Koṇḍavīḍu against the Vēlamas, he could very easily be persuaded to help him to drive the Karnāṭakas from the valley of the Gōdāvarī. Therefore, he begged the Sultan to march as far as the neighbourhood of Rajamundry, and help him

1. M. E. R., 798 of 1922.
2. The Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi.
3. J. A. H. S., pp. 173—189.

to break the strength of his enemies. The Sultan gladly complied with his request, and marched with all his army towards the east.[1] It was under these circumstances that the armies of the Sultan and the Rāya came into conflict once again.

An account of this war is preserved in the Rajamundry Museum plates of Annadēva. It refers to three battles in which Annadēva is said to have defeated the Vijayanagara armies. In the first place with the help of Firoz Shah, he inflicted a defeat upon Devarāya, at some unknown place. Secondly, with the aid of the junior Uṇḍirāja, he killed the Kannaḍa army near Kaṅkarparti on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. Annadēva is said to have fought this battle to protect some friends whose name is not mentioned. It was probably one of the chiefs who was an ally of Annadēva. Lastly, he claims to have vanquished 'the kings of the south near Attili and protected 10,000 of the enemy's army.'[2] Among the kings of the south, one of them should have been the king of Vijayanagara, and the others were probably his allies.

This series of reverses and the diversion caused by Firoz Shah who attacked the fort of Panugal[3] compelled Dēvarāya I to withdraw his troops from the banks of the Gōdāvarī.

What became of Kāṭaya Vema? He was alive until 1314 A. D.,[4] as shown by the testimony of his inscriptions; but nothing is known of him subsequent to this date. He was probably killed in one of the many battles which he fought against his enemies. He was succeeded by his son Kumāragiri, who appears to have ruled for a short time.[5] The manner of his death is obscure. According to the Kaluvacēru grant of his sister, Anitalli, he died in the midst of his rebellion.[6] It is stated in the Rajamundry Museum plates that Annadēva protected the descendants of Kāṭaya Vēma, as they prostrated at his feet being defeated in the battle.[7] Kumāragiri was probably killed in this battle, and it was his death that reduced his kinsfolk into a state of utter helplessness. It appeared as if Annadēva had attained his object. Kāṭaya

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. Brigg's Ferishta II.
4. M. E. R., 696 of 1926.
5. A. S. P. P., II, pp. 93—112; M. E. R., 467 of 1893.
6. A. S. P. P., II, pp. 93—112.
7. J. A. H. S., pp. 173—189.

Vēma was killed, and his family was very nearly destroyed. Annadēva had only to gather the fruits of his victories over his enemies. He was not, however, destined to realise his ambition.

SECTION 4: ALLADA.—The helpless descendants of Kāṭaya Vēma had at last found a leader, who was strong enough to protect them. He was Allāḍa, a descendant of Perumāḷa, who probably belonged to the same family as Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. Allāḍa seems to have attached himself to Kāṭaya Vēma, to whom he was distantly related, and migrated with him to Rajamundry, when he retired to that place on the death of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi. He married Vēmāmbā, the daughter of the Cōḍa prince, Bhīmarāja, and a grand-daughter, on the mother's side, of king Anavēma of Koṇḍavīḍu.[1] No information is available regarding the part which Allāḍa played in the wars which Kāṭaya Vēma waged with his enemies, as all his inscriptions as well as the contemporary literature belong to a period subsequent to his master's death.

The services which Allāḍa rendered to the kingdom of Rajamundry are briefly described, in the Kaluvacēru grant of his daughter-in-law, Anitalli. He is said to have 'raised with ease like Viṣṇu (Varāha) the earth which was submerged in waters, *viz.*, the wicked chiefs who turned traitors to their master.'[2] The inscription does not, however, describe the manner in which he had achieved it; but this can be discovered from other sources.

In waging the war against the enemies of his master, Allāḍa was greatly helped by his sons, Vēma, Vīrabhadra and Doḍḍa,[3] and his commander Narahari, the son of Pinnama.[4] The first enemy whom he had to tackle was, of course, Annadēva Cōḍa, who appears to have been supported by his son, Vīrabhadra. Allāḍa succeeded in crushing both the father and son, though nothing is known about the way in which he effected it.[5] If the Cōḍa chief whom Allāḍa's son Doḍḍa 'despatched to the world

1. Kommana: Śivalīlāvilāsam.
2. A. S. P. P., II, pp. 93—112.
3. Śrīnātha: Bhīmēśvarapurāṇam and Kāśīkhaṇḍam; Kommana: Śivalīlāvilāsam.
4. M. E. R., 515 of 1893.
5. Śrīnātha: Bhīmēśvarapurāṇam.

of Yama'[1] is to be identified with Annadēva, then it should be admitted that Allāḍa brought about the destruction of the most formidable enemy of his master's family. He appears to have won this victory in A. D. 1416; for nothing is known of Annadēva subsequent to that year. Moreover, it is stated in an inscription dated A. D. 1416, that Allāḍa destroyed the family of the enemy of Kāṭaya Vēma and established his descendants in the kingdom.[2]

It was probably about this time that Allāḍa came into conflict with Kōmaṭi Vēma, who appears to have invaded the kingdom of Rajamundry, on the death of Kāṭaya Vēma. Allāḍa opposed him, and defeated him in a battle at a place called Rāmēśvaram which still remains unidentified.[3] He pursued the enemy, and plundered all his wealth.

About the same time, the Gajapati, Narasiṁha IV seems to have attacked the kingdom of Rajamundry from the north. It is stated in the Vēmavaram grant that 'Allāḍa made a friend of the Gajapati who came.'[4] But the inscription does not give us the cause of his arrival. Why did he come? Did he pay Allāḍa a formal visit? Or did he, taking advantage of the prevailing confusion owing to the civil war, invade the kingdom with the object of seizing some territory? The latter seems to be the true cause of his arrival; for Niśśaṅku Kommana states that 'Allāḍa acquired the title of *Gajapati-daḷa-vibhāḷa*, having won a victory over the king of Cuttack.'[5] The date of the Gajapati's invasion is not known. It is probable that it should have taken place at a time when Allāḍa's authority was not yet firmly established in the delta of the Gōdāvarī. On this occasion, Allāḍa appears to have concluded with the Gajapati a treaty which fixed the boundary between the two kingdoms[6], and stipulated that both of them should remain friends in future. This treaty appears to have recognised the right of Allāḍa to subjugate the whole of Kāḷiṅga; otherwise his continued friendship with the Gajapati would be incompatible with his conquest

1. Kommana: Śivalīlāvilāsam.
2. M. E. R, 503 of 1893.
3. E.I., XIII, pp. 237—250.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Kommana: Śivalīlāvilāsam.
6. E. I., XIII, pp. 234—250.

of Jhāḍa, the seven Māḍes, Bāruha, Donti, Vantunāḍi, Oḍḍādı and Vajraghoṭṭa[1], all of which were included in the country of Kāḷiṅga. The conquest of these places as well as the Puḷindas of Daṇḍaka forest must have been effected about A. D. 1420.

We learn from Niśśaṅku Kommana that Allāḍa having inflicted a defeat upon the Sultan of Dhāra plundered his horses.[2] This is corroborated by the evidence of Śrīnātha, who, however, attributes the victory to Allāḍa's sons Vēma and Vīrabhadra.[3] This is not incompatible with Kommana's statement, for the sons would have certainly participated in the battle fought by the father. We learn from the Vēmavaram plates that the name of this Sultan is Alp Khan.[4] Where and when did Allāḍa come into conflict with him ? The Sultan was a most adventurous and tragic character in the Deccan during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Having murdered his father Dilavar Khan in 1406, Alp Khan ascended the throne of Dhāra, and assumed the title of Sultan Hushang Shah. He was constantly defeated in battle by his neighbour, the Sultan of Gujerat. He believed that his reverses were due to his lack of elephants. In order to make good this defect in his army, he conceived the idea of securing them from the Gajapati, the king of Orissa by means of a stratagem. Assuming the guise of a horse-dealer, he travelled in 1422 A. D. with a thousand followers to Cuttack, and pitched his tents outside the city. He induced Narasiṁha IV, who was then the ruler of the place, to visit his camp, and inspect the horses. When he came to the camp, Alp Khan imprisoned him, and revealing his identity, demanded a number of elephants as ransome. Though Narasiṁha surrendered to him the number of animals demanded, Alp Khan did not set him free at once, but took him with him to the boundary of the kingdom of Orissa where he set him at liberty.[5]

Alp Khan evidently passed through the kingdom of Rajamundry on his return journey. It was then that he was opposed by Allāḍa who vanquished him and plundered his camp. This was the last battle which Allāḍa seems to have fought. As a

---

1. Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍam.
2. Kommana: Śivalīlāvilāsam.
3. Śrīnātha: Bhīmēśvarapurāṇam.
4. E. I., XIII, pp. 237—250.
5. Cambridge History of India, III.

consequence of continuous warfare of six years, Allāḍa destroyed the internal and external enemies of the kingdom of Rajamundry, which he restored to the descendants of his late master Kāṭaya Vēma.

Allāḍa was a shrewd ruler and a capable statesman. He knew that under the circumstances in which he rose to power, it would be utterly impossible for him to rule as king. Therefore, he was content to keep the substance of power in his hands, recognising the sovereignty of Anitalli, the daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, whom he married to his second son Vīrabhadra.[1] He strengthened his position further by effecting the marriage of his son Vēma with the princess Hariharāmbā, a grand-daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, and a niece of Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagara.[2] Having thus allied himself with the family of Kāṭaya Vēma, Allāḍa ruled the kingdom as a trustee on behalf of his daughter-in-law. In spite of the several wars which Allaḍa had waged, he was essentially a man of peace. He wanted to rule the kingdom in peace, undisturbed by his neighbours. Therefore, he concluded, as noticed already, a treaty with the Gajapati and secured his friendship. He also continued to foster the good understanding that had always existed between the royal houses of Rajamundry and Vijayanagara.[3] Lastly he secured the friendship of Ahamed Shah, the Sultan of Gulburga, by the good offices of his minister Beṇḍapūḍi Anna who was a good Persian scholar and a fine caligraphist.[4] By these measures, Allāḍa strengthened his position, and held sway over the kingdom until 1423, when he seems to have died.

SECTION 5: THE REIGN OF VIRABADRA.—On the death of Allāḍa, his son Vīrabhadra was crowned as the king of Rajamundry in 1423 A. D.; but the administration of the kingdom remained in the hands of his elder brother, Vēma, who appears to have been the *de facto* ruler of the state. Vēma was a wise administrator. He followed the policy of amity and friendship which his father had inaugurated. The poet Śrīnātha addresses his brother Vīrabhadra in one place as 'the best friend of the kings of Utkala, Karnāṭa and Turuṣka.' In another place, he calls him 'the store of prosperity obtained by the overwhelming friend-

1. A. S. P. P., II, pp. 93—112.
2. E. I., XIII, pp. 237—250.
3. *Ibid*.
4. Śrīnātha: Bhīmēśvarapurāṇam.

ship of the kings of Karnāṭa.[1] Utkala and Pārasīka." It is evident from this that Vēma knew and appreciated the wisdom of the policy bequeathed to him by his father.

Vēma continued the policy of his father, in another respect also. Allāḍa attempted, as noticed already, to conquer the whole of Kaḷiṅga. The object of this policy was to make the king of Rajamundry the lord of the middle Āndhra country as well as the whole of Kaḷiṅga. In pursuance of this policy, Vēma seems to have conducted several campaigns against the petty principalities with which the whole of Kaḷiṅga was honey-combed at this time. No detailed account of these campaigns has come down to us; but a list of the places taken, and the princes subdued is met with in the contemporary literature. The places which he captured were Saptamāḍes, Jhāḍiya, Janturnāḍu, Bāruha, Donti, Kaluvapalli, Oḍḍādi, Jīḍikōta, Lōtagadta, Śṛṅgārakōṭa, Kañcukam, Kasimkōṭa, Veṅkaṭāyi, Kappakoṇḍa, Pālakoṇḍa, Poṭṭanūru, Veṇḍipura. The princes whom he subdued were the chiefs of Mākavara, Bhaṅgavara, Nandāpura, and Oppumānu.[2] As a result of these victories, the extent of the kingdom of Rajamundry had considerably increased. At the time of the death of Allāḍa, the northern boundary of the kingdom was Siṁhācalam in the Vizagapatam district; and Vēma pushed it gradually to the shores of the Cilka lake in the Ganjam district. When the subjugation of this region was completed, at the suggestion probably of Vēma, Vīrabhadra assumed the title of *Kaḷiṅgarājaparamēśvara* or the lord of the kings of Kaḷiṅga.[3] The kingdom of Rajamundry was at the height of its glory at this time.

The great prosperity of the Reḍḍis of Rajamundry excited the jealousy of some of their neighbours. The Velama chief, Mādaya Liṅga seems to have invaded the kingdom from the west. It is said in the *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi* that he attacked and plundered the city of Rajamundry and that Vēma and Vīrabhadra saved their kingdom by submitting to him discreetly.[4] There is no means of testing the accuracy of this evidence at present. It is likely that the success of the Velama chief was greatly exaggerated by the minstrels who eulogised his glories.

---

1. Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍam.
2. ,, *Ibid.*
3. ,, *Ibid.*
4. Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi.

The Gajapati, as noticed already, had been a friend of the Reḍḍis from the time of Allāḍa. Narasiṁha IV who ruled nearly for a half a century died sometime subsequent to 1425. His successor was not disposed to continue the policy of friendship which marked the relations of the two kingdoms during the past. Probably he was alarmed at the rapidly growing power of the Reḍḍis, and being desirous of checking it betimes, he seems to have invaded the northern districts of the Reḍḍi kingdom in 1434. This invasion was destined to affect adversely the fortunes of the Reḍḍis. The Gajapati, who invaded the kingdom, was, if we are to believe Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritam, obliged to remain there permanently, owing to the outbreak of a revolution in his capital, which resulted in the overthrow of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Kapilēśvara, one of the ministers of the king, usurped the throne at Cuttack, and founded the famous *Sūrya vaṁśa* dynasty which dominated the whole of the peninsula during the latter half of the fifteenth century.[2] The overthrow of his authority, and the establishment of a usurper upon his throne, forced the Gajapati to occupy the northern districts of the kingdom of Rajamundry permanently. The Reḍḍis as a consequence appear to have lost much territory which they had acquired after the continuous warfare of a decade.

Kapilēśvara, the new Gajapati, was one of the most energetic sovereigns that ever sat on the throne of Cuttack. At the time of his accession, the kingdom of Orissa was very much reduced in extent, owing to the encroachments of the neighbouring monarchs, who annexed large portions of the kingdom, taking advantage of the weak and degenerate government of the last kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. Kapilēśvara made it the supreme object of his policy to recover the lost territories of the kingdom. During the first two years of his reign, he appears to have been busy in strengthening his position on the throne. Kapilēśvara appears to have met with considerable opposition from the local chiefs at this time. He was obliged to warn them sternly that he would rigorously stamp out all opposition. "All the kings in my Kingdom of Orissa", declares he, in an inscription dated 1437, "should work for the good of the (paramount) sovereign, should keep virtuous ways, should not remain in bad ways. If they act badly towards the sovereign, they will be ex-

1. The Kaḷiṅgasañcika.

pelled from the kingdom and all their property confiscated."[1] It is not known what effect this warning produced. Probably it cowed down the recalcitrant chiefs, for, during the succeeding years, Kapilēśvara found it convenient to launch an attack upon the kingdom of Rajamundry.

Considerable obscurity hangs over the history of Rajamundry during this period. An examination of the Reḍḍi inscriptions reveals the fact that Vēma, and presumably his brother Vīrabhadra were ruling at Rajamundry until 1437;[2] and nothing is known of them or their descendants, if they had any, subsequent to this date. Was their authority overthrown ? And if so, by whom ? We learn from an inscription at Drākṣārāmam, that Mallabhūpāla or Mallappa Voḍeya, a *pradhāni* of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara, was ruling the city of Rajamundry in 1444 A. D.[3] How did the government of Rajamundry pass from the hands of the Reḍḍis to those of the king of Vijayanagara ? Did Dēvarāya II overthrow the authority of the Reḍḍis, and subjugate their kingdom ? This is highly improbable. In the first place, the contemporary writers bear testimony to the existence of continous friendship between the Reḍḍis of Rajamundry and the kings of Vijayanagara;[4] and there is no evidence to show that it had been ever broken. Secondly, it would have been impossible for Dēvarāya II to undertake an expedition of conquest at that time. We learn from Abdur Razāk that an attempt was made to assassinate Dēvarāya in A.D. 1443 by one of his brothers who wanted to seize the throne. On this occasion Dēvarāya was very nearly killed, and most of the nobility, and the captains were butchered. The loss sustained by the Rāya was such that he could not find proper men to defend the kingdom, against the attacks of Sultān Alā-ud-dīn Bahmani, who, having heard of the calamity that befell Dēvarāya, invaded his kingdom with a large army.[5] If we can trust Ferishta, Dēvarāya sustained very heavy losses, and was forced to make a humiliating peace with the Sultān. These were not the circumstances under which Dēvarāya would have undertaken an expedition of conquest. Therefore, the presence of the

---

1. J. A. S. B., LXII, Part I, pp. 103—104.
2. M. E. R., 424 of 1893; 426 of 1893.
3. S. I. I., IV.
4. Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍam.
5. Abdur Razak; E. D., IV.

minister of Dēvarāya at Rajamundry must be due to some other cause. What could it have been ?

The *Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsa* alludes to a defeat which Dēvarāya II inflicted upon Kapilēśvara.[1] Devarāya could not have come into conflict with him anywhere except on the frontiers of Kaḷiṅga. The circumstances under which they came into conflict with each other are not known. It is probable that Kapilēśvara made an attack upon the Reḍḍis of Rajamundry either in 1437 or a little later; and the Reḍḍis might have appealed to Dēvarāya for help. Although Dēvarāya had to face several troubles at home, he could not refuse to the send succour to Reḍḍis owing to the following considerations.

In the first place, there existed a bond of friendship between his family and that of the Reḍḍis of Rajamundry from the days of his grandfather. Moreover, Vēma, the *de facto* ruler of Rajamundry, was related to him by his marriage. Secondly, political considerations compelled him to preserve the integrity of the kingdom of Rajamundry. Subsequent to the death of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, he annexed the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. Consequently the river Kṛṣṇā became the north-eastern boundary of his kingdom. The Reḍḍi dominions served as a useful buffer between his territories and the kingdom of Orissa which was rapidly gaining strength, ever since the accession of Kapilēśvara. Under these circumstances, it would be very unwise to refuse to help the Reḍḍis, and allow Kapilēśvara to establish himself in the Gōdāvarī delta. Therefore, Dēvarāya despatched an army under the command of Mallappa Voḍeya, who seems to have defeated Kapilēśvara, and driven him back,

The victory of Dēvarāya's army over the Uriyas saved the kingdom of Rajamundry for the time being; but the day of its destruction was not far off. The death of Dēvarāya, a few years later (1447 A. D.) deprived the Reḍḍis of the support of a powerful ally; and his young son Mallikārjuna who succeeded him was too weak to offer them any assistance. Having discovered that the opportunity for the conquest of the Reḍḍis had at last come, Kapilēśvara invaded the kingdom once again, and succeeded in subduing it about A. D. 1450. The kingdom of Rajamundry thus disappeared after a stormy career lasting over half a century.

---

1. The sources of Vijayanagara History.

A NOTE ON NṚPATUṄGA

BY

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, editor of the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VII, issued very recently from the press, has pitched upon an interesting inscription (303 C. of 1901, No. 528), which is of utmost importance to Pallava History. This is the only Pallava inscription, which furnishes us with some astronomical details, to verify its date. The inscription under reference is dated Dhanus, Friday, Jyeṣṭhā Nakṣatra, in the 22nd regnal year of Nṛpatuṅga. Thus it supplies us with three factors—the month, the week-day and the Nakṣatra of the day. Verification of the date would have been impossible without any one of the above-said factors. Even now, it is not possible to fix any definite and particular year, owing to the absence of either the Śaka year or the Cyclic year. So roughly, if the period of rule of Nṛpatuṅga is known, then any particular year within that period may be selected, which answers the above details satisfactorily and well. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar has selected the year A.D. 867 (28th November), which answers the details mentioned above. Thus, this date falls in a line with the chronological scheme for the later Pallavas, which he formulated, while editing "Three Tamil inscriptions from Lālguḍi" (Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 46). But on examination I found that the details work out more satisfactorily for another date than for the year selected.

I may be excused for drawing the attention of scholars to my article, entitled 'The Chronology of the later Pallavas', published recently in December last, in the Commemoration Volume of the Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu's 70th birth day celebration. My chronological scheme differs considerably from that of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar. According to my scheme, the periods of rule of the later Pallavas are as follows:—

Nandivarman II Pallavamalla ...	A. D. 723 - 788
Dantivarman	A. D. 788 - 839
Nandivarman III	A. D. 839 - 862
Nṛpatuṅga	A. D. 862 - 888

Thus, if my scheme is accepted, the 22nd regnal year of Nṛpatuṅga would be A.D. 884. Now let us see if the details, mentioned in No. 528 of S.I.I., Vol. VII., correctly and satisfactorily work out for either both of the years or any one of the two, mentioned above, namely A.D. 867 and A.D. 884.

The date given by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar is A.D. 867, November, 28th Friday. On this date and the following one, the Nakṣatras are as follows:—

867 A.D. Friday 28th Nov. Anūrādhā's ending moment is ·42 or 25 Ghaṭikās.

„ Saturday 29th Nov. Jyeṣṭhā's ending moment is ·50 or 30 Ghaṭikās.

It is evident that Anūrādhā was the Nakṣatra of Friday as it was current at sunrise on that day. Jyeṣṭhā comes only in the evening. In fact this was the Nakṣatra of Saturday. Hence, in the VIIth Volume, in Appendix C, it was shown as f. d. n., *i.e.*, following day's Nakṣatra. Though Anūrādhā was current at sunrise, as is the case with Nakṣatras, in many well-attested inscriptions, Jyeṣṭhā also may be cited as Friday's Nakṣatra, as it commenced on Friday, after 25 Ghaṭikās. So 867 A. D., Friday, November 28th was taken into account. However this should be regarded as an exception to the general rule current in ordinary Indian parlance. But if there is no other date that exactly fits in with the details mentioned in the inscription above-quoted in accordance with the general rule, the date given by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar may be accepted. But there is another date, which satisfies these conditions better and that is 884 A. D., 18th December, Friday.

Now let us see if the details furnished by the inscription mentioned above work out correctly and satisfactorily to this date A. D. 884, 18th December, Friday— the 22nd regnal year of Nṛpatuṅga, according to my scheme.

884 A. D. Thursday, 17th December, Anūrādhā ends at ·91 or 54½ Ghaṭikās.

„ Friday, 18th December, Jyeṣṭhā —

„ Saturday, 19th December, Jyeṣṭhā ends at ·02 or 1 Ghaṭikā.

Thus we see that Jyeṣṭhā, commencing on Thursday, ended on Saturday. So, from sunrise, it was current the whole of Friday.

Thus it will be seen that the details mentioned in the inscription (no. 528 of Vol. VII.) work out more satisfactorily, according to the recognised general rule in ordinary Indian parlance, for the date 884 A. D., 18th December, Friday, rather than for 867 A. D., 28th November, Friday, which Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar has put forward for the 22nd year of Nṛpatuṅga.

Hence, the inscription under reference affords one more proof in favour of my scheme and confirms the accuracy of my dates for the later Pallava kings.

THE ARTIST IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A. (Hons.),

Research Student, University of Madras

(Continued from page 45 of Vol. VIII.)

Of the habits of the artists in those days we have ample information. They appear to have been in the habit of producing Hastalekhas or experimental sketches for purposes of practice. It is by drawing sketches like that preliminarily that the composition of a picture was determined. Śrī Harṣa refers to the Hastalekha in his Naiṣadhīyacarita[1] and Nārāyaṇa's commentary thereon explains the term lucidly.[2] There is also a reference to this custom of preparing a Hastalekha in the Hīrasaubhāgya.[3] In the Kuṭṭaṇīmata of Dāmodaragupta we have a mention of the

---

1. (*a*) पुराकृतिः स्त्रैणमिमां विधातुमभूद्विधातुः किल हस्तलेखः ।
Naiṣadha, VII, 15.

(*b*) अस्यैव सर्गाय भवत्करस्य सरोजसृष्टिर्मम हस्तलेखः ।
इत्याह धाता हरिणेक्षणायां किं हस्तलेखीकृतया तयास्याम् ॥
Ibid. VII, 72.

(*c*) हस्तलेखमसृजत् खलु जन्मस्थानरेणुकमसौ भवदर्थम् ।
राम राममधरीकृततत्तल्लेखकः प्रथममेव विधाता ॥ *Ibid*. XXI, 69.

2. The commentary in the three cases runs thus in order

(*a*) उत्तमशिल्पापेक्षया हस्तलेखस्यातिहीनत्वाद्भैमीजन्मनः पूर्वं यः स्त्रीसमूहो हस्तलेखोऽभूत् स भैम्यपेक्षयातिहीनः, भैमी चातिसुन्दरीति भावः ।

(*b*) अन्योऽपि पूर्वं हस्तलेखां करोति पश्चात् सुन्दरतरं वस्तु निर्मांति ।

(*c*) उत्तमशिल्पनिर्माणार्थं हि हस्तलेखः क्रियते ।

3. वक्त्रं त्रिदश्या विजितात्मदर्शनिशामणिं प्रेक्ष्य हिरण्यगर्भः ।
सृष्टिं सिसृक्षुः किमहोऽनुरूपां विनिर्मिमीतेऽम्बुजहस्तलेखम् ॥
Hīrasaubhāgya, VIII, 157.

The commentary says हिरण्यगर्भो ब्रह्मा अम्बुजैः सकलकमलकलापैः कृत्वा हस्तलेखम्, 'हस्तोलक' इति प्रसिद्धम् । विनिर्मिमीते कुरुते ॥

Varṇaka,[1] which though not exactly a Hastalekha or the Sūtrapātarekhā combines in itself the elements of both and stands as the best and the final Hastalekha determining the nature of the picture to be worked. The Varṇaka can be compared to the Determinant sketch of Ruskin which determines the final picture 'being the expression of concluded operations of mind drawn slowly, not so much a sketch as a map' since we see Dāmodaragupta using the term in talking of the beautiful city of Pāṭalīputra as the plan or rather the map of Viśvakarman on which model was to be constructed the whole world on Brahmā's approval of it. Of this Varṇaka known also as Varṇikā there is mention made profusely in Sanskrit literature; we have it in the Hīrasaubhāgya,[2] Dharmaśarmābhyudaya,[3] Rājataraṅgiṇī,[4] Gāthāsaptaśati,[5] Kathāsaritsāgara[6], to mention only a few.

---

1. त्रिभुवनपुरनिष्पादनकौशलमिव पृच्छतो विरिञ्चस्य ।
दर्शयितुं निजशिल्पं वर्णकमिव विश्वकर्मणा विहितम् ॥
Kuṭṭanīmata, 177.

The commentary says वर्णकम् अनुकरणार्थं मूलभूतं चित्रम् ।
उक्तं च--"रूपातिशयकर्तॄणां प्रतिच्छन्दो हि कारणम्" इति ।

2. अदसीयविलासवत्यभूज्जसमादेव्यभिधानधारिणी ।
विधिना प्रहितेव वर्णिका त्रिदिवस्त्रैणदिदृक्षुभूस्पृशाम् ॥
Hīrasaubhāgya, VI, 42.

3. कान्तिकाण्डपटगुण्ठिता पुरा व्योमभित्तिमनु वर्णकद्युतिम् ।
तन्वतीस्तदनु भाविताकृतीस्तूलिकोल्लिखितचित्रविभ्रमम् ॥
Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, V, 5.

4. अनुभाव्य व्यथां भाविनिरयक्लेशवर्णिकाम् ।
गणरात्रेण तं प्राणाः काङ्क्षितापगमा जहुः ॥
Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 655.

5. दो अङ्गुलअकवालअपिणद्धसविसेसणीलकञ्चुइ आ ।
दावोइ थणत्थलवण्णिअं व तरुणी जुअजणाणम् ॥
[द्वयङ्गुलककपाटकपिनद्धसविशेषनीलकञ्चुकिका ।
दर्शयति स्तनस्थलवर्णिकामिव तरुणी युवजनेभ्यः ॥]
Gāthāsaptaśati, VII, 20.

6. जज्ञे च तस्या न चिरादनन्यसदृशी सुता ।
वेधसः सर्वसौन्दर्यसर्गवर्णकसन्निभा ॥
K. S. S. Lambaka, VI, Taraṅga ii, p. 141.

Citra-unmīlana or infusing of life into the picture, a process of opening the eyes of the figure *i.e.* working the pupils etc., usually reserved to the last by the painter habitually, being one of the final finishing points in a picture is alluded to very often in literature; but the most explanatory reference is from Rājānaka Ratnākara's Haravijaya.[1] The deserted palaces of enemy kings with their mural decorations are spoken of. The paintings on the walls brought to a point of finish but left in that state without the final touches being laid on and left to fade away are alluded to as Anunmīlita since their eyes are not worked. The commentator Rājānaka Alaka gives the meaning in unequivocal terms.[2]

It appears to have been, as the Mṛcchakaṭika gives us, the general habit of an artist or craftsman to imitate a highly artistic piece of work executed by greater masters.[3] But imitation was not a rule with him. The Nalacampū shows us that the scope of the diversity of picture subjects and scenes is as wide as the Mahābhārata itself and freely allows for the full play of the

---

पार्श्वे तस्योत्तरे ते च मानसाख्यं सरोवरम् ।
प्रापुः समुद्रनिर्माणे विधातुरिव वर्णकम् ॥
Ibid. Lambaka, VIII, Taraṅga, iii, p. 256.

राजा सागरदत्ताख्यो गन्धर्वाणामिहास्ति यः ।
तस्य गन्धर्वदत्ताख्या सुतास्ति न्यक्कृताप्सराः ॥
धात्रा कृतं सुधाचन्द्रचन्दनाद्यैरिवोचितैः ।
सर्वसुन्दरनिर्माणवर्णकायेव तद्वपुः ॥
Ibid. Lambaka, XII, Taraṅga, i, p. 568.

1. यस्याभियाति भवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्र-
संभारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां
दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥ Haravijaya, XVI, 65.

2. यस्यारिवेश्मस्वर्धसंपन्नाश्चित्रपुरुषा दृष्ट्युन्मीलनाभावादस्थिरां लक्ष्मीमचिन्तयन् ।

3. वस्त्वन्तराणि सदृशानि भवन्ति नूनं
रूपस्य भूषणगुणस्य च कृत्रिमस्य ।
दृष्ट्वा क्रियामनुकरोति हि शिल्पिवर्गः
सादृश्यमेव कृतहस्ततया च दृष्टम् ॥ Mṛcchakaṭika, IX, 34.

inventive capacity of the artist.[1] But as a check against opinionated people of the type described in the Kuṭṭanīmata[2] and of which, representatives we have in plenty today (almost everywhere in our land, going headlong and producing monstrous inventions offending the eye and taste,) there was the general rule set up that all aspirants to a mastery of, or, at least to a certain proficiency in, art should study carefully the canons of painting the Citrasūtra, etc., and other kindred sciences[3]. A study of the texts and the limits imposed by these on the craftsman made him at least fool-proof; and the worst of apprentices could produce mechanically a tolerably good figure while the genius who soared high gave free play to his imagination, though within certain bounds, thus showing his capacity to invent innumerable diversities of form and movement even within restrictions. Of the Citrasūtra there is no clue as to which book it is that is referred to in the Kuṭṭanīmata. But considering the time of Dāmodaragupta and the habit of study of the book that had become deep-rooted by that time it is but very likely that the reference is to the Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara which Dr. Stella Kramrisch ascribes to the Gupta period. Further we have not lighted so far on any other book bearing the

---

1. कुरुवंशाख्यान इव चारुचित्रविचित्रभित्तिभाजि........धाम्नि
Nalacampū, p. 210.
2. अभ्यधिकं धृष्टत्वं प्रायेण हि शिल्पजीविनो भवति ।
आश्रितनर्तकवृत्तेर्विशेषतो विजितरङ्गस्य ।। Kuṭṭanīmata, Śl. 878.
3. भरतविशाखिलदन्तिलवृक्षायुर्वेदचित्रसूत्रेषु ।
पत्रच्छेदविधाने भ्रमकर्मणि पुस्तसूदशास्त्रेषु ।। *Ibid.* Śl. 124.

Intense study of the Śilpa texts by Śilpins and Sthapatis is evidenced by the fragmentary passage from the Avantisundarīkathā (p. 7. 8) quoted elsewhere in this paper. Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhojadeva of Dhārā enlightens us on this point in his Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra.

बुध्यन्ते केऽपि शास्त्रार्थं केचित् कर्माणि कुर्वते ।।
करामलकव (त्यास्यं पर ?) द्वयमप्यदः ।
न वेत्ति शास्त्रवित् कर्म न शास्त्रमपि कर्मवित् ।
यो वेत्ति द्वयमप्येतत् स हि चित्रकरो वरः ।। Chap. 74.

The second line might read

करामलकवत् यस्मान्नैकस्य द्वयमप्यतः ।

name Citrasūtra and so long as no other early claimant comes forward we can safely hold this as the book in question.

The tendency of imitation in an artist given in the Mṛcchakaṭika is a healthy sign of progress at a particular stage provided it is directed in the right direction; and of its value and necessity in the making of an artist we have enough said in the discourses of Reynolds. "To derive all from native power, to owe nothing to another, is the praise which men, who do not much think on what they are saying, bestow sometimes upon others, and sometimes on themselves; and their imaginary dignity is naturally heightened by a supercilious censure of the low, the barren, the grovelling, the servile imitator. It would be no wonder if a student, frightened by these terrific and disgraceful epithets, with which the poor imitators are so often loaded, should let fall his pencil in mere despair (conscious as he must be, how much he has been indebted to the labours of others, how little, how very little of his art was born with him); and consider it as hopeless, to set about acquiring by the imitation of any human master, what he is taught to suppose is matter of inspiration from heaven.

"Some allowance must be made for what is said in the gaiety of rhetoric. We cannot suppose that anyone can really mean to exclude all imitation of others. A position so wild would scarce deserve a serious answer; for it is apparent, if we were forbid to make use of the advantages which our predecessors afford us, the art would be always to begin, and consequently remain always in its infant state; and it is a common observation, that no art was ever invented and carried to perfection at the same time.

"But to bring us entirely to reason and sobriety; let it be observed that a painter must not only be of necessity an imitator of the works of nature, which alone is sufficient to dispel this phantom of inspiration, but he must be as necessarily an imitator of the works of other painters: this appears more humiliating, but is equally true; and no man can be an artist, whatever he may suppose, upon any other terms".[1] But on the other hand a wrong use of this rather dangerous tendency is fraught with all evils, degrading the artist from the heights of technical perfection to abysmal depths of mechanical drudgery of the worst type.

---

1. Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Sixth Discourse p. 77 (Everymans).

Constable deplores this sort of meaningless imitation and copying of old masters in a letter of his to Archdeacon Fisher. "The art" he says, "will go out; there will be no genuine painting in England in thirty years. This will be owing to pictures driven into the empty heads of the junior artists by their owners, the directors of the British Institutiōn, etc. In the early ages of the fine arts, the productions were more affecting and sublime, for the artists being without human exemplars, were forced to have recourse to nature; in the latter ages, of Raphael and Claude, the productions were more perfect, less uncouth, because the artists could then avail themselves of the experience of those who were before them, but they did not take them at their word, or as the chief objects of imitation. Could you but see the folly and ruin exhibited at the British Gallery, you would go mad. Vander Velde, and Gaspar Poussin, and Titian are made to spawn multitudes of abortions: and for what are the great masters brought into this disgrace ? only to serve the purpose of sale. Hofland has sold a shadow of Gaspar Poussin for eighty guineas, and it is no more like Gaspar than the shadow of a man on a muddy road is like himself."[1] The footnote added underneath shows clearly the advantages as well as the evils of the system of imitation. "The directors of the British Institution are assuredly not accountable for the abuse of the privilege they grant annually to artists of making copies from the old masters at their gallery; a privilege which some of our best painters had availed themselves with advantage to their own practice, and of which Constable had himself intended to make use. He did not sufficiently consider that those who are content to spend much of their time in copying pictures, are not of that class who would advance or even support the art under any circumstances."[2] Ruskin sums up this despicable nature of mechanical copying by saying that "All copies are bad; because no painter who is worth a straw ever will copy. He will make a study of a picture he likes, for his own use, in his own way; but he won't and can't copy."[3]

Generally the artist appears to have been rather lazy taking his own time to do things. And we have Kṣemendra laughing at this habit of artists and other craftsmen putting off work out

1. Memoirs of the life of John Constable R. A. (Everymans) p. 82.

2. *Ibid*. foot-note.

3. Political Economy of Art. Lecture II. Accumulation.

of sheer laziness by calling them 'Kālacauras' *i.e.* thieves of time.[1] By the time of Kṣemendra the painters and other workmen had deteriorated in morals though not in skill and the system of most of them receiving daily wages easily accounts for this freakishness in their execution of work. Even about the time of the building of the magnificent temple on Mt. Abu by Tejaḥpāla on the orders of Vastupāla, which glorious event is recorded graphically in the Vastupālaprabandha, included in the Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekharasūri, the vagaries of the workmen appear to have been the same.[2] It is a human tendency and can neither be said to have been born or expected to come to an end at any two particular periods of History. In the account given in the Vastupālacarita we have an elaborate narration of all the

---

1. प्रत्यहवेतनयुक्ताः कर्मसु ये कारुशिल्पिनो धूर्ताः ।
विलसन्ति कार्यविघ्नैर्विज्ञेयाः कालचौरास्ते ॥ Kalāvilāsa, X, 25.

2. .....एवं सिद्धे कर्मणि शोभनदेवं सूत्रधारमाहूय कर्मस्थाने न्ययुङ्क्त । ऊदलाख्यं श्यालमुपरिस्थायिनमकरोत् । अर्थव्यये स्वैरितां समादिशत् । एवं सूत्रं कृत्वा तेजःपालो धवलक्ककमगात् । निष्पद्यते प्रासादः । श्रीनेमिबिम्बं कषोपलमयं घट्यते । सूत्रधाराणां सप्तशती घटयति घाटम् । ते तु दुःशीलाः पुरः पुरोऽर्थं गृह्णन्ति, कार्यकाले पुनर्याचन्ते । etc. Vide Vasantavilāsamahākāvya, Gaek. ed: Appendix i, p. 104.

It would be interesting here to note the critical estimate of the merits and faults of this renowned temple, which serves as an exquisite type for excellence of the Jain style of architecture of the 13th century in Guzerat, in the words of Yaśovīra, a minister of Udayasiṁha, who answers the queries of Vastupāla in these words—

श्रीवस्तुपालेनैकदा चैत्यस्य दूषणभूषणे पृष्टो यशोवीरः प्रोचे--देव ! शोभनदेवः सूत्रधारः शोभनः । ततो युक्तमेतदम्बा कीर्तिस्तम्भोपरि स्थिता एकामङ्गुलीमूर्ध्वीकृत्य स्थिता घटिता । परमः प्रासादः । परं दोषा अपि सन्ति । प्रासादापेक्षया सोपानानि ह्रस्वानि । स्तम्भे बिम्बानि आशातनाभाजनं स्युः । द्वारप्रवेशे व्याघ्ररूपाणि पूजाल्पत्वाय स्युः । जिनपृष्ठे पूर्वजरोपणा पाश्चात्यानामृद्धिनाशिनी । आकाशे जैनमूर्तिरोपणा त्वत्परं दर्शनपूजनाल्पत्वाय ।

And Vastupāla philosophises all these merits and defects as inevitable.

इत्यादि श्रुत्वा सत्यं मत्वा न चुकोप, भवितव्यतां चाप्रतिकारां निश्चिक्ये । विविधदानैर्विक्रमादित्य इव प्रकाश्य महिमानं, विसृज्य स्वस्थाने लोके, सपरिजनो धवलक्कके गत्वा सुखं तस्थौ । *Ibid.* p. 108.

peculiar habits of craftsmen. Śobhanadeva the chief architect and sculptor chosen for the work is an expert in his line. Ūdala is entrusted with the purse and money is not stinted. On the other hand when he sends word to Tejaḥpāla who had gone back to Dhavalakkaka (Dholka), saying that the workmen wasted time, wanted money in advance, spent it as soon as they got it and asked for more when the actual work was begun and so on, the noble minister (Tejaḥpāla) writes back saying that there need be no stinting in paying the craftsmen and asks him to give them all they asked. Again, when the work is almost completed and Tejaḥpāla arrives at Mt. Abu with his wife Anupamā who takes a keen interest in the work, the latter asks Śobhanadeva for the cause of delay in erecting some pillars that they were trying to but never actually set up in spite of the long time taken for the task as she herself watched all the while and is answered by him by a statement of the causes of delay such as the chillness of the mountain breeze in the morning and the long distances to be travelled at noon for bathing and taking food at home and so on.

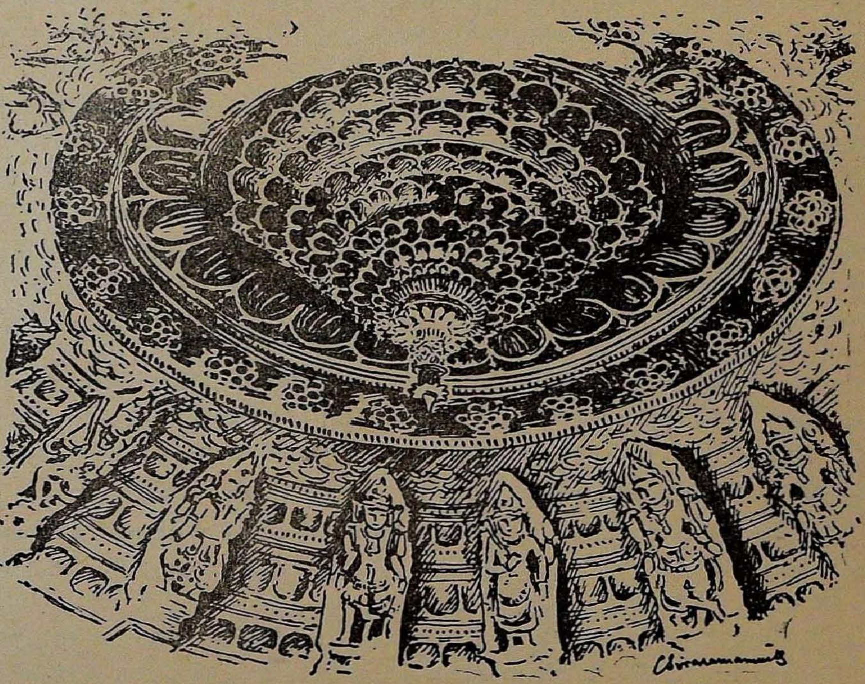


Fig. 1.

The generous lady at once advices her husband, who is eager for an early completion of the temple, [to employ night-workmen

as well as day-workmen to give them sufficient rest and asks sweet food to be given them just where they worked. The result of such munificence is plain. A single drawing (fig. 1) of the ceiling (dome) of the temple is enough to show what a pride India in general and Guzerat in particular should take in such exquisite work.

The so called laziness of an artist which is really the moment when he is not in a mood to work—of course there is many an artist today who takes a supercilious pride in pertly sauntering about without doing any work most of the time saying he is not in the mood for work and so on—should be viewed leniently especially when it is a point beyond dispute that no masterpiece was brought into being at a moment's notice, be the order that of any man placed in any the highest station in life. The strictly mercenary attitude and the lack of leniency on the part of some of the patrons of art give rise to humourous incidents like the one in Leonardo's life in which the prior got the worst of it. While at Milan Leonardo painted his famous "Last Supper" for the Dominicians of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, choosing the moment when the apostles are anxious to discover who would betray their Master.

Despite his marvellous facility, Leonardo was not a quick worker, and his procrastination in finishing this picture alarmed the Prior, who besought the Duke to reprimand the artist for 'mooning about' instead of getting on with the work. When the Duke spoke to Leonardo the latter gently explained how necessary it was for artists to think things out before they began to paint. "Two heads remain to be done, "he said" I feel unable to conceive the beauty of the celestial grace that must have been incarnate in Our Lord. The other head which causes me thought is that of Judas. I do not think I can express the face of a man who could resolve to betray his Master, after having received so many benefits."

"But to save time", added Leonardo, "I will in this case seek no further, but for want of a better idea I will put in the head of the Prior."

The Duke laughed heartily and told the Prior to let Leonardo finish the work in peace.[1] The spirit of work appears to have functioned tremendously and made the artist work in a

---

1. The Outline of Art by Sir William Orpen p. 60-61.

frenzy when an extraordinary subject appeared on the scene lending itself for depiction on canvas or when the artist was called on to prove his mettle during a scuffle brought on by a rival in the field challenging the worth of his work.[1] Regarding the challenging spirit of the artists we have some information given by Somadeva in his Kathāsaritsāgara wherein a particular custom is stated.[2] It appears that clever painters on approaching the palace gates of any great king issued a challenge asking those who dared to do so to compete with them and painting it in so many words on a cloth-banner kept it flying aloft to see if any accepted the challenge by pulling it down. If any competed, the successful one was rewarded by the king; or if no one competed at all the challenging artist was the recipient of honours.

When so much has been said about the characteristics of the artists in India it should be stated that they were never given to the habit of advertising themselves; and this accounts easily for the very obscure knowledge we have about them. Their names are unknown to us and of their lives we know little. Their work was inspired chiefly by spiritual motives and every work done by them was a devout offering of a pious heart to the Divine Spirit. This spirit has been the common feature of every Hindu and we have it immortalised in the charming verse of Bhagavatpāda Śrī Śaṅkarācārya wherein Śilpa (including painting, sculpture, music

---

1. त्वदाकारदर्शनादये सास्मत्स्वामिन्या जीवितं तत्र पटे केनापि शिल्पिना न जाने किञ्चिद्वा नैपुणनिरूपणाय स्वमतेः, आहोस्विद्विशेषगुणाविष्करणहेतावस्य प्रभोः, उत स्पर्धया प्रतिवादिनश्चित्रकरस्य, कृते वा कस्यापि, कृतनैपुणं लिखिता नूनमस्य स्वलावण्यलुण्ठितरतीशकीर्तिराकृतिर्नरोत्तमस्य ।

Udayasundarīkathā, p. 112.

2. तत्र निर्वर्णयन् यावत्तच्चित्रं स प्रशंसति ।
तावत् प्रविश्य भूपं तं प्रतीहारो व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥
इहागतो विदर्भेभ्योऽपूर्वश्चित्रकरः प्रभो ।
अनन्यसममात्मानं चित्रकर्मण्युदाहरन् ॥
रोलदेवाभिधानेन सिंहद्वारेण तेन च ।
एतद्देवाभिलिख्याद्य चीरिकोल्लम्बिता किल ॥

K. S. S. Lambaka IX, Taraṅga, v, Śl. 35-37.

प्रेक्षणान्ते ततो राजकुलद्वारमगामहम् ॥
चित्रं लिखतु योऽत्रास्ति चित्रकृत् सदृशो मया ।
अभिलिख्येति तत्राहं चीरिकामुदलम्बयम् ॥

dance etc.) and many other human activities are all included in the service of God.[1]

ART CRITICISM AND ARTISTS' NOTIONS

People of various lands have various notions about things, their own beliefs and superstitions, their own peculiar likes and dislikes. The traditions and beliefs of our ancients in particular services and arts are preserved for us in the Śilpa works and other treatises dealing with their canons. Such of these beliefs as appear to have been most popular and in the mouth of every Tom in the street have in the most unaffected manner crept into the conservations in dramas and other literary records. The belief that pictures are to be generally got painted by painters and never to be executed by the master of the house in which they are to be hung is given by the verse of the Naiṣadhīyacarita in which the Kāruvara is described as painting pictures in the mansions.[2] We have again the Citrakara, Arjuna, employed by Lakṣmaṇa to paint the incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa in the Citraśālā of Śrī Rāmacandra in Ayodhyā. But it may be noted in passing that this injunction was not very strictly followed.

अपाटितायामन्येन तस्यां बुद्ध्वा नृपोऽत्र तत् ।
आहूय स्वसुतावासे चित्रकृत्ये न्ययुङ्क्त माम् ॥
K. S. S. Lambaka XII, Taraṅga, iv, Śl., 81-82.

1. जपो जल्पः **शिल्पं** सकलमपि मुद्राविरचना
गतिः प्रादक्षिण्यक्रमणमशनाद्याहुतिविधिः ।
प्रणामः संवेशः सुखमखिलमात्मार्पणदृशा
सपर्यापर्यायस्तव भवतु यन्मे विलसितम् ॥ Saundaryalaharī, 27.

cf. चित्रायोगे विशेषेण श्वेतवासा यतात्मवान् ।
ब्राह्मणान् पूजयित्वा तु स्वस्तिवाच्य प्रणम्य च ॥
प्राङ्मुखो देवताध्यायी चित्रकर्म समाचरेत् । Viṣṇudharmottara.

The deep religious spirit of the people of India is illustrated in the verse.

अपि श्रेयस्करं नृणां देवबिम्बमलक्षणम् ।
सलक्षणं मर्त्यबिम्बं न हि श्रेयस्करं सदा ॥ Śukranīti, IV, iv, 79.

2. प्रियं प्रिया च त्रिजगज्जयिश्रियौ लिखाधिलीलागृहभित्ति कावपि ।
इति स्म सा कारुवरेण लेखितं नलस्य च स्वस्य च सख्यमीक्षते ॥
Naiṣadha, I, 38.

Another belief has a bearing on the Bhramarakīṭanyāya. This Nyāya bases itself on the supposition that the worm which is brought and kept in its cell by the butterfly keeps on eternally thinking of it with fear and dread and its very concentration on it accounts for its being transformed ultimately into a butterfly. The Udayasundarīkathā tells us that the artist who concentrates on a particular object while doing the picture succeeds in getting the like of it (the concentrated object).[1] Anyacittatā (absent mindedness) is, therefore, given as one of the four picture-spoiling agencies in the Viṣṇudharmottara.[2] It is for that purpose that the Dhyānaślokas were so carefully repeated by the Sthapatis before casting divine images in copper or Pañcaloha and by the Citrakaras before drawing pictures on board or canvas. And an interesting evidence of this sort of concentration is got from the life of Constable 'a curious proof of the stillness with which he had sat one day while painting in the open air, was the discovery of a field mouse in his coat pocket.'[3] Incidentally it is to be noted with regret that apart from the ravages of time, decay and neglect, the dilettantish patronage of depraved persons of vulgar taste encouraging the wrong art coupled with false notions of taste and beauty inculcated in the families of the last dying remnants of preservers of the traditional arts and the jeers flung at them by the mischievous dictators of modern taste have done enough havoc to obliterate this habit of concentration through Dhyānaślokas while working on a picture or an image especially when it happens to be divine.

---

1. सावित्रीध्यानपरतन्त्रेण चेतसा सृजतः प्रजापतेस्तदाकारपरिणते च सैवेति प्रतीयमाना । Udayasundarīkathā, p. 66.

Cf. चित्रगतायामस्यां कान्तिविसंवादशङ्कि मे हृदयम् ।
सम्प्रति शिथिलसमाधिं मन्ये येनेयमालिखिता ॥
Mālavikā, Act II, Śl. 2.

Cf. ध्यानयोगस्य संसिद्ध्यै प्रतिमालक्षणं स्मृतम् ।
प्रतिमाकारको मर्त्यो यथा ध्यानरतो भवेत् ।
तथा नान्येन मार्गेण प्रत्यक्षेणापि वा खलु ॥ Śukranīti, IV, iv, 74.

2. दुरासनं दुरानीतं पिपासा चान्यचित्तता ।
एते चित्रविनाशस्य हेतवः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

3. Memoirs of the life of John Constable R.A. (Everyman's) p. 246.

We have a reference from the Devīpurāṇa, (perhaps it is the Devī Bhāgavata) quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma under the word 'Citra', in which an almost similar belief is recorded; but in this case the picture does not take the shape of the object concentrated on but merely takes after the condition and form of the artist.[1] The picture drawn by an extremely old man would

---

1. वृद्धेन च भवेद्वृद्धो व्याधिते व्याधितो भवेत् ।
कुरूपेण कुरूपस्तु मूर्खेण तु न पूज्यते ॥
लेखकस्य तु यद्रूपं चित्रे भवति तादृशम् ॥ Devīpurāṇa.

For the beliefs about pictures and images we have passages in the Viṣṇudharmottara, in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, in the Matsyapurāṇa, in the Śukranītisāra, in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra and other works.

(*a*) ऊर्ध्वा दृष्टिरधोदृष्टिस्तिर्यक् तेषां विवर्जयेत् ।
हीनाधिका वा दीना वा क्रुद्धा रूक्षा तथैव च ॥
ऊर्ध्वा तु मरणायोक्ता शोकायाधः प्रकीर्तिता ।
तिर्यग्धनविनाशाय हीना भवति मृत्यवे ॥
अधिका शोकजननी दीना च नृपसत्तम ।
रूक्षा धनक्षयाय स्यात् क्रुद्धा भयविवर्धनी ॥
शातोदरी न कर्तव्या न कार्या चाधिकोदरी ।
सुक्षता च न कर्तव्या तथा यदुकुलोद्वह ॥
हीनाधिकप्रमाणा च रूक्षवर्णा तथैव च ।
विवृतेन च वक्त्रेण नता च यदुनन्दन ॥
प्रमाणहीनैरङ्गैश्च त्वधिकैरपि पार्थिव ।
शातोदरी क्षुद्भयदा मरणायाधिकोदरी ॥
सक्षता मरणायोक्ता हीना धनविनाशिनी ।
अधिका शोकजननी रूक्षवर्णा भयप्रदा ॥
विवृतेन च वक्त्रेण कुलनाशकरी भवेत् ।
प्राच्याभा धननाशाय दक्षिणेन च मृत्यवे ॥
पश्चिमेन सुतघ्नी च चो (स्यादु ?) दग्भयविवृद्धये ।
प्रमाणहीना नाशाय अधिका देशनाशिनी ॥
अश्लक्ष्णा मरणायोक्ता क्रुद्धा रूपविनाशिनी ।
प्रमाणहीनां प्रतिमां तथा लक्षणवर्जिताम् ॥
आवाहितां च (चा) विप्रेन्द्रैर्नाविशन्ति दिवौकसः ॥
आविशन्ति तु तां नित्यं पिशाचा दैत्यदानवाः ।

reveal traces of age in the figure drawn. If the artist were suffering from a disease the picture would appear disease-stricken.

तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन मानहीनां विवर्जयेत् ॥
चित्रलक्षणसंयुक्तं प्रशस्तं सर्वमुच्यते ।
आयुष्यं च यशस्यं च धनधान्यविवर्धनम् ॥
तदेव लक्षणापेतं धनधान्यविनाशनम् ।
दैवा नरेन्द्र कर्तव्याः शोभावन्तः सदैव तु ।
मृगेन्द्रवृषनागानां हंसानां गतिभिः समाः ॥
सलक्षणं चित्रमुशन्ति धन्यं देशस्य कर्तुर्वसुधाधिपस्य ।
तस्मात् प्रयत्नेन सलक्षणं तत्कार्यं नरैर्यत्नपरैर्यथावत् ॥

Viṣṇudharmottara.

(*b*) सौम्या तु हस्तमात्रा वसुदाहस्तद्वयोच्छ्रिता प्रतिमा ।
क्षेमसुभिक्षाय भवेत् त्रिचतुर्हस्तप्रमाणा या ॥
नृपभयमत्यङ्गायां हीनाङ्गायामकल्यता कर्तुः ।
शातोदर्यां क्षुद्भयमर्थविनाशः कृशाङ्गायाम् ॥
मरणं तु सक्षतायां शस्त्रनिपातेन निर्दिशेत् कर्तुः ।
वामावनता पत्नीं दक्षिणविनता हिनस्त्यायुः ॥
अन्धत्वमूर्ध्वदृष्ट्या करोति चिन्तामधोमुखी दृष्टिः ।
सर्वप्रतिमास्वेवं शुभाशुभं भास्करोक्तसमम् ॥

Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Chap. 57.

(*c*) स्वामिनं घातयेन्न्यूना करालवदना तथा ।
अधिका शिल्पिनं हन्यात् कृशा चैवार्थनाशिनी ॥
कृशोदरी तु दुर्भिक्षं निर्मांसा धननाशिनी ।
वक्रनासा तु दुःखाय संक्षिप्ताङ्गी भयङ्करी ॥
चिपिटा दुःखशोकाय अनेत्रा नेत्रनाशिनी ।
दुःखदा हीनवक्त्रा तु पाणिपादकृशा तथा ॥
हीनाङ्गा हीनजङ्घा च भ्रमोन्मादकरी नृणाम् ।
शुष्कवक्त्रा तु राजानं कटिहीना च या भवेत् ॥
पाणिपादविहीनो यो जायते मारको महान् ।
जङ्घाजानुविहीना च शत्रुकल्याणकारिणी ॥
पुत्रमित्रविनाशाय हीनवक्षःस्थला तु या ।
संपूर्णावयवा या तु आयुर्लक्ष्मीप्रदा सदा ॥

Matsyapurāṇa, Chap. 259.

(*d*) हीनाङ्ग्यो नाधिकाङ्ग्यश्च कर्तव्या देवताः क्वचित् ।
हीनाङ्गी स्वामिनं हन्ति ह्यधिकाङ्गी च शिल्पिनम् ॥

A picture executed by a deformed artist would be characterised by ugliness. And the figure drawn by a fool can never expect to get worshipped, be it a representation of any powerful deity.

Such appear to have been the notions regarding the link between the artist and his picture. The Viddhasālabhañjikā supports this view; and we have the statement of the Vidūṣaka, in giving an assenting reply to the king's remark after guessing the fresco work on the wall to be that of a cultured lady from the dexterous way in which the hand had worked at drawing the lines so gracefully—broken lines being totally absent—, that he had heard in the assembly of the learned of the belief that a picture generally took after the merits of the artist even as a literary work depended on the poet for its excellence.[1] Rāja-

---

कृशा दुर्भिक्षदा नित्यं स्थूला रोगप्रदा सदा ।
गूढसंध्यस्थिधमनी सर्वदा सौख्यवर्धनी ।।

Śukranīti, Chap. IV, Prakaraṇa, iv.

(*e*) अशास्त्रज्ञेन घटितं शिल्पिना दोषसंयुतम् ।
अपि माधुर्यसंपन्नं न गृह्यं शास्त्रवेदिभिः ।।
अश्लिष्टसन्ध्या मरणं भ्रान्तया स्थानविभ्रमम् ।
वक्रया कलहं विद्यान्नतया वयसः क्षयम् ।।
नित्यमास्थितया पुंसामर्थस्य क्षयमादिशेत् ।
भयमुन्नतया विद्याद्धृद्रोगं च न संशयः ।।
देशान्तरेषु गमनं सततं काकजङ्घया ।
प्रत्यङ्गहीनया नित्यं भर्तुः स्यादनपत्यता ।।
विकटाकारया ज्ञेयं भयं दारुणमर्चया ।
अधोमुख्या शिरोरोगं तथा (ऽनय) नयापि च ।।

Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, Chap. 78.

निहन्ति कारकं रौद्रा हीनरूपा च शिल्पिनम् ।
कृशा व्याधिं विनाशं च कुर्यात् कारयितुः सदा ।।
कृशोदरी तु दुर्भिक्षं विरूपा चानपत्यताम् ।
एतान् दोषान् परित्यज्य कर्तव्या सा सुशोभना ।। *Ibid*. Chap. 77.

1. राजा— अहो ! वपुश्रीर्लिखितुर्जनस्य स्वाकारसंवादि यदत्र चित्रम् ।
इदं च पौरन्ध्रमवैमि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ।।

(सम्यग्विलोक्य) तदियं मकरध्वजवैजयन्ती कापि स्वयमेव स्वं लिखितवतीति निर्णीयते ।

śekhara repeats this idea in his Kāvyamīmāṁsā,[1] an idea which is not different from that of Ruskin's in the passage "Speaking with strict propriety, therefore, we should call a man a great painter only as he excelled in precision or force in the language of lines, and a great versifier, as he excelled in precision and force in the language of words. 'A great poet' would then be a term, strictly, and in precisely the same, sense applicable to both, if warranted by the character of the images or thoughts which each in their respective languages conveyed".[2]

Pictures of various types were restricted to various buildings and the Viṣṇudharmottara elaborately explains the question of the appropriateness of pictures in residential mansions, public buildings and temples.[3] Paintings depicting any emotion could be kept in public places and in temples but there was a restriction in the case of pictures kept in houses. Śṛṅgāra, Hāsya and Śānta were the only Rasas allowed in the case of residential buildings. A subtle difference is made in the case of the Rājasabhā and the Rājagṛha and a restriction is imposed in the case of the latter. Bāṇa and other poets have clearly stressed on this point and stated that only Maṅgalyālekhyas could be painted and hung

---

विदूषकः—एवमेतत् । यतो गरिष्ठगोष्ठीष्वपीत्थं किल श्रूयते–'यादृशश्चित्रकरस्तादृशी चित्रकर्मरूपरेखा; यादृशः कविस्तादृशी काव्यबन्धच्छाया' इति ।
Viddhasālabhañjikā, Act I.

1. स यत्स्वभावः कविस्तादृशरूपं काव्यम् । यादृशाकारश्चित्रकरस्तादृशाकारमस्य चित्रमिति प्रायो वादः । Kāvyamīmāṁsā, Chap. X.

2. Modern Painters, Vol. I, Sec. I, Ch. ii.

3. शृङ्गारहास्यशान्त्याख्या लेखनीया गृहेषु ते ॥
परशेषा न कर्तव्या कदाचिदपि कस्यचित् ।
देववेश्मनि कर्तव्या रसाः सर्वे नृपालये ॥
राजवेश्मनि नो कार्या राज्ञां वासगृहेषु ते ।
सभावेश्मसु कर्तव्या राज्ञां सर्वरसा गृहे ॥
वर्जयित्वा सभां राज्ञो देववेश्म तथैव च ।
युद्धश्मशानकरुणामृतदुःखार्तकुत्सितान् ॥
अमङ्गल्यांश्च न लिखेत् कदाचिदपि वेश्मसु ।
Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara.

in homes;[1] and the Viṣṇudharmottara enumerates the special benefits accrueing from such pictures being hung in houses.[2] Pictures depicting death, disease and bloodshed in battle were never allowed to be executed in houses. This conception of 'maṅgala' and 'kalyāṇa' has been so dominant a factor with our ancients that it easily accounts for the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit literature.

Side by side with these notions regarding art there appear to have been sound canons of art criticism; and artists appear to have been put to test according to these principles and valued accordingly. We have the passage in the Tilakamañjarī[3] describing prince Harivāhana examining the picture of a damsel brought to him—pictures of princes and princesses of marriageable age appear to have been sent round to various kingdoms for the settling of suitable matches as is evidenced by the Raghuvaṁśa and a host of other works[4]—and trying to find out the element of beauty in it with the help of Citrācāryas, Nāgarakas

---

1. प्रत्यग्रलिखितमङ्गल्यालेख्योज्ज्वलितभित्तिभागमनोहारिणि । Kā. p. 136.
चतुरचित्रकरचक्रवाललिख्यमानमङ्गल्यालेख्यम् । H. C. p. 142.

2. शास्त्रज्ञैः सुकृतैर्दक्षैश्चित्रं हि मनुजाधिप ।
श्रियमावहति क्षिप्रमलक्ष्मीं चापकर्षति ॥
निर्नेजयति चोत्कण्ठां निरुणद्ध्यागतं शुभम् ।
शुद्धां प्रथयति प्रीतिं जनयत्यतुलामपि ॥
दुःस्वप्नदर्शनं हन्ति प्रीणाति गृहदैवतम् ।
न तु शून्यमिवाभाति यत्र चित्रं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

3. मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः सन्निधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनितकुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितुमागतैरालेख्यशास्त्रविद्भिर्नागरलोकैः सह विचारयन्नविचार्यं चारुत्वतत्त्वं तस्याश्चित्रपुटपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्णमनयत् । Tilakamañjari, p. 144.

4. प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतिसंदर्शिताभ्यः
समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसन्तानकामैः ।
अधिविविदुरमात्यैराहृतास्तस्य यूनः
प्रथमपरिगृहीते श्रीभुवौ राजकन्याः ॥ Raghu. XVIII. 63.

Cf. किञ्चैतत्प्रतिरूपदर्शनवशादस्मानिमां कर्हिचित्
याचेतैष विशेषतस्तदुचितं पुत्री पितॄणां तु नः ।

well versed in the theory of art and other art-critics that are around him.

Estimating the capacities of artists, the Viṣṇudharmottara commends one who can paint the old and wounded; it lays down that he alone is a painter who can paint wavy lines, flames, smoky streaks and flags showing the direction of the wind etc. That artist is a real master, according to that text, who can draw sleeping, unconcious and dead things in quite a realistic manner.[1] In this connection we should remember the Chinese story, quoted by Barnard Lintott, of the artist who sketched a sleeping pig over and over again only to get his pictures being taken every time to represent a dead pig till finally one sketch made even an ignorant peasant recognise it as the sleeping animal.

" There is to an unobservant person no difference between a dead pig and a sleeping pig, but to the draughtsman there is the difference between life (however somnolent) and death.

"The difference is felt rather than seen, and a drawing which has not conveyed this difference is a bad drawing. It is not until one has tried to paint a sunset, and a sunrise, that one appreciates

---

इत्यालोच्य तया समं दयितया धर्मेण धीमन्नहं
त्वत्पार्श्वे प्रहितास्मि तत्प्रतिकृतिं चैतां भवानीक्षताम् ॥
Vasantavilāsamahākāvya, XIV, 25.

Cf. कर्णाटभर्तुः पर्माण्डेः सुन्दरीं चन्दलाभिधाम् ।
आलेख्यलिखितां वीक्ष्य सोऽभूत् पुष्पायुधक्षतः ॥
Rājataraṅgiṇī, Taraṅga VII, 1119.

Cf. ततः समुत्सुको राजा निजं चित्रकरोत्तमम् ।
कुमारिदत्तनामानं पृथ्वीरूपः समादिशत् ॥
पटे यथावल्लिखितां समादाय मदाकृतिम् ।
एताभ्यां सह भिक्षुभ्यां द्वीपं मुक्तिपुरं व्रज ॥
तत्र रूपधराख्यस्य राज्ञस्तद्दुहितुस्तथा ।
युक्त्या रूपलतायास्त्वं मदाकारं प्रदर्शय ॥
K. S. S. Lambaka IX, Taraṅga I, 123-125.

1. शल्यविद्धं च वृद्धं च यः करोति स चित्रवित् ॥
तरङ्गाग्निशिखाधूमं वैजयन्त्यम्बरादिकम् ।
वायुगत्या लिखेद्यस्तु विज्ञेयो मत्तचित्रवित् ॥
सुप्तं च चेतनायुक्तं मृतं चैतन्यवर्जितम् ।
निम्नोन्नतविभागं च यः करोति स चित्रवित् ॥ Citrasūtra.

the difficulty. The greatest stumbling-block is the one of drawing and painting the difference between light which is dying and light which is growing."[1]

There is a sort of vacancy felt in the picture that comes up in the second act of the Ratnāvalī and a figure drawn to make up that void.[2] This corresponds something to the modern "balance in a picture" as the artists call it. Broken line-work is spoken of as offending the eye while continuous and free flow of line is lightly praised.[3] Feminine artists appear to have excelled most in this work. Though the Viṣṇudharmottara says that the masters (Ācāryas) loved Rekhā and the women (Striyaḥ) rich ornamentation[4] it cannot be denied that the latter excelled in exquisite line-work which aided them all the more in the embodiment of their fancy for profuse decoration. The special partiality

---

1. The Art of Water Colour Drawing by E. Barnard Lintott, p. 41, 42.

2. अहो ते निपुणत्वम् ! किं पुनः शून्यमिव चित्रं प्रतिभाति; तदहमप्यालिख्य रतिसनाथं करिष्ये । Ratnāvalī, Act II.

3. अहो वपुःश्रीर्लिखितुर्जनस्य स्वाकारसंवादि यदत्र चित्रम् ।
इदं च पौरन्ध्रमवैमि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ॥
क्रमपरिणतरेखा मांसलैरङ्गभङ्गै-
र्लघुरपि लिखितेयं दृश्यते पूर्णमूर्तिः ।
अयमपि सुकुमारः सात्त्विकानां निवेश-
श्चतुरमसृणमुग्धं भावमाविष्करोति ॥ Viddhaśālabhanjikā, Act I.

The maximum expression of form with a minimum of lines drawn as expressed in the first two lines of the second śloka is corroborated by Mr. Maginnis—"Pen drawing is most apt to lose its individuality when it begins to assume the characteristics of wash-drawing, such as an elaborate massing of grays, small light areas, and a general indirectness of method. A painter once told me that he was almost afraid to handle the pen,—"It is so fearfully direct," he said. He understood the instrument, certainly, for if there is one characteristic more than another which should distinguish pen methods, it is directness. The nature of the pen seems to have as its peculiar function that of picking out the really vital features of a subject. Pen drawing has been aptly termed the "shorthand of Art;" the genius of the pen-point is essentially epitome." Pen Drawing by C. D. Maginnis, p. 4.

4. रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या वर्तनामपरे जगुः ।
स्त्रियो भूषणमिच्छन्ति वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

of the Ācāryas for Rekhā does not in any case stand in the way of women excelling in that work.

It should further be kept in mind while considering this question that the most beautiful and gigantic productions in free-hand, though for momentary pleasure being executed with transitory material, were the monopoly of those proficient home artists — the clever housewives and their eagar 'prentices, their daughters. Bāṇa has elaborately dealt with this pleasing activity of women at great length in his Kādambarī[1] and we have similar passages in the Tilakamañjarī.[2] Different kinds of Raṅgavallī executed by the women are spoken of in the Nalacampū and other works.[3]

Passages of exhortation for detail of ornamentation, which is also a positive asset in a picture being a powerful beautifying factor, are not wanting. We have the Viṣṇudharmottara giving

---

1. उभयतश्च द्वारपक्षकयोर्मर्यादानिपुणेन गोमयीभिरुत्तानविनिहितवराटकदन्तुराभिरन्तरान्तराबद्धविविधवर्णरागरुचिरकूर्पासकुसुमलेशलाञ्छिताभिः कुसुम्भकेसरलवाश्लेषलोहिताभिर्लेखाभिरालिखितस्वस्तिकभक्तिजालमुपरचयता हारिद्रद्रावविच्छुरणपिञ्जरिताम्बरधारिणीं भगवतीं षष्ठीं देवीं कुर्वता विकचपक्षपुटविकटशिखण्डिपृष्ठमण्डलाधिरूढमालोललोहितपटघटितपताकमुल्लसितशक्तिदण्डप्रचण्डं कार्त्तिकेयंसंघटयता विन्यस्तालक्तकपटलपाटलमध्यभागौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावाबध्नता...पुरन्ध्रिवर्गेण समधिष्ठितम् । Kā. p. 142-143.

2. 'कुरुत हरिचन्दनोपलेपहरि मन्दिराङ्गणम्, रचयत स्थानस्थानेषु रत्नचूर्णस्वस्तिकान्, दत्त द्वारि नूतनं चूतपल्लवदाम, विकिरत अन्तरुत्फुल्लपङ्कजोपहारम्, कारयत सर्वतः शान्तिसलिलक्षेपमकृतकालक्षेपम्, आहरत भगवतीं षष्ठीं देवीम्, आलिखत जातमातृपटलम्, आरभध्वम् आर्यवृद्धासपर्याम्, विधत्त पर्यन्तेषु शयनस्य सद्योऽभिमन्त्रितां रक्षाभूतिरेखाम्' इत्यादि जल्पता तल्पनिकटोपविष्टेन शुद्धान्तनिकटोपविष्टेन शुद्धान्तजरतीजनेन etc. Tilakamañjarī, p. 63.

3. क्षणमवकीर्णकुसुमरङ्गावलीरम्यासु नगरवीथीषु विश्रान्तविलोचनश्चिरमवतस्थे । Nalacampū, p. 208.

(Kolam drawings of wide dimensions in streets.)

मण्ड्यन्तां मसृणमुक्ताफलक्षोदरङ्गावलीभिः प्राङ्गणानि । *Ibid*. p. 117.

Same as Mākkolam (மாக்கோலம்.)

अतिसूक्ष्ममुक्ताफलरचितरङ्गरेखाराजिराजिताजिरं राजभवनमविशत् ।

Ibid. p. 209.

(The same as இழைக்கோலம் something like the conventional waves〰〰〰.)

it in the first place that women, the most skilful of executors, valued it most. The Tilakamañjarī speaks of ornamentation as absolutely essential according to the canons of Śilpa along with other essential requisites satisfying the execution of a Mūrti like fullness or symmetry of all limbs, adhesion to the rules of iconometry, beauty that gladdens one's eyes and absence of defects of

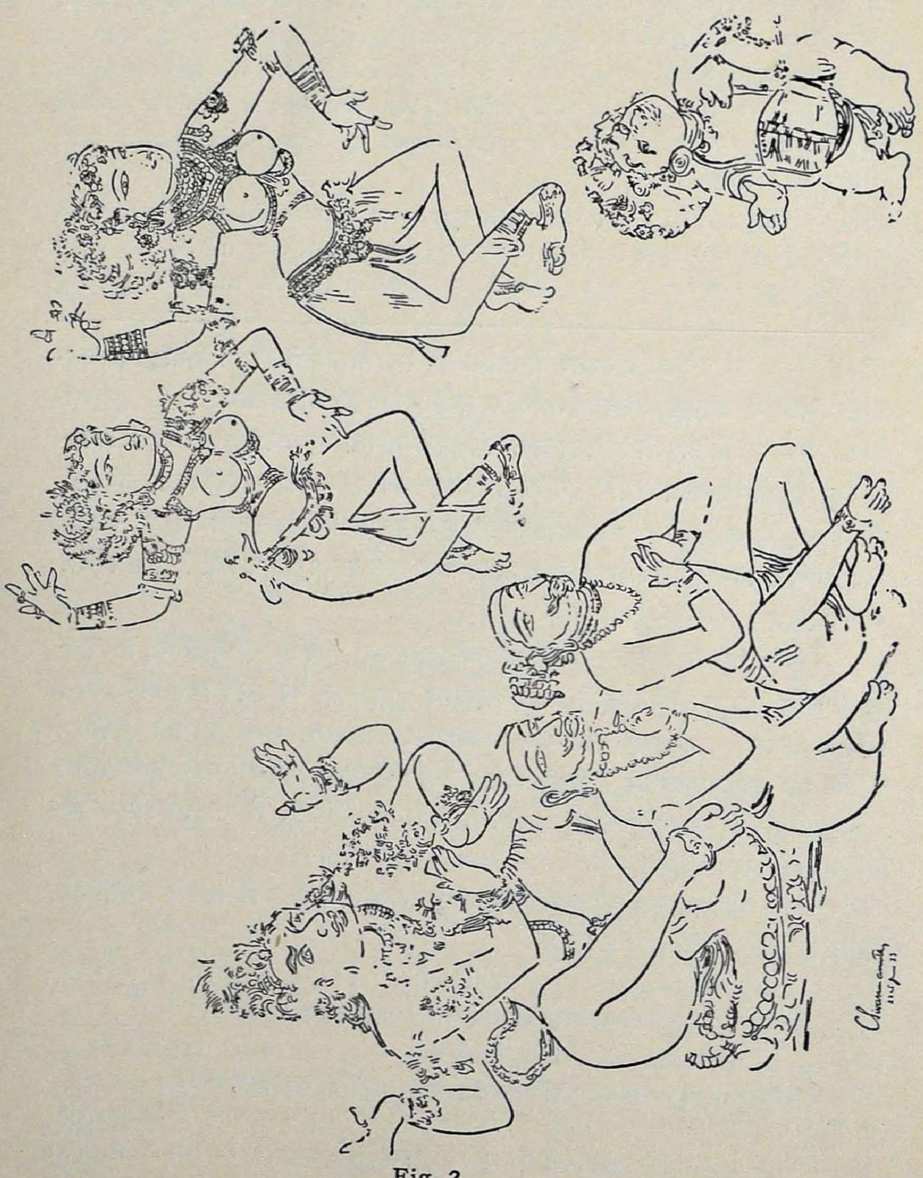


Fig. 2.
(Courtesy : 'Triveni')

any type.[1] Of this essential element of beauty in a picture, there is enough in the exquisite little picture (fig. 2) that I copied from the Bṛhadīśvarālaya in Tanjore executed in the time of the Cola monarchs. Questions of perspective and foreshortening do not appear to have baffled the old artists of our land as is evident from their talks on such technical details as Kṣayavṛddhi and the actual conformance of the pictures to those very rules so elaborately discussed in books on theory. The picture here reproduced is sufficient to show their wonderful mastery of foreshortening.

From a short critical account of a picture given in the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā we see that a very fine drawing of lines half hidden by a delicate coating of bright colour, an excellent treatment of an illusion of relief on a flat surface technically called *chiaroscuro*, a proper method of appropriate ornamentation, a symmetrical representation of an ideal body, a proper shading of the figures by a sort of stippling and a proper representation of the emotion in the heart by an expression of it in the eyes, are all essential factors that go to make a good picture.[2]

एकत्र चित्रविद्ययेव प्रवर्धमानसकलशिशुशोभितया विन्यस्तस्वस्तिकया सर्वतोभद्रभूषणया भवनमालयालंकृतम् । *Ibid.* p. 57.

See commentary for explanation.

Cf. तत्र ह वै भौमिके चित्रकाल्पनिके देहल्यां वाहो क्वचित् पूर्वतलकेऽलिन्दके चत्वरके शालासु नानारूपवतीष्वाहो शायनिकेषु काल्पनिकेष्वन्येष्वाहो मध्यमतलकेषु क्वचिद्वै भोजनशालास्वन्तश्चतुरश्रां मध्यरेखिकां पञ्जराकृतिकं वाहो नानापक्षिरूपं गजतुरगपन्नगमुखप्रतिमुखचित्रकं नानाद्रव्यमेलनकं कल्पयेयुरिति होवाच भगवान् नारदः । Nāradaśılpa, Pāṭha 7.

For a detailed account of Indian design see the paper "Artists' jottings of Trivikrama" to be published in the J. O. R. M. shortly.

1. परिपूर्णसर्वावयवां सर्वप्रतिमालक्षणोपेतां सर्वालङ्कारभूषितवपुर्लतां सर्वलोकलोचनानन्दजननीं सर्वदोषविमुक्तामत्युदारमुक्ताशैलदारुसंभवां भगवत्याः श्रियः प्रतिकृतिं यथाविधि प्रतिष्ठाप्य । Tilakamañjarī, p. 28.

2. ततः समर्पितो बन्धुलयासौ द्विपुटसंवर्तितश्चित्रपटः । प्रविघाट्य निरूपितो हरिकुमारेण । यावद्दृष्टमालिखितमेकपुटे सुविभक्तोज्ज्वलेन वर्णक्रमेण अलक्ष्यमाणैस्तूलिकापदकैरनुरूपया सूक्ष्मरेखया प्रकटदर्शनेन निम्नोन्नतविभागेन समुचितेन भूषणकलापेन सुविभक्तयावयवरचनयातिविलक्षणया बिन्दुवर्तिन्या अभिनवस्नेहरसोत्सुकतया परस्परं हर्षोत्फुल्लबद्धदृष्टिकं समारूढप्रेमातिबन्धुरैकतयालङ्घितचित्तनिवेशं विद्याधरमिथुनकमिति । Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā, p. 890.

The same idea is summarised elsewhere in the same book where the prince admires the skill of the painter who had drawn the lovely damsel with whom he had desperately fallen in love.[1] Emphasis is laid on the portrayal of emotion which is the most difficult thing for a painter to do and which settles, as it were, the capacity of the artist differentiating the real master from the ordinary tyro in art.

The master-stroke of the artist, that distinguishes great art from common art and which, quite independent of colour and line, adds vitality to the picture compelling us to describe it in the words of Ruskin 'there has been a great power here',[2] has been specifically praised by Rājānaka Kuntaka in one of the verses of Vakroktijīvita and explained lucidly at length in his own commentary thereon.[3] The same is the case with literature and one is reminded of the line of Vernon Lee that 'one feels that there is really something astonishing and mysterious in words

---

1. अभिहितमनेन । अहो ! रञ्जितोऽहमनेन चित्रकरकौशलेन । तथा हि—— अत्र सुविशुद्धा रेखा, संगतानि भूषणानि, उचितक्रमा वर्णविच्छित्तिः, परिस्फुटो भावातिशयः——इति । दुष्करं च चित्रे भावाराधनं तदेव चाभिमतमतिविदग्धानाम् । तस्य चात्र प्रकर्षः परिस्फुटो दृश्यते । यस्मादुपारूढयौवना समदना चेयमालिखिता कन्यका तदस्यां सम्बन्धिनमसुं भावविशेषमनिवेदितमपि लक्षयन्ति बालका अपि किमुत विद्वांसः । तथा हि—

लावण्यमुद्गिरन्तीव प्रोद्भिन्नस्तनचूचुका ।
एषा प्रोद्दामतारुण्यामात्मानं कथयत्यलम् ॥
उन्नमितैकभ्रूभङ्गैर्लीलामन्थरितेक्षणा ।
मन्दं निवेदयत्येषा वचनैरिव कन्यका ॥
कपोलस्फुरितैर्दिव्यैः स्मेरवक्त्राब्जबन्धुरा ।
विभाव्यतेऽतिलोलाक्षी वहन्ती मकरध्वजम् ॥

तदनेन केनचिच्चित्रकरेणालिखतामूं कन्यकां जनितो मे चेतश्चमत्कारः ।

Ibid. p. 876.

2. Pre-Raphaelitism.

8. मार्गस्थवक्रशब्दार्थगुणालङ्कारसम्पदः ।
अन्यद्वाक्यस्य वक्रत्वं तथाभिहितजीवितम् ॥
मनोज्ञफलकोल्लेखवर्णच्छायाश्रियः पृथक् ।
चित्रस्येव मनोहारि कर्तुः किमपि कौशलम् ॥

Vakroktijīvita, Unmeṣa iii, 3, 4.

taken out of the dictionary and arranged with commas and semi-colons and fullstops between them '.[1]

Detailed picture criticism, discussing merits like delicacy of line, sweetness of execution symmetry, likeness to the original, foreshortening, arrangement of a suitable back-ground, spirited and life like deportment of the figure and so forth and defects like coarseness of line work, weak and vague drawing, lack of symmetry, colour-muddling (*i.e.* muddling of colours in a meaningless way), lack of good pose, absence of emotion, vacant look in the figure, dirty execution, lifeless portrayal, shortness of limbs and dishevelled hair and so on, is found in the Viṣṇudharmottara.[2]

चित्रस्येव आलेख्यस्य यथा । मनोहारि हृदयरञ्जकं प्रकृतोपकरणव्यतिरेकि कर्तुरेव कौशलं किमपि पृथग्भूतं व्यतिरिक्तम् । कुत इत्याह——मनोज्ञफलकोल्लेखवर्णच्छायाश्रियः । मनोज्ञाः काश्चिदेव हृदयहारिण्यो याः फलकोल्लेखवर्णच्छायास्तासां श्रीरुपशोभा तस्याः । पृथग्रूपं किमपि तत्त्वान्तरमेवेत्यर्थः । फलकमालेख्याधारभूता भित्तिः, उल्लेखश्चित्रसूत्रप्रमाणोपपन्नं रेखाविन्यसनमात्रम्, वर्णा रञ्जकद्रव्यविशेषाः, छाया कान्तिः । तदिदमत्र तात्पर्यम् यथा चित्रस्य किमपि फलकाद्युपकरणकलापव्यतिरेकिसकलप्रकृतपदार्थजीवितायमानं चित्रकरकौशलं पृथक्त्वेन मुख्यतयोद्भासते, तथैव वाक्यस्य मार्गादिप्रकृतपदार्थसार्थव्यतिरेकि कविकौशललक्षणं किमपि सहृदयसंवेद्यं सकलप्रस्तुतपदार्थस्फुरितभूतं वक्रत्वमुज्जृम्भते । Commentary.

1. Reading Books by Vernon Lee.
2. दौर्बल्यं स्थूलरेखात्वमविभक्तत्वमेव च ।
वर्णानां सङ्करश्चात्र चित्रदोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
स्थानप्रमाणभूलम्बो मधुरत्वं विभक्तता ।
सादृश्यं क्षयवृद्धी च गुणाष्टकमिदं स्मृतम् ॥
स्थानहीनं गतरसं शून्यदृष्टिमलीमसम् ।
चेतनारहितं बाल्यात्तदशस्तं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥
लसतीव च भूलम्बो बिभ्यतीव तथा नृप ।
हसतीव च माधुर्ये सजीव इव दृश्यते ॥
सश्वास इव यच्चित्रं तच्चित्रं शुभलक्षणम् ।
हीनाङ्गमलिनं शून्यं बद्धव्याधिभयाकुलैः ॥
वृत्तं प्रकीर्णकेशैश्च सुमङ्गल्यैर्विवर्जयेत् ।
प्रतीतं च लिखेद्धीमान्नाप्रतीतेः कथंचन ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

Pictures also appear to have suggested the age and the state and condition of the persons reproduced in the picture by the depiction of certain appropriate emotions, activities and peculiarly characteristic clothing. So it is possible for the prince in the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā to know that the woman in the picture is in her full youth and passionate. In the Viddhasālabhañjikā the dress of the princess gives a clue to the king to know that she is unmarried and so forth.[1]

We have it again repeated in the lines.

दौर्बल्यबिन्दुरेखात्वमविभक्तत्वमेव च ॥
बृहद्गण्डोष्ठनेत्रत्वमविरुद्धत्वमेव च ।
मानवाकारता चेति चित्रदोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
स्थानप्रमाणभूलम्बो मधुरत्वं विभक्तता ।
सादृश्यं पक्षवृद्धिश्च गुणाश्चित्रस्य कीर्तिताः ॥
रेखा च वर्तना चैव भूषणं वर्णमेव च ।
विज्ञेया मनुजश्रेष्ठ चित्रकर्मसु भूषणम् ॥
रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या वर्तनां च विचक्षणाः ।
स्त्रियो भूषणमिच्छन्ति वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः ॥
इति मत्वा तथा यत्नः कर्तव्यश्चित्रकर्मणि ।
सर्वस्य चित्रग्रहणं यथा स्यान्मनुजोत्तम ॥
दुरासनं दुरानीतं पिपासा चान्यचित्तता ।
एते चित्रविनाशस्य हेतवः परिकीर्तिताः ॥
स्वानुलिप्तावकाशा च निर्देशं मधुका शुभा ।
सुप्रसन्नाभिगुप्ता च भूमिः स्याच्चित्रकर्माणि ॥
सुस्निग्धविस्पष्टसुवर्णरेखं विद्वान् यथादेशविशेषवेशम्
प्रमाणशोभाभिरहीयमानं कृतं भवेच्चित्रमतीव चित्रम् ॥

For सजीव इव यच्चित्रम् see the śloka from Candraprabhācarita of Vīranandi.

निपातयन्ती तरले विलोचने सजीवचित्रासु निवासभित्तिषु ।
नानावधूर्यत्र जनाभिशङ्कया न गाढमालिङ्गति जीवितेश्वरम् ॥

Can. I, 27.

1. **विदूषकः**—···भोः कुमारिका खलु एषा एतस्या नेपथ्यं लक्ष्यते ।
राजा—यथाह प्रियवयस्यः ।

कन्येति सूचयति वेषविशेष एव
यन्नीलचोलकवती लिखितात्र चित्रे ।
पाणिग्रहात् प्रभृति तु प्रमदाजनस्य
नीवीविशेषसुभगः परिधानमार्गः ॥

Viddhasālabhañjikā Act, I.

Apart from these there was the general notion of the land expressed in statements like यत्राकृतिस्तत्र गुणा वसन्ति of Kālidāsa and others[1] shared by the artist-world in India which finds a parallel in the glorious disquisition of Ruskin on the sanctitity of colour wherein he connects the lovely tints with innocence and goodness and repelling shades with vice and cruelty. "I have already insisted" he says, "upon the fact of the sacredness of colour, and its necessary connection with all pure and noble feeling. What we have seen of the use of colour by the poets will help to confirm this truth; but perhaps I have not yet enough insisted on the simplest and readiest to hand of all proofs —the way, namely, in which God has employed colour in His creation as the unvarying accompaniment of all that is purest, most innocent, aud most precious; while for things precious only in material uses, or dangerous, common colours are reserved. Consider for a little while what sort of a world it would be if all flowers were grey, all leaves black, and the sky brown. Imagine that as completely as may be, and consider whether you would think the world any whit more sacred for being thus transfigured in the hues of the shadows in Raphael's Transfiguration. Then observe how constantly innocent things are bright in colour; look at a dove's neck, and compare it with the grey back of a viper; I have often heard talk of brilliantly-coloured serpents; and I suppose there are such—as there are gay poisons, like the foxglove and kalmia—types of deceit: but all the venomous serpents I have really seen are grey, brick-red, or brown, variously mottled; and the most awful serpent I have seen, the Egyptian asp, is precisely of the colour of gravel, or only a little greyer. So, again, the crocodile and alligator are grey, but the innocent lizard green and beautiful. I do not mean than the rule is invariable, otherwise it would be more convincing than the lessons of the natural universe are intended ever to be; there are beautiful colours on the leopard and tiger, and in the berries of the nightshade; and there is nothing very notable in brilliancy of

---

1 न तादृशा आकृतिविशेषा गुणविरोधिनो भवन्ति ।

Śākuntalam, Act IV.

cf. आकृतिमनुगृह्णन्ति गुणाः । Viddhśālabhañjikā, Act I.

cf. न ह्याकृतिः सुसदृशं विजहाति वृत्तम् । Mṛcchakaṭika, Act IX.

cf. सेयमाकृतिर्न व्यभिचरति शीलम् । Daśakumāracarita, p. 160

colour either in sheep or cattle (though, by the way, the velvet of a brown bull's hide in the sun, or the tawny white of the Italian oxen, is, to my mind, lovelier than any leopord's or tiger's skin): but take a wider view of nature, and compare generally rainbows sunrises, roses, violets, butterfiies, birds, gold-fish, rubies, opals, and corals, with alligators, hippopotami, lions, wolves, bears, swine, sharks, slugs, bones, fungi, fogs, and currupting, stringing, destroying things in general, and you will feel then how the question stands between the colourists and chiaroscurists—which of them have nature and life on their side, and which have sin and death."[1]

Detailed canons of art-criticism, discussing different topics like the four kinds of pictures namely Satya, Vaiṇika, Nāgara, Miśra and their definitions,[2] special Tāla measurements in general of various limbs proportionately,[3] kinds of different hairgrowth like the Kuntala, Dakṣiṇāvarta, Taraṅga, Siṁhakesara, Vardhara and Jūtasāra and their definitions,[4] kinds of eyes of different

1. Modern Painters, Vol. IV, Pt. V, Chap. iii.
2. सत्यं च वैणिकं चैव नागरं मिश्रमेव च ।
चित्रं चतुर्विधं प्रोक्तं तस्य वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ॥
यत्किञ्चिल्लोकसादृश्यं (सदृशं ?) चित्रं तत् सत्यमुच्यते ।
दीर्घाङ्गे(ङ्गं ?) सप्रमाणं च सुकुमारं सुभूमिकम् ॥
चतुरश्रं सुसंपूर्णं न दीर्घं नोल्बणाकतिम् (नोल्बणाकृति ?) ।
प्रमाणं (ण ?) स्थानलम्भाढ्यं वैणिकं तन्निगद्यते ॥
दृढोपचितसर्वाङ्गं वर्तुलं नद्यनोल्बणम् (नात्यनोल्बणम् ?) ।
चित्रं तन्नागरं ज्ञेयं स्वल्पमाल्यविभूषणम् ॥
चित्र (त्रं ?) मिश्रं समाख्यातं समासान्मनुजोत्तम ।
3. यथा नृत्ते तथा चित्रे त्रैलोक्यानुकृतिः स्मृता ॥
दृष्टयश्च तथा भावा अङ्गोपाङ्गानि सर्वशः ।
कराश्च ये महा (या ?) नृत्ते पूर्वोक्ता नृपसत्तम ॥
त एव चित्रे विज्ञेया नृत्तं चित्रं परं मतम् ।
नृत्ते प्रमाणं येनोक्तं (यच्चोक्तं ?) तत् प्रवक्ष्याम्यतः श्रृणु ॥
हंसो भद्रोऽथ मालव्यो रुचकः शशकस्तथा ।
विज्ञेयाः पुरुषाः पञ्च तेषां वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ॥
उच्छ्रायायामतुल्यास्ते सर्वे ज्ञेयाः प्रमाणतः ।
स्वेनैवाङ्गुलिमानेन शतमष्टाधिकं भवेत् ॥ etc.
4. घनेन्द्रनीलसदृशाः केशाः कार्यास्तथा शुभाः ॥

shapes, like Cāpakāra, Matsyodara, Utpalapatrābha, Padmapatranibha and Śānākṛti and their definitions,[1] different Sthānas like Ṛjjvāgata, Anṛju, Sācīkṛtaśarīra, Ardhavilocana, Pārśvagata, Parāvṛtta, Pṛṣṭhāgata and Samānata and their definitions[2] together with an exposition of the thirteen Kṣayavṛddhis,[3] the three kinds of shading named Patra, Hairika (?) and Binduja,[4]

कुन्तला दक्षिणावर्तास्तरङ्गाः सिंहकेसराः ।
वर्धरा जूटटसरा इत्येताः केशजातयः ॥

1. चापाकारं भवेन्नेत्रं मत्स्योदरमथापि वा ।
नेत्रमुत्पलपत्राभं पद्मपत्रनिभं तथा ॥
शानाकृतिर्महाराज पञ्चमं परिकीर्तितम् ।
चापाकारं भवेन्नेत्रं प्रमाणेन यथा स्त्रियः ॥
मत्स्योदराख्यं कथितं तथा यवचतुष्टयम् ।
नेत्रमुत्पलपत्राख्यं प्रमात्र (?) द्यवं स्मृतम् ॥
पद्मपत्रनिभं नेत्रं प्रमाणेन यवा नव ।
शशाकृतिं (ति ?) च विज्ञेयं तथैव च यवा दश ॥ etc.

It would be interesting to see the pictures of eyes in Some Notes on Artistic Anatomy of Dr. A. N. Tagore.

2. शुभाकारविहाराणि नानावर्णधराणि च ।
नव स्थानानि रूपाणां न्यनुपूर्वशः (?) ॥
ऋज्वागतं भवेत्पूर्वमनृजु तदनन्तरम् (स्यादनन्तरम् ?) ।
साचीकृतशरीरं च भवत्यर्धविलोचनम् ॥
ततः पार्श्वगतं नाम पुरावृत्तमनन्तरम् ।
पृष्ठागतमघः (तः ?) कार्यं पुरावृत्तं समानतम् ॥

3. क्षयवृद्धी च कात्स्ये(त्स्न्यें ?)न मया तेऽभिहितेऽनघ ।
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि क्षयवृद्धिविधिं क्रमात् ॥
चित्रविद्भिरसंज्ञेयं समासेनेतरेण च । (?)
त्रयोदश विधैवात्र क्षयवृद्धिरुदाहृता ॥

Kṣyavṛddhi is foreshortening and perspective.

4. तिस्रश्च वर्तनाः प्रोक्ताः पत्रहैवि (रि?) कबिन्दुजाः (पत्रैरखिकबिन्दुजाः ?)॥
पत्राकृतिभी रेखाभिः कथितात्र च (पत्र ?) वर्तना ।
अतीव कथिता सूक्ष्मा तथा हैरिकवर्तना ॥
तथा च स्तम्भनायुक्ता कथिता बिन्दुवर्तना ।

The three kinds of shading are the nearest approximates to cross-hatching silver point (fine line shade) and stippling or spatter work.

methods, of and conventions in, painting gods, sages, kings, courtiers, courtesans, warriors, wrestlers, animals, rivers, mountains and so on[1] are given in the Viṣṇudharmottara and the few observations in the lines given above are but indicatory of the great science of art-criticism that was developed to a nicety in ancient India.

---

1 ऋषयस्तत्र कर्तव्या जटाजूटोपशोभिताः ।
कृष्णाजिनोत्तरासङ्गा दुर्बलास्तेजसा युताः ॥
देवताश्चापि गन्धर्वा मुकुटेन विवर्जिताः ।
कर्तव्यास्ते महाराज शिखैरुपशोभिताः ॥
ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनो विप्रा शुक्लाम्बरधरास्तथा ।
मन्त्रिणश्च महाराज सांवत्सरपुरोहितौ ॥
सर्वालङ्कारसंयुक्तानेवोल्बणविभूषणान् ।
मुकुटेन विहीनांस्तु सोष्णीषान् कारयेच्च तान् ॥
दैत्याश्च दानवाश्चैव कर्तव्या भ्रकुटीमुखाः ।
रुचकस्य तु मानेन वेश्याः कार्यास्तथा स्त्रियः ॥
वेश्यानामुद्धतं वेशं कार्यं शृङ्गारसम्मतम् ।
मालव्यमानतः कार्या लज्जावत्यः कुलस्त्रियः ॥
दैत्यदानवयक्षाणां राक्षसानां तथैव च ।
रूपवत्यस्तथा कार्याः पत्न्यो मनुजसत्तम ॥
विभर्तृकास्तु कर्तव्याः स्त्रियः पलितसंयुताः ।
शुक्लवस्त्रपरीधानाः सर्वालङ्कारवर्जिताः ॥
राजस्त्रीणां परीवारे वृद्धः स्यात्कञ्चुकी पुनः ।
दक्षाश्चित्रविदा कार्यः सेनायाः पतिरूर्जितः ।
योधाः कार्या महाराज प्रायशो भ्रकुटीमुखाः ॥
उद्धतेन तु वेषेण कर्तव्या वन्दिनस्तथा ॥
प्रांशवः पीनगात्राश्च पीनग्रीवशिरोधराः ।
उग्राश्च नीचकेशाश्च मल्लाः कार्यास्तथोद्धताः ॥
वृषाः केसरिणश्चैव याश्चान्या सत्त्वजातयः ।
यथाभूमिनिवेशास्ते लोकं दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ॥
सरितां सशरीराणां वाहनानि प्रदर्शयेत् ।
पूर्णकुम्भकराः कार्यास्तथा नामितजानवः ॥
शैलानां शिखरं मूर्ध्नि दर्शयेन्मनुजोत्तम ।
रत्नपात्रकराः कार्याः सागरा मनुजोत्तम ।
तोयं च दर्शयेद्विद्वाननन्तैर्मत्स्यकच्छपैः ॥

CONCLUSION

That art flourished in our land, where it was made obligatory on the part of the monarch to support the Śilpin imparting his knowledge to willing pupils in any town or village in his kingdom as is evidenced by the statements of the Arthaśāstra[1], the Manusmṛti[2] and the

---

देवतावेश्मभिश्चित्रैः प्रासादापणवेश्मभिः ॥
नगरं दर्शयेद्विद्वान् राजमार्गैश्च शोभनैः ।
उत्तरीयविहीनांश्च द्यूतकारान् प्रदर्शयेत् ।
तमसो दर्शनं कार्यं वासे संसर्पकैर्नरैः ।
कुमुदानां विकासे च ज्यौत्स्नां चन्द्रे प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
क्लान्तैः कार्यं नरैर्ग्रीष्मं मृगैश्छायागतैस्तथा ॥
सहंसपद्मसलिलां शरदं तु तथा लिखेत् ॥

These are merely samples of descriptions which are plenty in the chapter.

1. गीतवाद्यपाठ्यनृत्तनाट्याक्षरचित्रवीणावेणुमृदङ्गपरचित्तज्ञानगन्धमाल्यसंयूहनसम्पादनसंवाहनवैशिककलाज्ञानानि गणिका दासीरङ्गोपजीविनीश्च ग्राहयतो राजमण्डलादाजीवं कुर्यात् ।

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Chap. II, Adhyāya 17, Prakaraṇa 44, p. 305 Vol. I (T. S. S.).

2. कारुकाञ्छिल्पिनश्चैव शूद्रांश्चात्मोपजीविनः ।
एकैकं कारयेत्कर्म मासि मासि महीपतिः ॥ Manusmṛti, VII, 138.

Special Śilpins, very old in years and of a very high character (Paramadhārmikas), appear to have been engaged by kings to help in the construction and ornamentation of residential mansions, the Yajñaśālā and the Yūpastambhas. They generally appear to have been recipients of very great honour. We have an instance in the Rāmāyaṇa—

ततोऽब्रवीद्द्विजान् वृद्धान् यज्ञकर्मसु निष्ठितान् ।
स्थापत्ये निष्ठितांश्चैव वृद्धान् परमधार्मिकान् ॥
कर्मान्तिकान् शिल्पकरान् वर्धकीन् खनकानपि ।
गणकान् शिल्पिनश्चैव तथैव नटनर्तकान् ॥
तथा शुचीन् शास्त्रविदः पुरुषान् सुबहुश्रुतान् ।
औपकार्याः क्रियन्तां च राज्ञां बहुगुणान्विताः ।
ब्राह्मणावसथाश्चैव कर्तव्याः शतशः शुभाः ॥
न चावज्ञा प्रयोक्तव्या कामक्रोधवशादपि ।
यज्ञकर्मसु ये व्यग्राः पुरुषाः शिल्पिनस्तथा ॥

Śukranīti,[1] and that artists took great interest in their work, being given seats of honour in the king's court and assembly as we gather from the Kāvyamīmāṁsā[2], is no wonder when we remember that the country with a natural abundance of the elephant and the lotus cannot but think of these except in terms of decorative motifs; and this lovely land of glorious sceneries in ruddy sunshine gave to the child of her soil an instinctive inborn genius for art. Naturally the asceticism of

---

तेषामपि विशेषेण पूजा कार्या यथाक्रमम् । Rāmāyaṇa I, xiii
कारिताः सर्व एवैते शास्त्रज्ञैर्यज्ञकोविदैः ।
शोभार्थं तस्य यज्ञस्य काञ्चनालङ्कृताभवन् ॥
एकविंशतियूपास्त एकविंशत्यरत्नयः । *Ibid.* I, xiv.

1. यन्त्राणि धातुकाराणां संरक्षेद्वीक्ष्य सर्वदा ॥
कारुशिल्पगणान् राष्ट्रे रक्षेत् कार्यानुमानतः ।
अधिकान् कृषिकृत्ये वा भृत्यवर्गे नियोजयेत् ॥
Śukranīti, Adhyāya IV, Prakaraṇa iv, Śls. 42-43.

We can here compare the account of Magasthenes wherein he shows royal bounty as showered on the artisan class which ought to include the painters and others with the armourers. 'The fourth caste consists of the Artisans. Of these some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.' Ancient India, M'crindle. p. 40. The king's special favour and protection to this class is evident in the line 'He who causes an artisan to lose his eye or his hand is put to death.' *Ibid.* p. 72. But in comparing this we should never forget that the account of Megasthenes contains a lot of fairy-tale-like incredible information talking of some men with their 'feet turned backwards' and having eight toes on each foot and 'others near the source of the Ganges requiring nothing in the shape of food and subsisting on the odour of apples'. (p. 82.)

2. Kāvyamīmāṁsā Chap. X.

This honour of a special seat in the king's court dates from so early a time as the Rāmāyaṇa.

अथ कर्मान्तरे राजा समाहूय महामुनीन् ।
पार्थिवांश्च नरव्याघ्रः पण्डितान्नैगमांस्तथा ॥
पौराणिकाञ्शब्दविदो ये च वृद्धा द्विजातयः ।
स्वराणां लक्षणज्ञांश्च उत्सुकान् द्विजसत्तमान् ॥

Buddhism or the Jain dictum against painting as given by Haricandra[1] could not in the least affect the natural luxuriant growth of a rich crop of artistic thought and activity in this country of the Purāṇas and the Kāvyas.

लक्षणज्ञांश्च गान्धर्वान्नैगमांश्च विशेषतः ।
पादाक्षरसमासज्ञांश्छन्दःसु परिनिष्ठितान् ॥
कलामात्राविभागज्ञाञ्ज्यौतिषे च परंगतान् ।
क्रियाकल्पविदश्चैव तथा काव्यविदो जनान् ॥
भाषाज्ञानिङ्गितज्ञांश्च नैगमांश्चाप्यशेषतः ।
हेतूपचारकुशलान् वचने चापि हैतुकान् ॥
छन्दोविदः पुराणज्ञान् वैदिकान् द्विजसत्तमान् ।
चित्रज्ञान् वृत्तसूत्रज्ञान् गीतनृत्तविशारदान् ॥
शास्त्रज्ञान् नीतिनिपुणान् वेदान्तार्थप्रबोधकान् ।
एतान् सर्वान् समानीय गातारौ समवेशयत् ॥

Uttarakāṇḍa, Chap. 94.

1. वनकेलिर्जलक्रीडा चित्रलेप्यादिकर्म वा ।
एवमन्येऽपि बह्वोऽनर्थदण्डाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, XXI, 148.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE MAUKHARIS BY EDWARD A. PIRES M.A., B. G. PAUL & CO., MADRAS, 1934. PAGES 220. Price Rs. 6.

This work was submitted as a thesis for the M. A. degree of the Bombay University and now forms No. 10 in the series of Studies in Indian History issued by the Indian Historical Research Institute directed by Rev. H. Heras of Bombay. Mr. Pires has attempted a systematic study of the history of the kings of the Maukhari-vaṁśa and deserves to be congratulated on the measure of success that has attended his effort. He has pressed into service all the material, epigraphical and literary, now available, and is generally up-to-date in his bibliography. The work is carefully documented at every step and the reader will have no difficulty in checking for himself the correctness or otherwise of the author's conclusions.

The role of the Maukharis in the interval between the fall of the Imperial Guptas and the rise of Harṣa is relatively well known and Pires's narrative is most convincing here. There are too many gaps in the evidence in the rest of Maukhari history, and the author has to supply the connecting links either himself or by depending on theories put forward by earlier writers. It is but natural that the parts of the book devoted to the study of such incomplete data appear more or less inconclusive in their results. But the author has done his best to present the subject in a lucid and intelligible form.

To turn to some details. The antiquity of the Maukharis as a dynasty or rather tribe is borne out by a clay seal from Gayā bearing the legend *Mokhalinam* in Mauryan Brāhmī characters, but one cannot accept the surmise that the name was known to Pāṇini (p. 13). The phrase of Bāṇa '*Soma-Sūrya-vaṁśāviva Puṣpabhūti-Mukharavaṁśau*' cannot sustain the conclusion that the Maukharis 'were descended from the Soma Vaṁśa' (p. 12), but rather the contrary. The Maukharis are held to have been dominant in Magadha before the rise of the Guptas; this view rests on highly conjectural interpretations of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* and the Candrāvali inscription of Kādamba Mayūraśarman.

But it is by no means established that Caṇḍa-sena of the drama named above is identical with Candragupta I (p. 27), or that Sundaravarman of the play was a Maukhari; and the Purāṇas know nothing of Sundaravarman's family (p. 35, n. 1). There is again no warrant for taking the *Koṭa-kulaja*, the enemy of Samudragupta, as identical with Kalyāṇavarman (p. 40). The same uncertainty hangs round the relations postulated by the author between the Maukharis and the Coḷas (pp. 64 ff.); here he accepts wholesale the conclusions of previous writers and postulates two Karikālas, holds the Maukharis to have been the feudatories of the Coḷas in the interval separating them, and identifies the Sulikas with the Coḷas. He falls into serious error in saying that Kollippakkai was a Coḷa city and that it was surrounded by *Śuḷḷi* (p. 80). His argument that Susthiravarman was no Maukhari (pp. 94 ff) is perfectly sound. He perpetuates an ancient misunderstanding of one of Bāṇa's metaphors as implying that Harṣa was unwilling to rule as king (p. 117). As in the case of Karikāla, the author does not seem to be aware of the results of recent researches into the early history of Java, or he would not have been so ready to identify Pūrṇavarman of W. Java with the Magadhan ruler of the same name (p. 131). Vajrāyudha is not a name with 'the termination *yudha*' (p. 146).

Chronological questions have not been faced as squarely as they should be, before the results of the work can be generally accepted. A gap of half a century is treated as of little account in a crucial palæographical discussion (p. 30). The date of Rājyaśrī's birth is calculated apparently on the assumption that she was married as a child and before Grahavarman's accession, A. D. 606. (pages 162 and 183); but a perusal of Prabhākaravardhana's speech to Queen Yośomati on the eve of Rājyaśrī's marriage shown that the assumption is wrong. "*Devi, taruṇībhūtā vatsā Rājyaśrīḥ* * * * *Hṛdayam andhakārayati me divasamiva payodharonnatir-asyāḥ*".

Part VI deals with Social and administrative conditions; the account is necessarily rather sketchy as the necessary evidence for a detailed study is not forthcoming. Religion, literature and the monuments of the dynasty are also briefly discussed. There are twelve illustrations, a map, a synchronistic chart and a serviceable index.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.

TALES FROM SHAKESPEARE (IN SANSKRIT)—BY M. VENKATARAMANACHARIYAR—SANSKRIT PANDIT, MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, VIZIANAGARAM—PUBLISHED BY V. RAMASWAMI SASTRULU & SONS, MADRAS—Crown, 16 Vo. pp. 444 Price 1-8-0.

This is a version in Sanskrit of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare written by Pandit M. Venkataramanachariyar, Chief Professor in Sanskrit in the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram. It contains the story of the plots of nineteen dramas of Shakespeare Mr. Venkataramanachariyar, we understand, is a great Sanskrit scholar with 45 years experience of Sanskrit studies and with an intimate knowledge of the needs and capacities of students taking up Sanskrit for critical studies in the University Classes. It is written in easy, lucid and elegant Sanskrit prose quite in keeping with the dignity and diction of Lamb's Tales. Mr. Venkataramanachariyar has done a great service to the Sanskrit world by writing this book and thus disseminating among the pandits and Sanskrit students not knowing English, the beauties of Shakespeare's dramas. Sanskrit literature, especially dramaturgy, needs the invigorating touch of the Shakespearean model. All those interested in Sanskrit studies will certainly wish the promotion of what we may be permitted to call "modern Sanskrit literature" which will combine the taste and spirit of English literature with the genius of ancient Sanskrit poetry. If we want a living Sanskrit in touch with the currents of modern thought and the spirit of the modern age and not a mere fossilised Sanskrit, we must welcome translations like these. If we may venture a criticism. we may say it is not even necessary to introduce changed Sanskritized forms for proper names.

That the book has earned the appreciation of such a tasteful and reputed critic like The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and of a scholar like Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao who has written the foreword, is itself a guarantee for the worth and usefulness of this publication. Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu, the proprietor of Messrs. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, who has done distinguished service for the cause of Sanskrit learning and Telugu literature deserves our gratitude for publishing this book with its fine get-up and neat printing. We hope that Mr. Venkataramanachariyar will permit us to express our felicitations to him for his happy idea in giving to the Sanskrit-knowing public a beautiful version of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.

KINKINI MALA (FIRST SERIES)—A COLLECTION OF SHORTER POEMS—BY Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI, M.A., B.L., ADVOCATE, MYLAPORE—Crown, 16 Vo. pp. 101, with appendices A. B. C. & D., Price Rs. 2.

This is almost the first attempt during recent times by an English-educated scholar to produce a book of poems in Sanskrit possessing a modern flair and redolent with the taste and culture of English literature. It is, indeed very promising. The book contains also free renderings in Sanskrit verse of some of the classical selections from Shakespeare, Shelly, Wordsworth and Jhonson. In his foreword, the author promises us the publication of his other literary works and we certainly await them with interest. Mr. Mahalinga Sastri is well equipped for the task he has undertaken. The taste and love for Sanskrit is in his blood—he being the great-grand son of the far-famed Mahāmahopādhyāya Raju Sastrigal of Mannargudy and the son of Bṛhmaśrī Yajñasvāmi Sastrigal who is a scholar of great repute in Southern India. He has, in addition, a fine ear for music and so, many of the verses are in the Kṛti form and the metres chosen are well suited to the Rāga and Tāla selected. The verses are written in what we may call the Vaidarbhī Rīti and Mr. Sastri has kept before his mind's eye the ideal of Kālidāsa. The task of modern writers of Sanskrit poetry is a difficult one. They have to avoid the recondite topics which have lost their interest at the present day and to steer clear of the forms and figures of speech which are out-worn and have come to be regarded now as conventional, however realistic they might have been in the classical period of Sanskrit literature. They should not also copy the artificialities and conceits, the hyperboles and Śabdaśleṣās of an earlier generation of Sanskrit poets of Southern India especially of the 15th and 16th centuries. Instead, their poetry should reflect the spirit and taste of the modern age, while not departing from the genius of Sanskrit poetry.

We feel that this attempt may be pronounced a success though there is room for improvement both in the variety of themes and in the richness of modern imagery. Mr. Mahalinga Sastri may be pardoned the egotistic vein when he says at page 102 in his poem Kavi Hṛdaya (4) that "his endeavour is only to please the reader, rare at the present day, who possesses the right taste for the beauties of Sanskrit poetry", for, possibly, the type of Sanskrit poetry which combines the taste of English literature

and the flavour of modernity can only find few readers who may have the equipment both in Sanskrit and English to appreciate it.

We congratulate Mr. Sastri on his "Garland of tiny tinkling bells" and hope that he will continue his labours and bring out his promised works in Appendix D and that his appeal for contributions to the Kiṅkiṇi Mālā Nidhi will meet with sympathetic response.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.

NĀRTTĀMALAI AND ITS TEMPLES

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM,
Chidambaram

AND

K. VENKATRANGARAJU,
Pudukkotah.

(*Continued from page 30 of Vol. VIII.*)

PART III.

THE VIJAYĀLAYA CŌḶĪŚVARAM TEMPLE IN MĒLA MALAI.

Another interesting temple in the Mēla Malai opposite to the two cave-temples described above, is the Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram evidently named after Vijayālaya, the founder of the house of the Cōḷas of Tanjore. This temple consists of a central shrine gracefully perching on the eastern slope of the hill, with seven minor shrines round it. The whole group is enclosed by a stone-wall which is provided with two entrances—one on the west and the other on the north-east. The main shrine faces west. Its *garbha-gṛha* is circular in the interior measuring 9 feet in diameter and 8 feet in height. The wall running round it is 5 feet thick in its circular portion. The four corners are worked out into small squares and the whole is enclosed by a square *maṇḍapa* measuring outwardly 29 feet from side to side. The *prākāra* is wide enough to admit only one person at a time. In its formation, it resembles ŌM or *praṇava.* The central shrine is built of well dressed granite blocks neatly and accurately fitted without mortar from the basement to the *stūpi.* The dome of the *vimāna,* surmounted by a stone finial (*śikhara*) consists of a cylindrical tower from a circular platform; it is plain, and unadorned.

The horse-shoe shaped *kūḍus* on the sides of the topmost tier of the *vimāna* have lion-faces. They are four in number, one on each side with a *nandī* in each corner. In the next lower tier we find sculptured figures of Gods. In the *western* niche is the figure of Śiva seated with Pārvatī on the left. The *dēvī* has only two arms. In her right hand she keeps a lotus flower, and her

left hand rests on the seat. Śiva has a pleasing aspect and is found seated with his left leg bent and tucked upon the seat. He has four arms. In his rear right hand is placed a *paraśu* and in the corresponding left hand is seen a *mṛga* (deer). The front right arm is bent and is placed caressingly beneath the chin of the *dēvī*. This is an *Anugrahamūrti*.

In the *southern* niche is a seated figure with four arms and three eyes, with a remarkably pleasing countenance. Both its legs are bent and rest on the seat, the right being upright, and the left crosswise. Of the four arms, the back right hand carries a *triśūla*, while the left, an *akṣamālā* (rosary). It holds a *vīṇā* in its front left hand, and the front right hand plays on it.

The *vīṇā* is peculiar in shape, the sounding box at its lower end being rectangular—not circular. It has a *jaṭābhāra* on the head. The idol is generally mistaken for Nārada, but it is evidently *Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti*—one of his four aspects—Yōga, Jñāna, Vyākaraṇa and Vīṇādhara. As no niche is provided in the wall of the central shrine, it is placed in the southern niche in the upper part of the *vimāna*.

The dome is enclosed by another line of smaller spires symmetrically arranged, and in the niches below them are placed various dancing figures.

An *ardhamaṇḍapa* is attached to the main sanctuary, and is enclosed by a wall whose outer facade has a moulded basement and pilasters with bracket capitals at the top. Unlike the shrines of the Pallava period, no niches are provided on the wall surface. The roof is flat, and at the outer ends, it is drawn out into a thick single arched massive cornice. Below the cornice runs a frieze of *bhūtagaṇas*. The *maṇḍapa* is supported in the interior by six monolithic pillars in two rows of three each, cubical at the ends, octagonal in the middle, and crowned with gracefully fluted bracket capitals. The main gateway of this shrine is elegantly carved with a simple floral design. On either side of this gateway is a *dvārapālaka*. They are 5 feet in height and identical in general aspect. They face the observer and stand with their legs crossed. Of the two arms of each figure, one rests on a thick club (*gadā*) and the other is held in *vismaya* pose. They are crowned with a *jaṭā-makuṭa*; but some loose hair is seen flowing on either side. Their heads are surmounted by a *prabhāvaḷī* and two crescent-like horns project on either side. They wear *patra-kuṇḍalas* (circular ear-rings) in the long

lobes of their ears. They are adorned with the usual *kaṭi-bandha* and *udara-bandha* on the body, *valayams* on the wrists, and bracelets with *siṁhalalāṭams* (lion-faces) on the arms, and a bejewelled necklace on the neck. The *yajñopavīta* is in the form of a rolled cloth adorned with a chain of hanging bells. These figures should be assigned to a period midway between the *dvārapālakas* of cave No. 2 and the Viṣṇu figures found in cave No. 1. Round the central shrine there are six out of the original seven-shrines in which there must have been housed the images of Sūrya, Saptamātṛkās, Vināyaka, Subrahmaṇya, Jyeṣṭhādēvī, Caṇḍēśvara and Candra. This feature of a central shrine surrounded by sub-shrines, seems to be characteristic of the early Cōḷa temple architecture. The temple at Tirukkaṭeḷai on the eastern borders of the town of Pudukōṭah and that at Pulvayal have the same features as this. The Mūvar-Kōvil at Koḍumbāḷūr exhibits the same features. On excavation, the basements of the sub-shrines have been traced.

It is interesting to compare this with the Kailāsa temple at Ellōra rightly styled by Havell 'the chief glory of Ellōra and in some ways the most wonderful *tour dc force* achieved by Indian sculptor-architects.' It was built in the middle of the 8th century A. D. by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa I. Its central *vimāna* is in the form of a pyramidical tower crowned with the stūpa-dome. The temple stands on a sculptured basement which provides a raised terrace for the circumambulation of the holy of holies. At the corners and in the middle of the three sides of this terrace there are five small shrines forming a group round the principal one. The first one, on the north side, is dedicated to Gaṇeśa; the next at the north east corner is the shrine of Bhairava; the third behind the central sanctuary is that of Pārvatī; the fourth that of Candra; and the fifth is dedicated to the Saptamātṛkās.[1]

The chief points of agreement between the Kailāsa temple of the eighth century situated in the Deccan and the Vijayālaya Cōḷiśvaram temple of the ninth century in Southern India clearly indicate that the spread of artistic skill was not restricted by distances and that the style of architecture prevalent in one region spread quickly to another. And it seems very hazardous

---

1. Ancient and Mediaval Architecture of India by E. B. Havell, p. 197.

in the present state of knowledge to classify different styles of architecture and label them 'Cāḷukyan' and 'Dravidian'.

Each of the sub-shrines has a circular *vimāna* and an enclosed *maṉḍapa* in front. Three of these sub-shrines are intact, and the ruins of the three others have survived. These stone structures are evidently copies of wooden models.

The architectural features described above clearly indicate that this temple forms an important link between the styles of the Pallavas and of the Cōḷas.

We have discovered a new inscription engraved on the basement of the central shrine underneath the *dvārapālaka* to the north of the entrance. The text runs thus:

> "Svasti śrī (?) cembūdiyāṉa Iḷaṅgō
> di araiyar eḍuppitta kaṟṟaḷi maḻai i-
> ḍittaḻiya Mallaṉ Viḍumaṉ āyiṉa Te-
> ṉṉavaṉ Tamiḻadi Araiyaṉ pudukku."

"Hail prosperity! This stone temple, built by Cembūdi *alias* Ilaṅgōdi Araiyar, having been destroyed by rains, was repaired by Mallaṉ Viḍumaṉ *alias* Teṉṉavaṉ Tamiḻadi Araiyaṉ."

There is a reference to the construction of a sluice to Aṇimaḍa ēri (the modern Arumaikkuḷam at the foot of the hill) by Mallaṉ Viḍamaṉ[1] and is very likely he is the same as the renovator of this temple, and perhaps he belonged to the same family as Mīṉavaṉ Tamiḻaraiyaṉ *alias* Mallaṉ Anantaṉ a local chief of Nṛpatuṅga's time.

There is an inscription of the 12th year (11 plus 1 year) of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya on the rock to the north of cave No. 1 which mentions the temple of *Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram*; and we have mentioned already that the editor of the Pudukōṭah Gazetteer has identified "the liṅgam" of Cave No. 2 as Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram. Is this correct? According to inscription No. 19 of the Pudukōṭah list, the Śiva temple of Cave No. 2 was excavated by Śāttaṉ Paḻiyili in the 7th year of Nṛpatuṅga. A temple is generally named after its builder or the donor's patron. Hence this must be called Nṛpatuṅga Īśvaraṉ or Paḻiyili Īśvaram. We believe that line 17 of this inscription should be read 'Paḻiyili Īśvaram'. If so, this cannot be Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram.

Further, if we consider the weight of the argument of proximity, the name Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram will apply to Cave No. 1

1. No. 11 of Pudukōṭah list.

and not to Cave No. 2. But, we have clear proofs of the dates of construction of the two cave temples, and Cave No. 1 is a Viṣṇu temple and the Īśvara name, cannot, therefore, apply to it.

Moreover, if the other identification is right, it becomes inexplicable why while there is so much rock-space available for the engraving of the inscription near Cave No. 2 the inscription under reference should find a place so far off and closer to the other shrines than to this. The testimony based on the study of the architecture and sculptures merely reinforces our conclusion.

Hence in our opinion, the Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscription should refer to the group of structural temples opposite to this rock.

If our identification of this structural temple as Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram is correct, we have in this group of structural shrines one of the earliest of the Cōḷa temples named after the founder of the house of Vijayālaya of Tanjore.

PART IV.

TIRUMALAIKKAḌAMBŪR ĪŚVARAM IN KAḌAMBŪR MALAI.

As the earliest reference to the Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Īśvaram (or Mahādēvar) is an inscription of the 22nd year of Rājarāja I[1] it seems very likely that this temple came into existence a little before this date (*i.e.* about 1007 A.D.)—and perhaps in the early years of his reign.

In the 38th year of Kulōttuṅga III (*i.e.* in 1216 A.D.) an image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti was set up in the temple. A new shrine for the Nācciyār (goddess) was constructed in the 12th year of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I.[2] This shrine is very likely the Ammaṉ shrine an the south side of the main shrine of Kaḍambūr-dēva. The central shrine is simple and imposing. The *vimāna* consists of a plain structure supported at the ends by pilasters mounted with a capital made up of a *Kuḍam*, *padmam*, and *palagai*. The *kūḍus* are simple and well executed. The *vimāna*

---

1. No. 86 of Pudukōṭah list.
2. No. 279 and 325 of Pudukōṭah list.
"tiru kāmakkōṭṭa nācciyārai eḻundaruḷiviccu kaṟṟaḷiyum cātti tirumāḷikai śeygaiyālum."

is surmounted by a semi-circular stone dome adorned with *siṁha-lalāṭams* on the four sides and crowned with a stone final (*stūpi*).

Most of the inscriptions of this place are found in this temple and its neighbourhood. It is here, in the immediate presence of the Lord, that the local Assembly carried on its transactions irrespective of the fortunes of the central power.

Apart from the overpowering grandeur of the hills and the charm of the natural scenery, these mute ancient monuments are the only surviving relics of a great and rich past that has gone beyond recall.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PUDUKŌṬAH STATE: RELATING TO NĀRTTĀMALAI.

(1) 11—Rock north of Arumaikkuḷam tarn—undated—no reigning king mentioned.

Records the construction of the sluice of Aṇimata ēri by Tamiḻadi Araiyaṉ *alias* Mallaṉ Viḍamaṉ and a gift of land to the mason who did it.

PALLAVA.

(2) 19—On the north face of basement of the ruined *maṇḍapa* of the Śiva cave temple (No. 2).

Kō Viśaiya Nṛpatuṅga Varma 7th year.

Śāttam Paḻiyili, son of Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ scooped out the cave temple. His son Mīṉavaṉ Tamiḻadi Araiyaṉ *alias* Mallaṉ Anantaṉ constructed a *mukha maṇḍapa* and added to it a *ṛṣabha*, a *maṇḍapa* for the *ṛṣabha*, and a *balipīṭha*; Paḻiyili Śiṟiyanaṅgai (wife or sister ? of Anantaṉ) made a gift of land for service to the temple (for *arcanābōgam*).

CŌḶA INSCRIPTIONS:

(3) 86—On the rock forming the north wall of the Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple. Rājarāja I, 22nd year. *Tirumagaḷ pōla* introduction.

Records a gift of 2 kaḻañju of gold for a lamp (*Śandi viḷakku*) to the deity of Mēlaikkaḍambūr-dēvar by a resident of Kīḻattāya-nallūr, in Aṇṇal-vāyil-Kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Kēraḷāntaka Vaḷanāḍu *alias* Kōṉāḍu, and another received this gold on condition of supplying one *nāḻi* of ghee per month.

(4) 91—On the rock to the east of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple-Rājarāja I, 28th year *Tirumagaḷ pōla* introduction.

Records gift of land for the service of *Uvaccu* (beating of drums) to the God of Mēlaikkaḍambūr Mahādēvar by the *Nagarattār* of Teluṅga-kulakāla-puram in Aṇṇal-vāyil-Kūṟṟam.

(5) 110—On the rock to the north of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple—3rd year, Rājakēsarivarman—Rājēndra Cōḷa II—*Tiru-maruviya-Śeṅgōl* introduction-fragmentary.

Records gift of one *Kaḻañju* (of gold) for service (*Sandi?*) by a merchant of the place (*nagaram*). Mentions Teluṅga-kulakāla (in) Aṇṇavāyil.

(6) 112—On the rock to the north of the tank of Maṅgaḷa-tīrtham in front of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple.

5th year—Parakēsarivarmaṉ Rājēndra-dēvar—*Tirumādu puvi eṇum* introduction.—damaged.

Refers to a gift (*pariśu*) by the *Nagarattār* of Teliṅga-kula-kāla-puram.

(7) 113—Same place. 5th year of Parakēsari Rājēndra-dēva —incomplete.

Provision is made for sacred bath (*tirumañjaṉam*) for three *śandis* to God Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Uḍaiya Mahādēva by a merchant.

Refers to the *Nagarattār* of Teluṅga-kulakāla-pura.

(8) 114—Same place—5th year of Rājakēsari Rājēndra '*Tiru maruviya śeṅgōl*'. introduction—incomplete and damaged—Refers to a gift for offerings to the Goddess and mentions the *Nagarattār* of Teluṅgakulakālapuram.

(9) 158—On the rock forming the north wall of the Tiru-malaikkaḍambūr temple—27th year—Kō Parakēsari Tribhuvana Cakravartigaḷ Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-dēvar who was pleased to take Madura, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍyan king and Kāñcī.

The *Nagarattār* of Teluṅga-kulakāla-puram in Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu made a gift of lands as *dēvadāna* free from royal dues (*iṟai iḻicci*) on receipt of 130½ *accu* from one Param-būruḍaiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ Śeṅguḍiyāṉ Gaṅgādar in the name of Tiruvāṉaikkāvuḍaiyār which he had set up in the place.

In the defining of the boundary of the lands above mentioned those belonging to the shrine of Aruhar-dēvar in Tirumāṉai Malai are excluded from the sale.

At the command of the *Nagaram*, the deed was written by the *Madhyastha* Maṇi Jōdiyāṉ Marudaiyāṉ.

(10) 164—Same place. 31st year of Tribhuvana-cakravarti Tribhuvana-Vīradēva who was pleased to take Madura, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, Kāñcī and Vañci and celebrated the anointment of hero.

Refers to a gift of 5 *kaḻañju* of gold made for offerings (*tiru-v-amudu*) to the Goddess of Tiruppaḷḷiyaṟai-nācciyār situated

in Teluṅga-kulakāla-puram in Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu. The gift was received by the Śivabrāhmaṇas, who agreed to supply the required quantity of rice.

(11) 170—On the rock to the east of the Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple. 37th year of Kō Parakēsari Tribhuvana Cakravartigaḷ Tribhuvana-Vīradēva who was pleased to take Madura, Īḻam, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍyan king and to celebrate the anointment of hero and victor.

Registers the sale of land as *dēvadāna,* in favour of two merchants on receipt of 68,000 *kāśu* by the *Nagarattār* of Teluṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam.

(12) 173—On the rock forming the north wall of the Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple. 38th year of Tribhuvana-cakravartigaḷ Tribhuvanavīra-dēva who was pleased to take Īḻa......Marudai (corrupt colloquial form for Madura) Karuvūr and performed the anointment of hero and victor.

A merchant of Teluṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam in Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu set up the deity of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the temple and the " Tiruvuṇṇāḻigaikkuṭ-paṭṭa Śivabrāhmaṇarōm " agreed to supply rice for offerings on receipt of adequate funds.

(13) 200—On the rock forming the north wall of the Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple. 7th year Tribhuvana-Cakravartigaḷ Rājēndra Cōḷa-dēva (III?)—incomplete.

Registers a gift of lands as *ācāryadakṣiṇā* to Pōṟēṟu Cēmaṉ *alias* Akalaṅka-āśāri for the services of his father and himself in the construction (or repairs?) of the temple—' *tiruppaṇigaḷ*'. The gift made by the [Ādi ca]ṇḍēśvara Dēvakaṉmigaḷ *i.e.* the temple managers of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār and the *Nagarattār*—of Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam.

PĀṆḌYA INSCRIPTIONS.

(14) 271—On the rock to the north of the Maṅgaḷatīrtham in front of the Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple (8+1) year—of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya who was pleased to give back Śōṇāḍu.

Records a gift of land tax-free to the deity of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Nāyaṉār by the *Nagarattār* of Teluṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam and the same lands were given away as " *Kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadānam* " to a certain person and his son, under certain conditions.

(15) 279—Same place—(11+1) year of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya who was pleased to give back Śōṇāḍu damaged.

Records a gift of land as *Kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadānam* by the *Nagarattār* of Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam in Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍa Cōḷa-Vaḷanāḍu to Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa Nācciyār of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Nāyaṉār, set up by one Maruduḍaiyāṉ Periya-dēvanuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Periyadēvaṉ. The recipient of the lands agreed to supply 60 *kalams* of paddy at the *kaḷam* or place of harvest and that, in case of failure of crops, he was bound to pay only *Vāram* for the lands actually under crop; the *Nagaram* agreed to assess the tax themselves.

(16) 280—Same place. (11+1) year of Māṟavarmaṉ Tribhuvana Cakravartigaḷ Sundara Pāṇḍya who was pleased to give back Śōṇāḍu—damaged.

Records a contract signed by two merchants of Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam, who received some lands as *Kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadānam* on condition that they would supply paddy as per agreement to the deities of the Lord of Dance in Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple, Tiruvāṉaikkāvuḍaiya Nāyaṉār and to Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa Nācciyār of Tiruvāṉaikkāvuḍaiya Nāyaṉār.

(17) 281—On the rock to the north of the big rock-cut cave (No. 1) known as Śamaṇāḷ Kuḍagu in Mēla Malai. (11+1) year of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya who was pleased to give back Śōṇāḍu.

The *Nagarattār* of Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam in Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu made a gift of land as "*Kuḍiniṅgā Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*" for offerings of food (*tirupōṉakam*) to Padineṇbhūmi Viṇṇagara Emberumāṉ and His consort set up in this *ūr* (village) of Tiru-Mēṟkkōyil of this *Nagaram* (*innagarattu Ūrāy Tiru-mēṟkkōyilāga Ugandaruḷippaṇṇiṉa*). The *Nagaram* agreed to bear the royal dues themselves (*idukku tiru vāśalāl pōnda iṟai, kūḍimai, antarāyam maṟṟum eppēṟppaṭṭa tēvaiyum nagarattukkēy paramāvadāgavum*). Provision was made to receive only *Vāram* i.e., a proportionate share of the actual yield in case of failure of crops due to floods or scarcity of rains. The share for the dry-crops was one-sixth. The standard measure was the *śūḷakāl*.

A fresh local tax at the time of marriage was authorised to be levied by one Viḷakkattaraiyaṉ and the sum thus collected was to be set apart for repairs and to be paid to the temple servant called "*Tiruvaḍipiḍippāṉ*".

(18) 282—Same place. (11+1) year of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya who was pleased to give back Śōṇāḍu.—very much damaged—Mentions the temple of Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram (*ivvūr uḍaiyār Viśaiyālaya Cōḷīśvaramuḍaiya nāyanārkku*) in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

The *Nagarattār* made provision for the celebration of the Vaigāśi festival in this temple.

(19) 283—West wall of the *Śiva temple to the East of Tirumalikkaḍambūr temple* (11+1) year of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya who was pleased to give back Śōṇāḍu.

Registers a gift of land by the *Nagarattār* of Teliṅga-kula-kālapuram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu to *Nagarīśvaram-uḍaiya Nāyaṉār* (cf. 23 below) of this place. The donee agreed to supply 24 *kalams* of paddy at the rate of 8 *kalams* per *mā*.

Also refers to the provision made for the construction of this stone-temple (Kaṟṟaḷi) and for repairs and for offerings.

(20) 325—On the rock to the north of the Maṅgaḷatīrtham in front of Tiru-malaik-kaḍambūr temple—year (15?) of Māṟa-varmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya who was pleased to give back Śōṇāḍu—damaged.

Refers to a deed making tax-free certain lands granted towards the construction of the temple and the consecration of the deity of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa Nācciyār of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Nāyaṉār.

It was done by the *Nagarattār* of Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

(21) 389—On the rock to the north of Maṅgaḷa-tīrtham in front of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr. 7th year of Māṟavarmaṉ Kula-śekharadēva—very much damaged.

(22) 445—On the east wall of the central shrine of Tiru-malaikkaḍambūr. 31 year of Māṟavarmaṉ *Kulaśekharadēva* (= 1346 A.D.)—damaged.

The Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple ("*Kōyil muppadu vaṭṭattu kāṇi uḍaiya Śivabrāhmaṇarōm*") of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Nāya-ṉār in Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭiṉam in Kōṉāḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgai-koṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu sold certain lands for a sum of money. A certain coin called *Varāgaṉ paṇam* was then current.

(23) 503—On the rock to the north of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple. 3rd year of Sundara Pāṇḍya (unidentified).

The Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the (*tiruvuṇṇāḻigai* of *Nagarīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār* (cf. No. 19 above) in Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭaṉam agreed to conduct certain services in lieu of gold received (*poṟ poṉ eṭṭu māṟi narkaḷañjarai*).

(24) 531—On the rock to the north of Maṅgaḷa-tīrtham in front of Tirumalaikaḍambūr temple. 27th year—of Sundara Pāṇḍya—unidentified—damaged.

Registers a gift of land by one Araiyan Maṇiyan Varudaip-perumāḷ *alias* Kulaśekhara Kaḍambaiyarāyan in favour of the deities of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Nāyanār, Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa Nācciyār and Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiya Nāyanār, which, he bought by paying 49,500 *Kāśu* into the temple treasury (*Śrī paṇḍāraṅgaḷil koṇḍa kāśu*)

(25) 620—On a rock to the north of Maṅgaḷa-tīrtham in front of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple. 5th year—Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Registers a gift of land (*pariśu*) to certain persons (*ikkōyil dēvaraḍiyāril Aḷaga Perumāḷ magan Tiruvaṇḍar uḷḷiṭṭārukku*) by the temple servants of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Uḍaiya Nāyanār (*ādi Caṇḍēśvara dēvakanmigaḷ*), the accountants (*Kōil kaṇakku māḍāpattiyam śeyvārgaḷum*) and the residents of the *ūr* (*ivvūr iśainda ūrārum*) of Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭinam in Kōnāḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyātilaṅgai-koṇḍa Cōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

(26) 621—Same place. 6th year of Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Registers the gift and distribution of 10 shares (*paṅgu*) of lands to ten dēvaraḍiyārs of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr Nāyanār kōyil in Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭinam, by the Ūrār (*Ūrāga iśainda Ūrōmum*) the *sthānattārs* of the 30 *vaṭṭams* of the temple, and the temple servants (*Ādi Caṇḍēśvara dēvakanmi kōyiṟkaṇakku māḍāpattiyam śeyvār*). The Assembly is said to have met in the Tirumaṇḍapam.

VIJAYANAGAR INSCRIPTION:

(27) 702—On the west wall of the Śiva temple to the east of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple.

Vijayanagar—Dēvarāya Mahārāyar, son of Vīra-pratāpa Dēva Rāya Mahārāyar—śaka 1353. Registers a gift of land as *sarva-mānyam* and of two houses to three persons Ceyyān, Udappan and Mallappan sons of Aḷagan (called a *dēvaraḍiyān* i.e., a servant of God) by the temple servants of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr-Nāyanār (*Kōyil Ādi Caṇḍeśvara dēva Kanmi Kōyil Kaṇakku māḍā-pattiyam Śeyvārkaḷum*) and the *ūrār* (*urāga iśainda ūravarōm*) of Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa-paṭṭinam.

MODERN INSCRIPTIONS:

(28) 889. On the rock to the west of the tarn called '*Talaiyaṟuviśiṅgam*' on the Mēla Malai. Śaka—1781 (1857 A.D.).

Registers that the water of the tarn called Taḷavaṟaśiṅgam was baled out and that His Excellency Rāja Rāmacandra Toṇḍaimān Bahadur and his Rāṇi worshipped the liṅga called Jvaraharēśvara consecrated under the water.

(29) 922. On the south wall of the Śiva temple to the east of the Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple—no mention of any reigning king no definite date (some *vijaya, Tai,* 18th). An agreement (*Oppu muṟi*) of the inhabitants (*manuṣar*) of Nagarattār-śīmai nāḍu which was ordered to be engraved in the presence of one *Ahakula Cāmaṉ.* It fixed the assessment due from lands. Punishment of death and the confiscation of property to the temple of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr were to be inflicted on the defaulters—the punishment to the enemies of the nāḍu (*nāṭṭu drōham paṇṇiṉa pērai*).

(30) 1110. In the *maṇḍapa* in front of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple.

Records the construction of the *maṇḍapa* by a *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* Uyyavaṇ-nidanmai Nīkkināḷ-agam Ceyam Koṇḍa Cōḷaṉ—of the temple of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr in Teliṅga-kulakāla-puram.

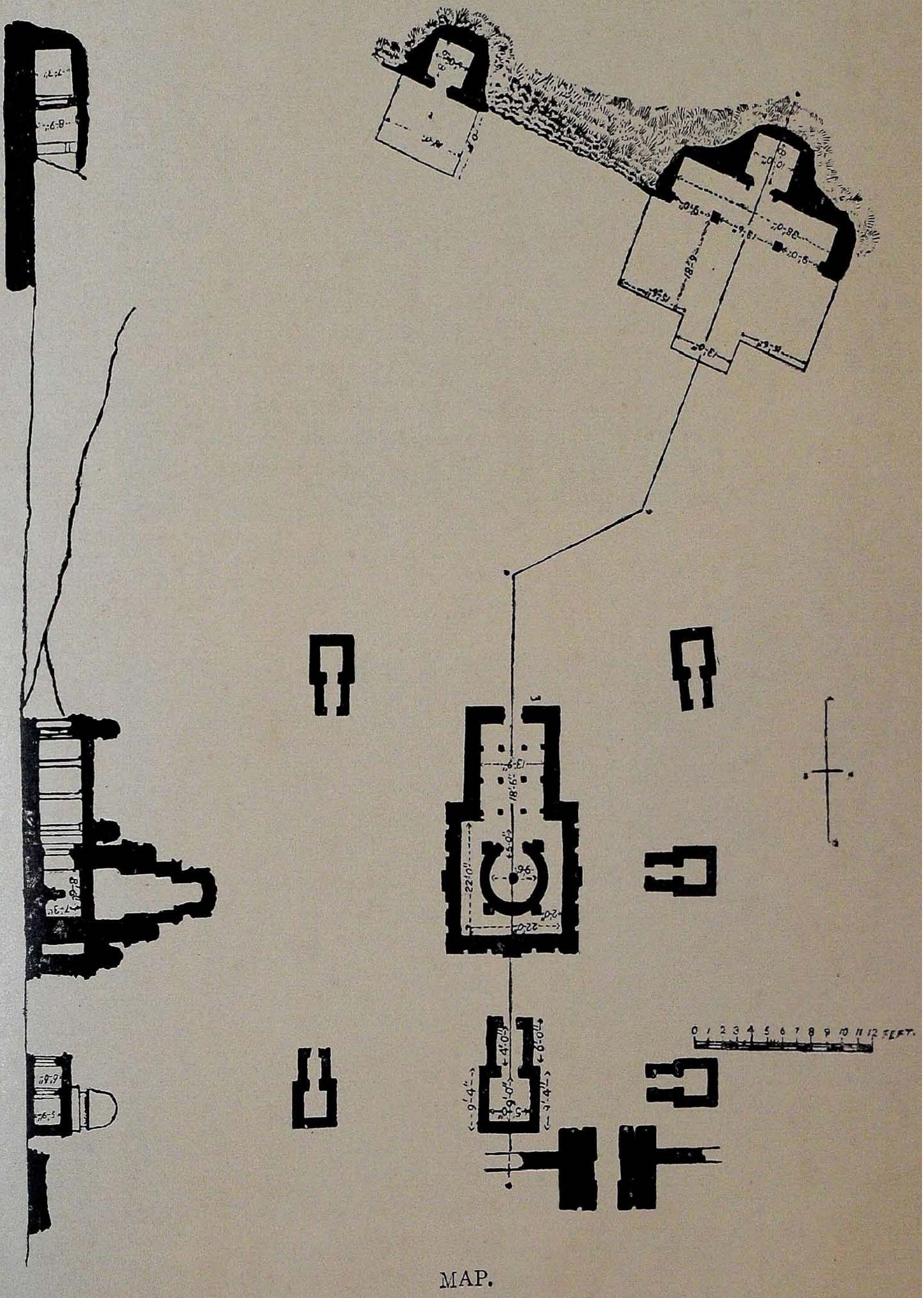
(31) 1111. On the rock to the north of Maṅgaḷa-tīrtham in front of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr temple. Refers to gifts of certain lands as *Kuḍi nīṅgā dēvadāna* to Peruṅgaruṇaiyāḷar and his younger brother Tirujñāṉasambandar.

(32) 1112. On the rock to the north of the rock-cut shrine in Mēla Malai.

Records a gift of a mortar by one Vaippūruḍaiyāṉ Toḷudāṉ.

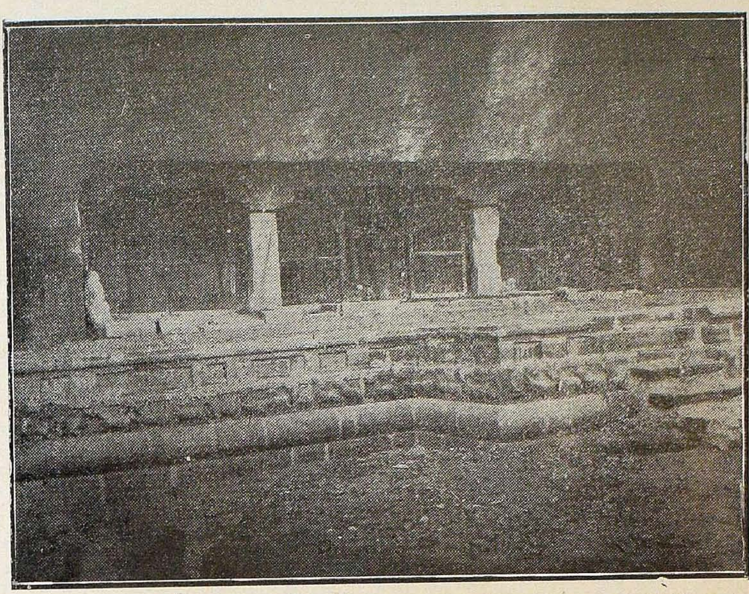
NĀRTTĀMALAI

Figure 1.



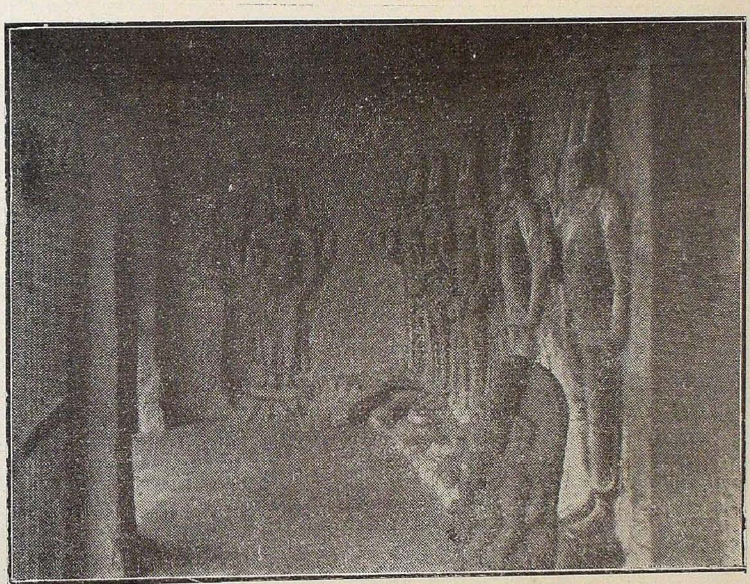
MAP.

Figure 2.



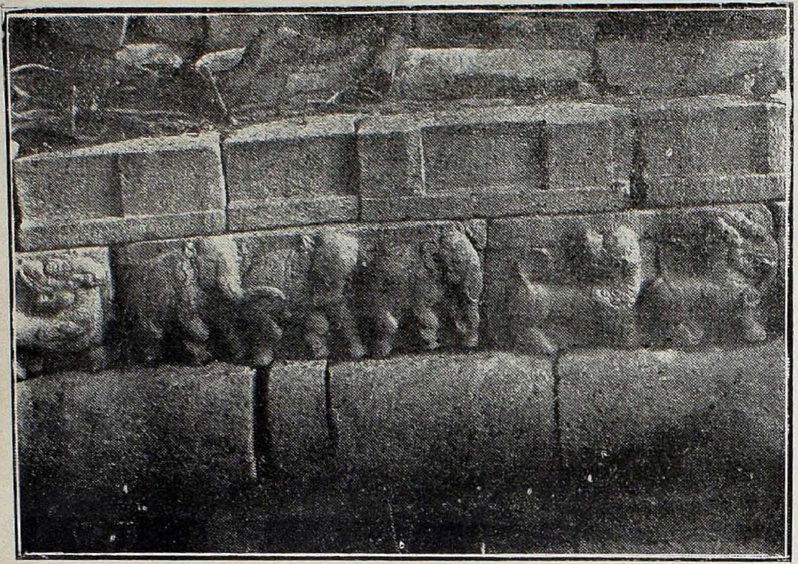
General View of Cave No. 1.

Figure 3.



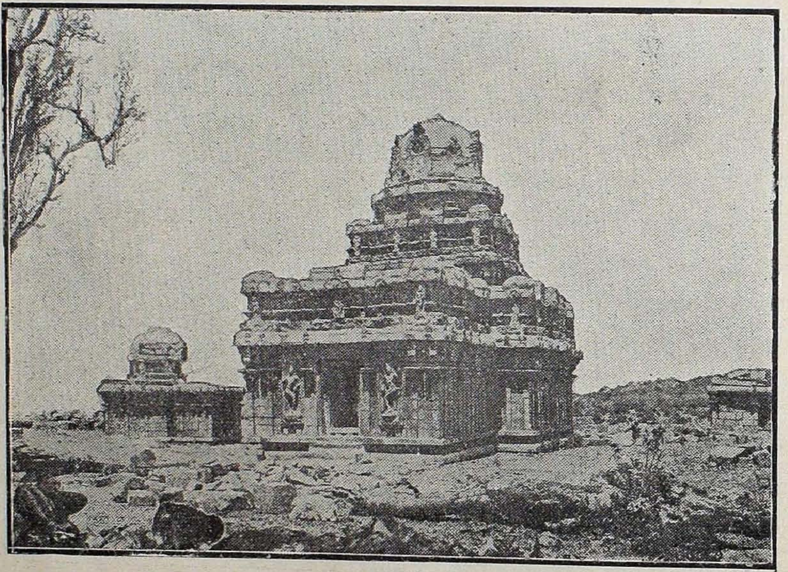
6 of the 12 Viṣṇu Images in Cave No 1.

Figure 4.



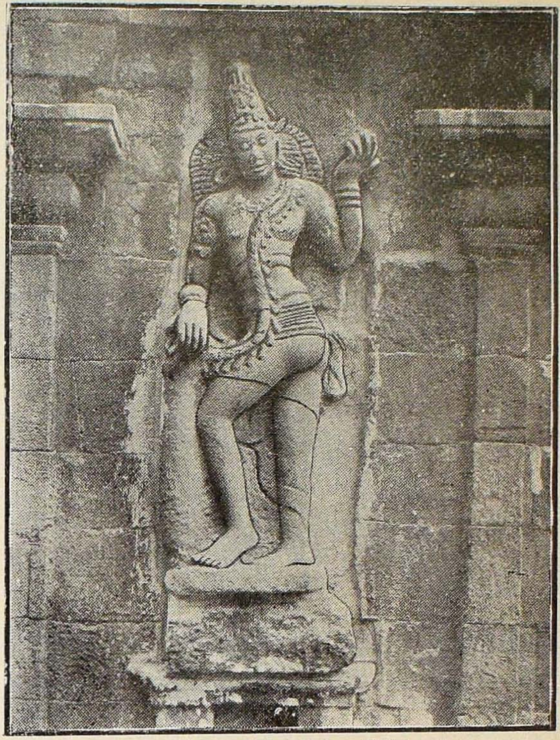
A Section of the Frieze of Moulded Basement, Cave No. 1.

Figure 5.



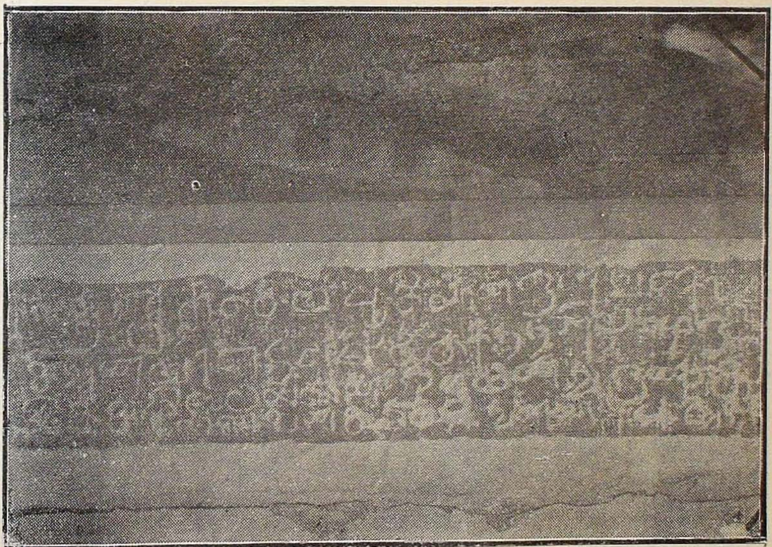
Main Shrine of Vijayālaya Cōlīśvaram

Figure 6.



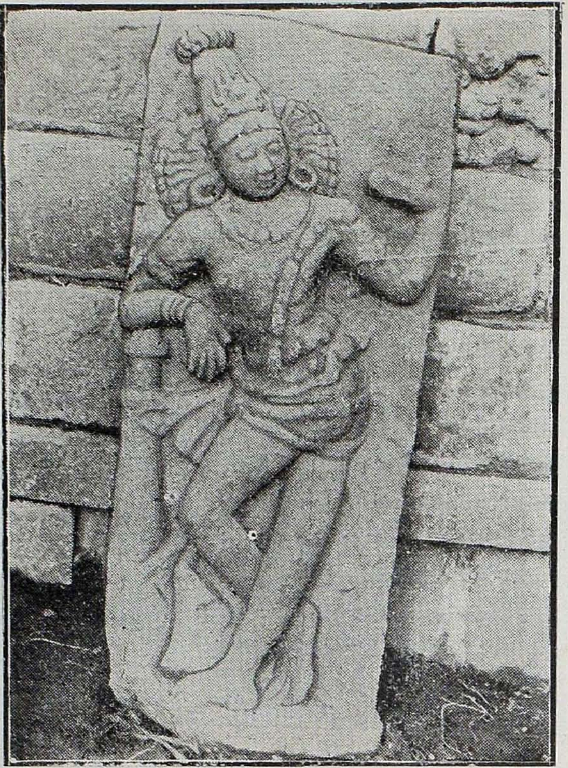
Dvārapālaka, Vijayālaya Cōlīśvaram.

Figure 7.



Newly Discovered Inscription, basement, Vijayālayacōlīśvaram.

Figure 8.

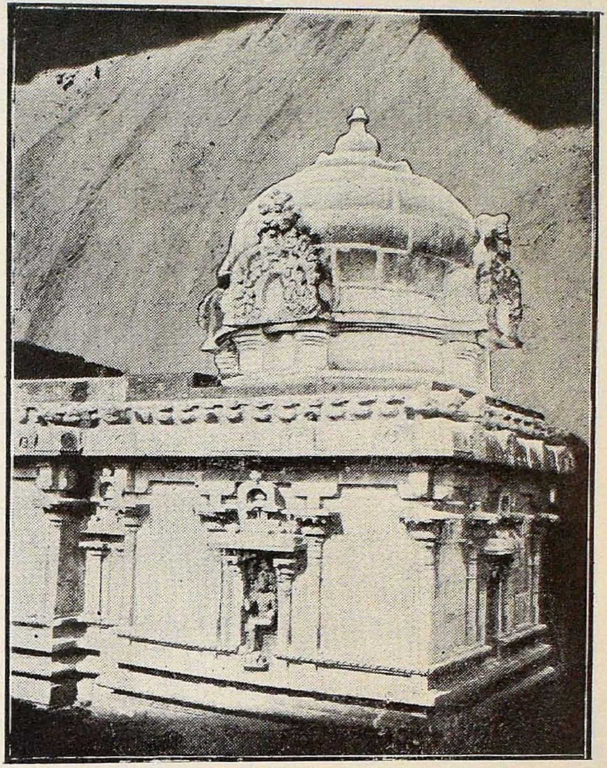


One of the Dvārapālakas, Cave-temple No. 2.

Figure 9.

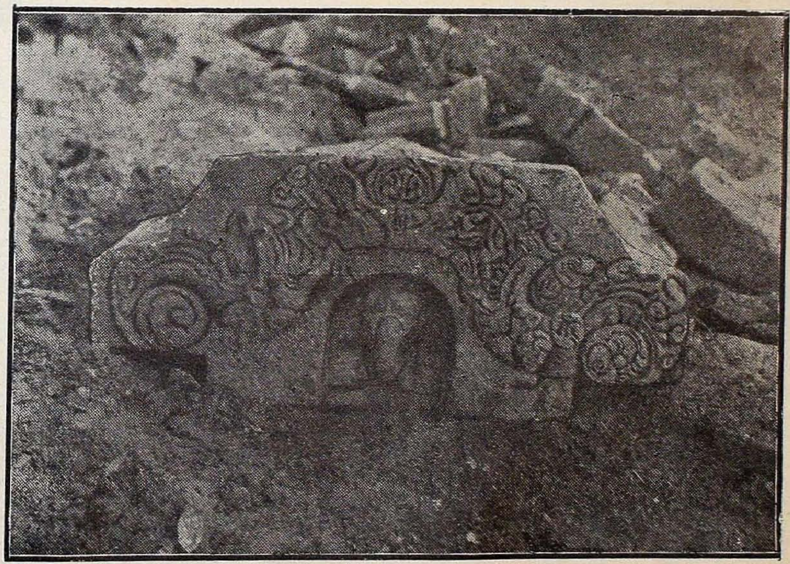
Inscription of Nṛpatuṅga, basement, Cave-temple No. 2.

Figure 10.



Kaḍambūr Koil, Central Vimāna.

Figure 11.



Crest of Mutharayar Chiefs.

ARTISTS' JOTTINGS FROM THE NALACAMPŪ OF TRIVIKRAMA.

By

C. Sivaramamurti B. A. (Hons.)

Research Student, University of Madras.

Introductory.

The easy and unaffected way in which technical terms and other details of Citra, Nāṭya etc., creep into literary works is a clear evidence of the immanence of æsthetic spirit in Indian culture and literature. Of the many poets that have consciously or unconsciously contributed to our knowledge of these arts through such evidences found in their works we have the name of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Nalacampū holding an important position. The stray references in his work to Śalākālekhya, the travelling Citraśālā, different sthānas, and above all to different designs and their component parts and other details are of the highest value to the earnest student of art yearning for a better understanding of the art of the past.

Śalākālekhya.

Śalākālekhya is one of the many activities of the leisurely gentleman of our land and was a popular art included in the list of subjects of a liberal study so vehemently insisted in our land. It appears from what Trivikrama gives us that even maidens specialised in this work[1]. The Śalākā is a metal-pin or a fine rod with a pointed tip used to scratch lines over various surfaces including the surface of smooth walls[2]. But unfortunately the Śalākā, like the Patrakartarī, has disappeared leaving no trace of it except its name and a conjectural idea of its form.

In considering the history of the Śalākā we have to go back to the time of the primitive man who even in his savage state scratched on bone pieces and such other material within his

---

1. कुशला शलाकालेख्येषु । Nalacampū, p. 87.
2. यैः सर्वत्र शलाकयेव लिखितैर्दिग्भित्तयश्चित्रिताः । N.C., p. 20, Śl. 35.

access forms of animals and birds and hunting scenes—all in a state of exuberant joy. The modern representative of this very ancient process of picture representation in incised line on wood, bone and stone is the popular drypoint of to-day.

The different patterns of parrots and leaves and designs of flowery ornamentation incised on vessels like jars, pots and platters of brass, copper and other metals base themselves on the principle of drypoint, though, of course, no prints were taken of them.

The importance of drypoint is unique in this that 'Etching' is an outcome of drypoint; and the art of biting metal plates with acid was first practiced at the beginning of the 16th century in both Germany and Holland. The word 'Etch' is derived from the old High German 'Esjan' 'to cause to eat' as with an acid. The process was first developed by the armourers and jewellers of the 15th century who filled in the incised lines of the elaborate patterns on weapons and ornaments with black paint to make them stand in bold relief and pieces of paper pressed on to them to take prints of these for a better view of the work of ornamentation gave rise to this method of printing of etchings and drypoint plates. Though no prints were ever taken (even if taken they would be prints the wrong way), the palmleaf manuscripts of old India with letters incised on the leaves with the pointed iron style were smeared with black colour (soot) for a better view of the letters, while reading them. We have also pictures drawn on palmleaf attached to the manuscripts and these correspond to our present day drypoint on fibre. The picture on palmleaf (fig. 1) kindly lent me by Dr. T. R. Chintamani, Senior lecturer in Sanskirit of the Madras University, is a highly interesting specimen.

Anatomy.

Apart from the Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas in the Nalacampū coming under human anatomy[1]—the eyes reaching the ears by

1. श्रवणासक्तस्य लोचनद्वयमपि श्रवणसङ्गतिमकरोत् ।
उन्नतस्वभावस्य नासावंशोऽप्युन्नतिं जगाम ।
वक्रोक्तिकुशलस्य केशकलापोऽपि वक्रतां भेजे ।
शङ्खनिर्मलगुणस्य कण्ठोऽपि शङ्खाकारतामधारयत् ।
पृथुलमतेरंसकूटद्वयमपि पृथुलमभूत् ।
प्रमाणवेदिनो वक्षःस्थलमपि सुप्रमाणमजायत ।

Fig. 1.

Though this has no pretensions to high artistic perfection it is yet a very valuable example of Śalākālekhana. It has been found on one of the leaves of a palm-leaf manuscript of Parimaḷa of Appayya Dīkṣita which is said to have been in the family collection of manuscripts of Dr. T. R. Chintamani, of the Sanskrit department of the University Oriental Research Institute, for the past four generations and is considered to be approximately one hundred and fifty years old. Drawing of flowery designs on palmleaf and other kinds of manuscripts in leisure hours appears to have been a common habit with scribes; and when the scribe happened to be sufficiently good at drawing there seem to have been drawn pictures also by him. A good example of drawing on palmleaf by attaching four or five leaves for sketching a big figure is found in the picture reproduced by Mr. Banerjea in his "History of Orissa."

their length, the elevated nose in perfect relief, the ringlets of curly hair, the conch-shaped neck, the lusty shoulders, the well-proportioned chest, the *romarāji* running straight about the middle of the abdomen, the well rounded thighs and the deep naval—we have a much more interesting piece of animal anatomy, that of the horse. It is succinctly stated in a small verse and is therefore all the more telling[1]. The excellence of a horse consists in its long and narrow head, short ears, lusty shoulders, broad chest, thin waist, fleshy sides and ample back and especially in its agile motion. It is well worth comparing this with a similar description of a good animal of this species in the Yaśastilakacampū[2]. Pure white in colour, glossy in the delicate hair on its body, slightly arched (bent) in its back bone, beautiful in its tail waving like chowries, extremely charming in the grace of its mane, broad and well developed especially in its hips—the pelvic bones being full in their growth—, in the expanse of the abdomen, in the chest, and in the full forehead,

---

मध्यस्थस्य तस्य रोमराजिरपि मध्ये स्थिता शुशुभे ।
सुवृत्तस्य बाहूरुयुगलमपि सुवृत्तमभवत् ।
गम्भीरप्रकृतेर्नाभिरपि गम्भीरा व्यराजत । N. C., p. 100.

1. निर्मांसं मुखमण्डले परिमितं मध्ये लघुं कर्णयोः
स्कन्धे बन्धुरमप्रमाणमुरसि स्निग्धं च रोमोद्गमे ।
पीनं पश्चिमपार्श्वयोः पृथुतरं पृष्ठे प्रधानं जवे
राजा वाजिनमारुरोह सकलैर्युक्तं प्रशस्तैर्गुणैः ॥ N.C., p. 29, Śl. 47.

2. देवदेवस्य यशोराशिमिव श्वेतिमानं वर्णेन च देवदेवस्य चित्तमिव सूक्ष्मदर्शनं तनूरुहेषु, देवदेवस्यारिवर्गमिव मग्नवंशं पृष्ठप्रदेशे, देवदेवस्य वीरश्रीविलासचामरमिव रमणीयं वालधौ, देवदेवस्य कीर्तिकुलदेवताकुन्तलकलापमिव मनोहरं केसरेषु, देवदेवस्य प्रतापमिव विशालं ललाटासनजघनवक्षस्त्रिकेषु, देव शिखण्डिकण्ठाभोगमिव कान्तं कन्धरायाम्, इभकुम्भार्धमिव परार्ध्यं शिरसि, प्लक्षतरुपरिवर्तितच्छदपृष्ठमिव कमनीयं कर्णयोः, उल्लिखितमिव निर्मांसं हनुजानुजङ्घावदनघोणासु, स्फटिकमणिविनिर्मितमिव सुप्रकाशं लोचनयोः, नलिनं सृक्कोष्ठजिह्वासु, देवदेवस्य हृदयमिव गम्भीरं तालुनि, कमलकोशमिव शुभंयुगन्तरास्ये, चन्द्रकलाशकलसंपादितमिव सुन्दरं दशनेषु, लक्ष्मीकुचकलशमिव पीवरं स्कन्धे, भटजूटमिवोद्बद्धं कृपीटदिशि, अजस्रजवाभ्यासादिव सुविभक्तघनगात्रम् etc.,

Yaśastilakacampū, Part I, p. 309.

charming in its neck resembling in its grace that of the peacock, massive in its head like the temples of an elephant, lovely in its ears resembling in their form the leaves of a banyan tree turned upside-down, quite sparse of flesh in its *hanu*(portion below lower lip), the fore and the hind legs, face and snout, twinkling in its eyes sparkling like gems, lotus-petal-like in the tips of its mouth, lips and tongue, deep in its *tālu* (palate), auspicious like a lotus-bud in its inner mouth, beautiful in its teeth appearing to be made of bits of the moon, lusty in its shoulders fully developed like the rounded breasts of Śrī, will tied up with a belt at its belly like a warrior's hair tied up, quite comely in its appearance with its body developed symmetrically by constant exercise, is described a beautiful horse by Somadevasūri; and the description reminds one the of the elaborate and highly interesting word picture of the animal given by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita. The pictorial delineation (fig. 2) is expected to help to some extent a a better understanding of the verbal description.

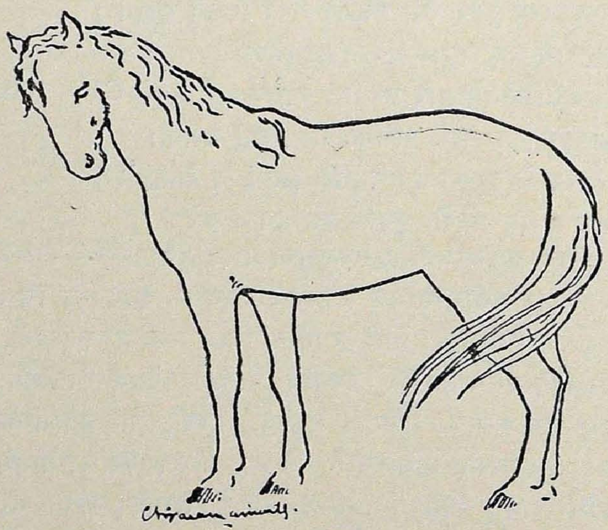


FIG. 2.

When studying the anatomy of the elephant or the horse we should remember that the greatest importance was attached to a knowledge of the form of these two animals and we have their anatomy specially dealt with in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi in great detail giving measurements of limbs etc. for drawing pictures.

Pose.

The history of pose in art is a very interesting and long one and merits a careful and intelligent study. We have the earliest Egyptain and Greek statues all with stiff straight hands with clenched fists hanging down parallel to the body closely connected to the thighs, the whole figure standing in a posture corresponding to what we technically call in Sanskrit Samabhaṅga but devoid of the grace therein. Time and experience and development of aesthetic appreciation of movement in the form taught the sculptors and painters to represent different bends of the body in motion making up different poses. Even in our art, art in south India evidences this same development of the idea of pose-value in the pictures, sculptures and icons of the Pallavas and the Colas, wherein we see an indubious mark of greater appreciation and acceptance of different bends of the body as adding to its grace in the figures of the latter, those of the former being sparse in this variety of pose. Herbert Spencer elucidates this point of grace in pose in his essay on "Gracefulnesss". "The *Gauchė* visitor" he says "sitting stiffly on the edge of his chair, and his selfpossessed host, whose limbs and body dispose themselves as convenience dictates are contrasts as much in effort as in elegance. When standing, we commonly economise power by throwing the weight chiefly on one leg, which we straighten to make it serve as a column, while we relax the other ; and to the same end, we allow the head to lean somewhat on one side. Both, these attitudes are imitated in sculpture as elements of grace."

Graceful poses are not wanting in the representation of any activity or movement of man or animal. Even the archer is represented in various poses accredited with grace—not that an archer wastes his time contorting his body to be in that pose while all the time the opponent showers missiles on him. The pose is something that comes of its own accord being the easiest and lightest of carriage or deportment suited to an agile working of the limbs with an economy of effort. We have similarly the pose in every field of activity—even in stooping to pick up a shell on the shore of the sea.

Some of these postures of frequent occurrence and of major importance have been very broadly classified and named by the Śilpa texts. The Viṣṇudharmottara, the Abhilaṣitāthacintāmaṇi, the Śilparatna, the Śivatattvaratnākara and other

Śilpa works contain elaborate discussions on poses like Samapada, Ṛjvāgata etc. The standing posture can be broadly classified into two—the Samapada and the Asama or Viṣamapada. Further classifications we have like Samapada, Ardhasamapada, Susthita and Cala. The five poses of archers, the Vaiśākha, Ālīḍha, Pratyālīḍha etc., base themselves on these. Poses are of many kinds. The Viṣṇudharmottara gives us nine—Ṛjvāgata, Anṛju, Sācīkṛtaśarīra, Ardhavilocana, Pārśvāgata, Parāvṛtta, Pṛṣṭhāgata, Parāvṛtta ? (Śarāvṛtta) and Samanata; and these again have their own subdivisions.

The Śilparatna devotes a chapter to Citralakṣaṇa and gives therein a list of postures or sthānas of which five are the main *i.e.*, Ṛju, Ardharju, Sācika, Dvyardhākṣi, Bhittika or Pārśvagata; Parāvṛtta is of four kinds, and all these make up nine postures. The first five correspond respectively to the first five given in the Viṣṇudharmottara. Ṛju is the same as Ṛjvāgata, Ardharju is Anṛju, Sācika is Sācīkṛtaśarīra, Dvyardhākṣi is Ardhavilocana and Bhittika or Pārśvagata is Parśvāgata. The last four are different varieties of Parāvṛtta. The Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and following it the Śivatattvaratnākara agree *in toto* about the five main poses as given in the Śilparatna, or rather, to put it chronologically, the Śilparatna agrees with the former of the former two books.

Now to go to details ; Ṛjusthāna or Ṛjvāgata is the straight and erect position when the body can be divided symmetrically into exactly two parts by the Brahmasūtra that runs straight from the crown of the head to the tip of the toe passing just across the middle of the tip of the nose and the navel[1]. This Ṛju is of two kinds, Pūrvabhāga, or Sammukha or Abhimukha (front view) and Parabhāga or Pṛṣṭhagata (back view).[2]

---

1. नासाग्रमध्यान्नाभेस्तु मध्यमं संलिखेत् सुधीः ।
आपादमकुटाग्रं यत् सूत्रं ब्राह्ममिति स्मृतम् ॥
Śilparatna, Pt. I, p. 250, śl. 65.

2. तेषां तु लक्षणं वक्ष्ये ब्रह्मसूत्रविभेदतः ।
पूर्वतः पूर्वभागः स्यात् परभागस्तु पृष्ठतः ॥
Ś. R. Pt. I, p. 250, śl. 64.

cf. तत्राभिमुखमेवादौ स्पष्टमानगुणान्वितम् ।
सुसंम्पूर्णं सुचार्वङ्गं सुश्लक्ष्ण(ा?)मलवर्तक(न ?)म् ॥
सुशुद्धं मधुरं स्पष्टरेखासंस्कारभूषितम् ।
यद्भवेत् स्थानमक्षीणगात्रं पृष्ठगतं तु तत् ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

Ardharju or three quarters view is that view in which the Brahmasūtra divides the Pakṣasūtra by leaving two thirds space on one side and a third part on another. If it is '6 : 6' in the Ṛju pose, it is '8 : 4' in the Ardharju. The Brahmasūtra proceeds from the forehead between the eyebrows, the tip of the nose, the side of the navel, reaching the foot near the ankle[1]. Dvyardhākṣi and Sācīkṛta are very nearly sideviews where every limb is seen only half (Ardha). In the case of the Dvyardhākṣi

---

1. अथार्धर्जु प्रवक्ष्यामि सूत्रत्रयविशेषतः ।
अन्तरं ब्रह्मसूत्रस्य पक्षसूत्रस्य चैकतः ॥
अष्टाङ्गुलं ततोऽन्यत्र चतुरङ्गुलमन्तरम् ।
अपाङ्गात् कर्णपाल्याश्च स्तनस्यान्तरपार्श्वतः ॥
जानुत्रिभागतो गुह्ये जङ्घाप्रान्ताद्विनिर्गतम् ।
परभागगते पादे कल्पिताङ्गुष्ठमूलतः ।
ततः स्तनप्रदेशाच्च कुचचूचुकतो बहिः ॥
जानुतः पञ्चमांशेन बहिर्भागे व्यवस्थितम् ।
पूर्वभागे तु मध्याया अनामायाश्च मध्यगम् ॥
स्यातामेवं पक्षसूत्रे ब्रह्मसूत्रं तु कथ्यते ।
ललाटे च भ्रुवोर्मध्ये नासाग्रे रन्ध्रतो बहिः ॥
नाभिरन्ध्रबहिःपार्श्वे लिङ्गमध्यसमागतम् ।
परभागे तु तस्याङ्घ्रेर्गुल्फस्योपरि सङ्गतः ॥
ब्रह्मसूत्रप्रकारोऽयं भागेनैकेन सङ्कटः ।
अथाङ्गसन्निवेशादिसर्वमूह्यं स्वबुद्धितः ॥

Ś. R. Pt. I, p. 250, śl., 69-74.
(*See also* the Pāṭha given in the end.)

cf. मुखस्यादावतोऽक्षीणं वक्षस(श्च?) उदरं तथा ।
कट्या च स्कन्धदेशाच्च ऊरुतश्च क्षयं गता ॥
नासापुटाधरोष्ठानां चतुर्थांशं च बुद्धिमत् (?) ।
क्षयं नीतं त्रिभागं च यस्य गात्रेभ्य एव च ॥
कान्ता(न्त?)रूपं परं स्थानं स्थानलम्भोपपादितम् ।
एतदेवर्जुनामोक्तमनेककरणान्वितम् ॥
यत्तिर्यग्भूमिलम्भेन नेत्रहारि सुवर्तनम् ।
सुकुमारं चतुर्भागं क्षीणं सर्वाङ्गशोभनम् ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

The Viṣṇudharmottara holds that in this case $\frac{1}{3}$ is diminished on one side in the limbs and $\frac{1}{4}$ from the nose, the mouth etc.

the Brahmasūtra divides the Pakṣasūtras by '11: 1'.[1] In the case of the Bhittika, the Pakṣasūtra alone can be drawn or seen, while the Brahmasūtra would be absent, the view being a perfect

---

1. * * * * साचिकं कथ्यतेऽधुना ।
अङ्गुलानि दशैकत्र कलामात्रं ततोऽन्यतः ॥
अन्तरं ब्रह्मसूत्रस्य पार्श्वसूत्रद्वयस्य च ।
ललाटाल्लोचनप्रान्तात् कपोलात् स्कन्धदेशतः ॥
एकाङ्गुलं स्तनस्यान्तं नाभेः सार्धाङ्गुलावधि ।
वंक्षणादणिदेशाच्च बहिर्व्यक्तं विनिर्गतम् ॥
परपादाङ्गुष्ठमूले पादसूत्रं विधीयते ।
सीमन्ताच्च भ्रुवोर्मध्यान्नासारन्ध्रस्य मध्यतः ॥
त्र्यङ्गुला दृढतः (?) पश्चान्नाभिरन्ध्रस्य मध्यतः ।
मेहनस्य बहिर्भागाज्जानुमण्डलपूर्वतः ॥
नखरस्य तथा प्रान्ताद्ब्रह्मसूत्रं न्यसेत् क्रमात् ।
मस्तकस्य तथा पृष्ठात् कर्णोपान्तात्तथैव च ॥
कन्धरात् स्कन्धसन्धेश्च स्तनचूचुकमण्डलात् ।
अङ्गुलात् परितश्चैव मध्यभागेन सङ्गतम् ॥
कलामात्रं परित्यज्य काञ्चीदेशस्य मध्यतः ।
मणिबन्धगतं तद्वत् पूर्वभागस्य पार्ष्णितः ॥
अन्यपार्श्वगतं सूत्रं क्रमेणैव निरूपितम् ।
एवं साचीगतं स्थानं साकल्येन निरूपिम् ॥
द्व्यर्धाक्षि वक्ष्यते स्थानं लक्ष्यलक्षणसंयुतम् ।
एकत्रैकाङ्गुलं ह्यस्मिन्नन्यत्रैकादशाङ्गुलम् ॥
मध्याद्द्व्यर्धाक्षिके स्थाने लम्बसूत्रक्रमो भवेत् ।
आ केशान्नासिकाग्राच्च कक्षमूलाच्च नाभितः ॥
जानुमध्यात् पर्श्वसूत्रमूलेऽङ्गुष्ठकसंश्रितम् ।
सीमन्ततो भ्रुवोर्मध्याद्ब्रह्मसूत्रं विनिर्गतम् ॥
गोजीतो हनुतः कक्षमूलदेशाच्च मात्रया ।
अङ्गुलं नाभितस्त्यक्त्वा लिङ्गपार्श्वात् तथाणितः ॥
अङ्गुष्ठोपान्तदेशाच्च पूर्वसन्ध्यङ्गुलीर्व्रजेत् ।
अन्यपार्श्वगतं सूत्रमूर्ध्वपृष्ठविनिर्गतम् ॥
मणिबन्धात् तर्जनीतः पूर्वपादस्य पार्ष्णितः ।
क्रमेणैवं प्रकुर्वीत सूत्रत्रयमुदीरितम् ॥
एवं द्व्यर्धाक्षिके सूत्रस्थानम्* * * * S.R. Pt. I, p. 251, śl. 75-89.

sideview.[1] By applying these sthānas to the Parabhāga we get an equal number of back views. In studying the sthānas we should bear in mind that the Śilpa texts do not make very much difference between actual poses (as those of the archer, the various graceful movements in dance, etc.) and views of the same posture (like front view, three quarters view, back view, etc.). Some idea of these sthānas is sought to be given in this picture (fig. 3).

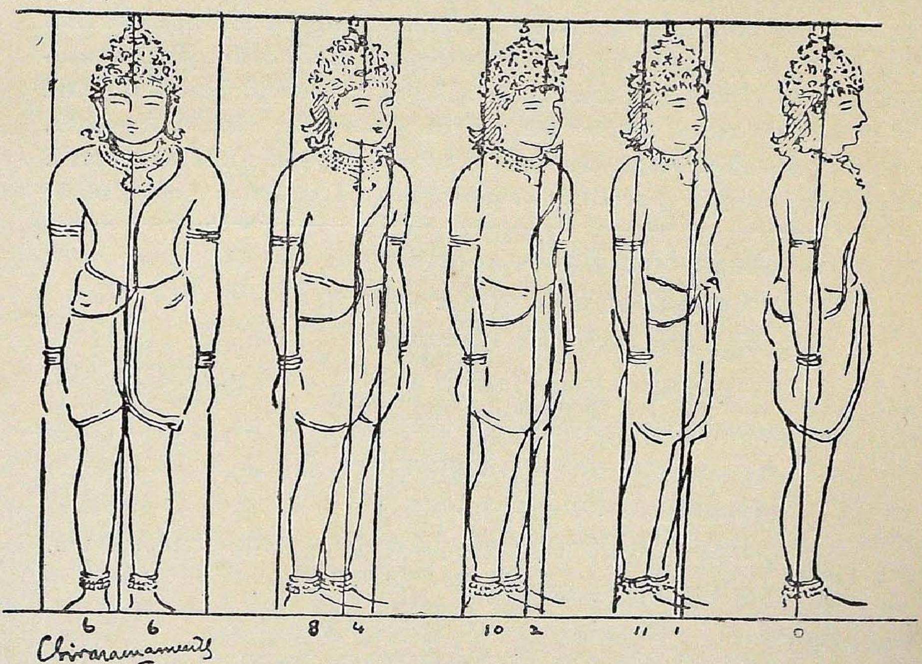


FIG. 3.

This is an attempt of all the postures of which the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has given only one (the Ṛju posture) in his excellent and thought provoking article "Painting in Ancient India" that appeared in the 'Modern Review' (1918 December). I have not given the translation of the verses describing their postures since Mr. Gopinatha Rao has given it in as lucid a manner as possible in his article. The side view and the front view cannot be of the same breadth and as such the measurements given between the Brahmasūtra and Bahissūtras can be only proportional in themselves in the individual postures. The illustrations are the best possible under the circumstances, the text itself being partly unintellegible in some places. The principle of kṣayavṛddhi given in the Viṣṇudharmottara is well illustrated by these descriptions of the postures or more correctly view-points.

1. * * * * * भित्तिकमुच्यते ।

पक्षसूत्रद्वयं तिष्ठेद्ब्रह्मसूत्रं न दृश्यते ॥

After considering in general some aspects of these sthānas it is in the fitness of things to see what we can make out of Trivikrama's reference to them. Sthānabhedas, he says, are found only in Citras or pictures.[1] The commentator who supplies us with very valuable information in many places explains by saying that there are the front view, the back view, the full view of limbs or body and the sideview (Pārśvagata). By permutations and combinations of these, or rather, by small adjustments of these, we may, by adding to the view or subtracting from it, get further divisions like Ṛju, Ṛjvāgata, Dvyardhākṣa and Ardharju as standing poses and views; Gamana, Ālīḍha, Tvarita and Tribhaṅga are four poses or views of motion. Thus we have nine altogether. Of these the Ṛjvāgata is the most important and most met with in pictures and is specially mentioned by Trivikrama in spite of

---

तेनैव मिलितं कार्यं मध्यसूत्रं विचक्षणैः ।
नान्यत्र दृश्यते क्वापि ब्रह्मसूत्रं ततः स्मृतम् ॥
ऊर्ध्वपृष्ठे तथा स्कन्धे कूर्परे पार्ष्ण्युपान्ततः ।
इतरत् पक्षसूत्रं तु क्रमेणैवं विधीयते ॥ Ś. R. Pt. I, p. 252, śl. 90-92.

cf. एकाक्षमेकभ्रूलेखमरनामा (?) ललाटवत् ॥
एकं श्रोत्रं यदर्धं स्याच्चिबुकार्धं शिरोरुहम् (?) ।
गृहीतमानलावण्यमाधुर्यादिगुणान्वितम् ॥
पार्श्वागतमिति प्रोक्तं तत्स्याद्भित्तिकसंज्ञितम् । Viṣṇudharmottara.

1. स्थानभेदाश्चित्रेषु न सत्पुरुषेषु N. C., p. 15.

The Commentary of the Jain Caṇḍapāla:
स्थानकभेदः संमुखं पराङ्मुखं संपूर्णावयवरूपं पार्श्वगतम् । ततो भागद्वये-नैकतः पततान्यत्र च चटता क्रमेण ऋजुऋज्वागतद्व्यर्धाक्षार्धऋजुसंज्ञानि चेति स्थितस्थानकानि पञ्च । गमनमालीढं त्वरितं त्रिभङ्गमित्याख्यानि च चत्वारि गच्छत्स्थानकानि । एवं च नवानां स्थानकानां भेदाश्चित्रेषु ।

But in enumerating the five Sthitashānas one appears as left out. But counting Pārśvagata as one of the five we get the number nine correctly. Elsewhere in the commentary these are enumerated correctly.

The importance of Sthāna in picture and dance cannot be overrated; and we have an echo of the line of the Nalacampu in Ratnākara's Haravijaya.

विचित्रस्थानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।
नृत्ते चित्रे च दधतीमक्षितहृदयाः स्त्रियः ॥ Sarga XXXII, 3.

Com: स्थानकमालीढादि वपुषः संनिवेशविशेषः । चित्रेऽपि पृष्ठागताद्यङ्गानां वर्तना तद्वेष्टिता या वलना (?) आसूत्रणानि च ।

his mentioning the word sthāna which includes that also.[1] The commentator explains the importance of this pose. The various other āsanas like Kukkuṭāsana, Uṣṭrāsana, etc. of Ṛṣis are also indicated by the word Tāpasa. In passing, we may note that this classification of gamanasthānaka and sthitisthānaka appears to be more intelligent than going into details of mere sthitisthānas giving out only the three quarters view from different angles as in the Śilpa texts given herein above.

Design.

Design, as everyone knows, is intellectual shaping; it is the result, or the effect, of that activity of the human brain, when genius employs all its inventive and diversifying capacities to produce strange and fantastic though pleasing patterns of multiform shapes of bird and beast, plant and creeper, flower and leaf, conventionalised to suit ornamental decoration. Apart from these, symbols and zigzag patterns, which are but pure fancies of a dreamy mind, have also come in numbers into the fold of design, as rightly they ought to, having been designed by the operations of imaginative skill.

Of these, some appear to date back to a remote period in the history of man and we have the pattern Svastika claiming a place all over the Aryan world as a symbol of auspiciousness. But the Svastika is only one of the many similar designs numbering myriads in our land. The names of many and the forms of most are anything but well-known to us to-day. Age has obliterated much of what we most proudly cling to as the heritage of the past and transformations of the strangest type have so deformed the immaculate conceptions of the past that it is most difficult, nay, almost impossible, to make sure of genuine and undefiled originals in the different branches of art; and we are now, unfortunately, in that predicament, when, given the name of any one design, we are unable to discern correctly and definitely lay our hand on the one and single it out as the thing required.

We have names of designs like Nandyāvarta, Sarvatobhadra, Svastika, etc. Sometimes these are found as ordinary Kolam drawings (Raṅgavalli) of the floor. Sometimes the Svastika

---

1. चित्रविद्यामिवानेककण्टकपत्रलतास्थानकविषमामृज्वागततापसां च. . . विन्ध्याटवीम् । N. C., p. 164.
Commentary: चित्रविद्यापक्षे .... तथा स्थानकानि पार्श्वगत-ऋजु-ऋज्वागत-द्व्यर्धाक्ष-अर्धऋजु-गमन-आलीढ-त्वरित-त्रिभङ्गि-संज्ञानि ।

serves an auspicious purpose being painted in saffron on books, doors of houses, new clothes, etc., as is done in Northern India even to-day. The Nalacampū gives us names of similar designs of which some appear quite new and their forms baffle us[1]. The Vardhamāna design is also an architectural term denoting a type of mansion. Svastika and Sarvatobhadra are familiar enough, especially the former. But Sakala and Śiśu appear to escape identification. The commentator, who is very helpful, says that Śiśu, Sakala, Svastika, Vardhamāna and Sarvatobhadra are five flowery designs to be drawn on the floor, etc.

With some difficulty I procured the Sarvatobhadra from a Guzerati purohit (fig. 4). It is generally painted gay in diverse

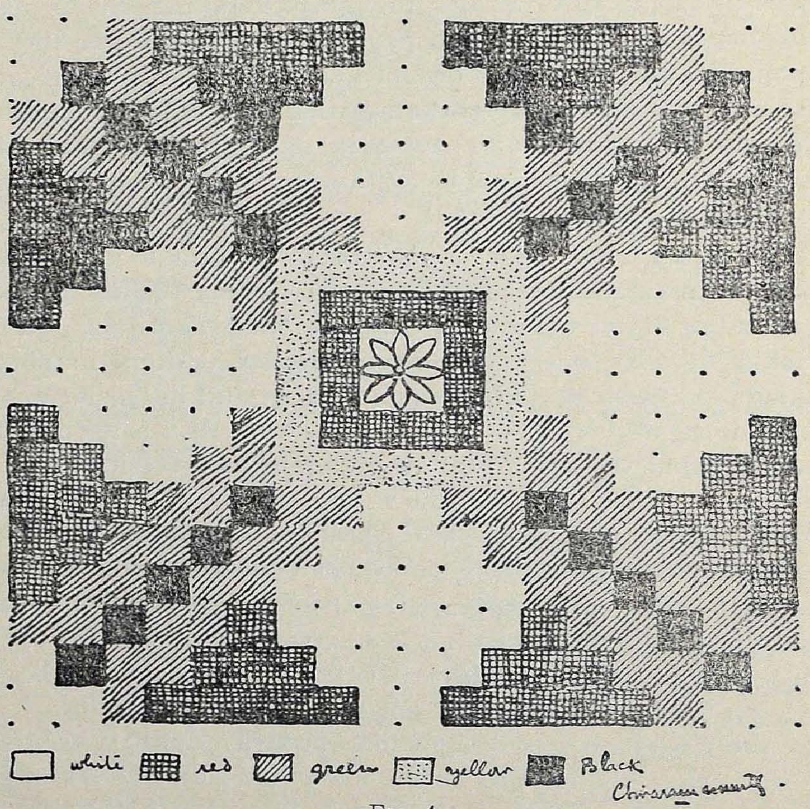


Fig. 4.

तैर्विषमाम् । स्थानकशब्देनैव ऋज्वागतं गतार्थमपि व्यापकत्वात् पृथगुक्तम् । प्रायो हि चित्रे ऋज्वागतमेव लिख्यते । तपसि भवानि तापसानि । मयूरासनोष्ट्रासनादीनि करणानि तापसाख्यानि ।

1. एकत्र चित्रविद्ययेव प्रवर्धमानसकलशिशुशोभितया विन्यस्तस्वस्तिकया।

colours; and on religious occasions Sarvatobhadra, Lingatobhadra, Ekādaśaliṅgatobhadra, Dvādaśaliṅgatobhadra, etc., are formed by placing handfuls of rice, black gram, red gram, green gram, chickpeas, etc., for forming colours. The designs of Nandyāvartta and Svastika are to be seen in every Jaina mandir. These are auspicious signs for the Jainas; and we have figures of the latter popular even among the Buddhists. These two, unlike Sarvatobhadra, are rather easy designs as picture (fig. 5) will show.

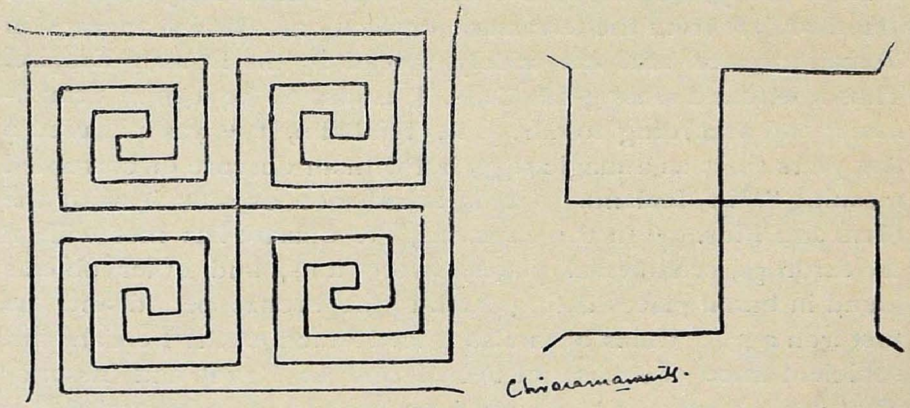


FIG. 5.

Regarding the Svastika we have a lot of information in the book titled 'Evolution in Art' by A. C. Haddon. The Svastika is taken to be the same as the Fylfot. "The fylfot, or 'fully or many footed' cross, is the Anglo-Saxon name for that form of cross whose extremities are bent back at angles. It is otherwise known as the 'gammadion', 'tetraskela', 'croix gamme' 'croix cramponee', not to mention various other names, and in India 'Svastika', but when the feet are turned to the left it is called 'Sauvastika'; both these words have much the same meaning, and signify 'it is well'."[1] Mr. Haddon gives a long list of

---

सर्वतोभद्रभूषणया भवनमालयालंकृतम् । N.C., p. 57.
Commentary: सकलैः कलावद्भिः शिशुभिर्डिम्भैः शोभितया । तथा विन्यस्ताः स्वस्तिकाः मौक्तिकादि क्षोदरचिताश्चतुष्का यस्याम् । सर्वत इति भिन्नम् । भद्राणि वास्तुशास्त्रख्यातानि भूषणं यस्याम् । यदि वा स्वस्तिकवर्धमानौ गृहावयवविशेषौ । पक्षे शिशुः सकलः स्वस्तिको वर्धमानः सर्वतोभद्र इत्याख्यानि पञ्च पत्राणि ।

1. Evolution in Art by A. C. Haddon, p. 282.

places where Svastika is formed and almost every part of the globe is covered. Dr. Schlieman discovered lots of Svastika marks on objects from the 'burnt city' at Hissarlik. As in Cyprus and Rhodes it is found imprinted on pottery in Greece that mark the second period of Greek ceramics. Later it appears on vases with decorations pointing to Phoenician influence. Finally it appears to have become so popular as to be found on the coins of Macedon, Thrace, Crete, Lycia and Paphlagonia. It travelled on from Corinth to Syracuse and spread as a symbol on coins in Sicily and Magna Graecia. In Northern Italy it has been found to date from the terramara civilization. It also appears in Roman mosaics and was widely spread by the Roman Empire. Thus it is found among the Celts. It is also to be seen in Scandinavia; and according to Mr. J. A. Hjaltalin, it "was still used a few years since as a magic sign, but with an obscure or corrupted meaning" in Iceland. It is found not overmuch with the Slavs and Fins. "In the Caucasus, M. Chartre has met with it on eardrops, ornamental plates, sword hilts, and other objects found in burial places dating back to the bronze period and the first iron age." It has been also traced amongst the Persians but sufficient trace of it has not been found in Egypt and Assyria. That "the Svastika is of common occurrence in India and that it is employed by Hindus and Buddhists" is very well known. "It appears on the oldest known Indian coin, and occurs frequently at the beginning and the end of the most ancient Buddhist inscriptions . . . Even at the present day, according to Mr. Taylor, the Hindus, at the time of the new year, paint a Svastika in red at the commencement of their account books, and in their wedding and other ceremonies they sketch it in flour on the floors of their houses . . . The Buddhist women of Tibet ornament their skirts with it, and it is placed on the breast of the dead." Being introduced by the Buddhists amongst the Chinese and Japanese it adorns their vases, caskets, etc. The English Ashantee expedition of 1874 discovered the Svastika even in Africa. But unfortunately as regards the Svastika in India, Mr. Haddon without adducing sufficient reasons for his queer surmise makes the hasty remark that "As for India, everything, so far, tends to show that the Svastika was introduced into the country from Greece, the Caucasus, or Asia Minor, by ways which we do not know". Truly without knowing how it was introduced, why should one talk of introduction at all! But the very same author talking of the symbol amongst the Celts, etc.,

says it might be indigenous. "It was widely distributed throughout the provinces of the Roman Empire, especially among the Celts, from the Danubian countries to the west of Ireland; but in many cases it is difficult to decide whether it is connected with imported civilization or with indigenous traditions." Indigenous traditions ! Truly this is very nice judging and evaluation ! Fond suppositions are entertained in the face of definite evidence in one case and dogmatic assertions are made without positive proofs in the other ! Mr. Menon, in his interesting paper, 'The Cross, the Svastika and Related Emblems', has shown, what has been for some time past accepted on all hands by scholars, that this emblem was common even in Egypt and Babylon. He says that 'the name of the symbol seems to indicate that the Svastika originated in India.'[1]

Bāṇa talks of Svastika being drawn on the floor on the auspicious occasion of child-birth in the Hindu royal household in the Kādambarī[2] and Dhanapāla, the Jain writer likewise refers to it as an ornamental design drawn on a similar occasion in his Tilakamañjarī.[3] In this way the crossing of hands in a superstitious fear, as given by Tennyson in the line of his 'Lady of Shallot',

> 'And they crossed themselves for fear,"
> All the knights at Camelot.'

or without any such cause and only for the sake of a modest behaviour on certain occassions as given in the line of the Vemabhūpālacarita[4] or the Mālatīmādhava[5] is a common thing in India which shows how marked an influence the Svastika has over our people.

Now to go back once again to Trivikrama's observations on design we find that he makes mention of terms like Kaṇṭaka,

---

1. J. O. R. M, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 15.
2. कुसुम्भकेसरलवाश्लेषलोहिताभिर्लेखभिरालिखितस्वस्तिकभक्तिजालमुपरचयता । Kā. p. 142.
3. रचयत स्थानस्थानेषु रत्नचूर्णस्वस्तिकान् । T. M., p. 63.
4. स्तनान्तरसंक्रान्तप्रतिबिम्बमालिङ्गन्तीव मां मुहुर्मुहुर्विरचितबाहुस्वस्तिका । V. Bh. C., p. 46.
5. स्तनविनिहितहस्तस्वस्तिकाभिर्वधूभिः । M. M., Act. IV, 10.

Patra, and Latā which are not easily understood.[1] The commentary, as usual, gives us a lot of help. It explains that Kalikā (bud) Kaṇṭaka (thorn), Śākhā (stem), Tribhaṅgi (a tri-bend) are four parts of a design (Patra). The words Patralekhana and Patraracanā *i.e.*, drawing of designs are so understood only because of Patra meaning design. A design is so called (Patra) because the Patra element predominates in it. In designs of a creeper (Latā) which forms the Śākhā there are the Kaṇṭakas (thorns), Patras (leaves), and Kalikās (buds); the design itself (fig. 6) would go in a zigzag course and thus form Tribhangas (tri-bend). The tradition of the Citraśāstra having been long lost we are unable to get at a definitely correct solution of such puzzling pieces of information as these and we have to be content with satisfactory conjecture; and after bestowing some thought over this it struck me as the most plausible conjecture under the circumstances.

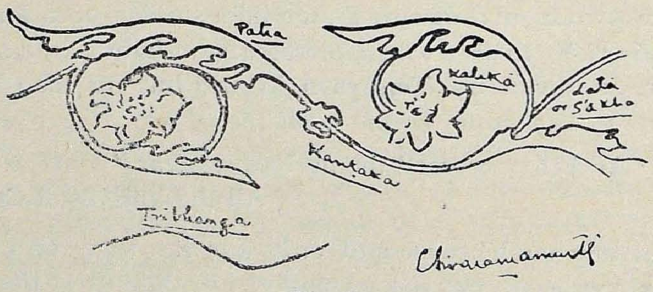


FIG. 6.

Types of Raṅgavallī are also given by Trivikrama and the information is most useful. The mākkolam of South India drawn with thin milk white rice-paste is spoken of in the Nalacampū[2]—only the material is costly pearl-powder paste here. The wavy lines drawn by women with the same rice-paste and called Izhaik-

---

1. चित्रविद्यामिवानेककण्टकपत्रलतास्थानकविषमामृज्वागततापसां च ।
N. C., p. 164.
Com : चित्रविद्यापक्षे कलिका-कण्टक-शाखा-त्रिभङ्गिसंज्ञाभिश्चत्वारः पत्रावयवाः । एतैर्मिलित्वा शिशु-सकल-स्वस्तिक-वर्धमान-सर्वतोभद्राख्यानि पञ्च पत्राणि निष्पद्यन्ते । तदत्र शाखापर्यायो लताशब्दः ।

2. मण्डयन्तां मसृणमुक्ताफलक्षोदरङ्गावलीभिः प्राङ्गणानि ।
N. C., p. 117. (மாக்கோலம்)

kolam in South India is also mentioned.[1] These are pairs of conventional waves drawn on places previously painted with red-earth as a background. Kolam drawings of wide dimensions, drawn in the streets every morning and evening opposite every Hindu house and particularly well drawn in gigantic proportions on occasions of festivity when God was to be taken in procession through the principal streets, are also given in the Nalacampū.[2]

The praise of the Rāṅgoli by Mr. Solomon is a deserved one and we can conceive of a situation similar to the one described by Trivikrama if we imagine Mr. Solomon standing gazing in admiration at the drawings in the streets of Bombay on a Dīpāvalī day. " I have been so fortunate as to have had opportunities of visiting some of the Hindu localities of Bombay during the Divālī Holidays, when the drawing of the Rāngolis was in full swing, and among the scores of pictures I saw, no two were the same, although the subjects treated had to be identical. Little girls four or five years old were busy upon their own tiny 'Rangolis', sitting beside their elder sisters who were engaged on their larger works; even these mites were trying to design as well as to utilise the traditional patterns for the particular day. A tendency to substitute for these geometrical forms illustrations of the same subject in a modern manner is to be seen in some instances. But the ancient methods of design are far more beautiful."[3]

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

A few general observations on the Citraśālā by Trivikrama finish this paper. We learn from him that the time chosen for looking at pictures in the Citraśālā in a leisurely fashion was the Śarat season when the whole world looked gay.[4] People flock, he says, to see the pictures in the company of their wives. That women took a keen interest in appreciating pictures in picture

---

1. अतिसूक्ष्ममुक्ताफलरचिततरङ्गरेखाराजिराजिताजिरं राजभवनमविशम् ।
N. C., p. 209.
(இழைக்கோலம் Something like the conventional waves)

2. क्षणमवकीर्णकुसुमरङ्गावलीरम्यासु नगरवीथीषु विश्रान्तविलोचनश्चिरमवतस्थे । N. C., p. 208.

3. The Charm of Indian Art, p. 142.

4. धन्याः शरदि सेवन्ते प्रोल्लसच्चित्रशालिकान् ।
प्रासादान् स्त्रीसखाः पौराः केदारांश्च कृषीवलाः ॥ N.C., p. 40.

galleries, etc., is well supported by Bāṇa's evidence.[1] The autumnal festivity of art exhibitions in India is supported by the lines of the Kathāsaritsāgara wherein the King is described as going to witness his Citraśālā in the Śarat season.[2]

Trivikrama makes a difference between stationary and intenerant Citraśālās. In fact, it is only from him that we learn of such a thing as a moving Citraśālā in ancient India.[3] These travelling art galleries were perhaps for the exhibiting of the best works of the masters of one country in another to keep up mutual understanding of divers techniques and methods and for stimulating an emulative spirit. Rājaśekhara who talks of a travelling bed chamber in his Viddhśālabhañjikā confirms our belief in moving buildings like the Citraśālā.[4] Thus Trivikrama's Nalacampū provides a lot of useful material to a student of art. His description of design and pose are of very great importance. The news of the itenerant nature of Citraśālās in Ancient India comes on us as an agreeable surprize. Of an equal value is his information on Śalākālekhana. Finally it should be well kept in mind that it is a matter of pure luck that all this should have been recorded for us by Trivikrama especially when the Śilpa texts have nothing to say in these cases and we should congratulate ourselves on this unique privilege of benifitting ourselves by the labours of this great poet.

---

1. सुरासुरसिद्धगन्धर्वविद्याधरोरगाध्यासिताभिश्चित्रशालाभिरविरतोत्सवप्रमदावलोकनकुतूहलादम्बरतलादवतीर्णाभिर्दिव्यविमानपङ्क्तिभिरिवालङ्कृता। Kā., p. 99.

2. स कदाचिच्छरत्काले सोष्मण्युन्मदवारणे।
राजहंसपरीवारे सोत्सवानन्दितप्रजे॥
आत्मतुल्यगुणे रन्तुं चित्रप्रासादमाविशत्।
आकृष्टकमलामोदवहन्मारुतशीतलम्॥
K. S. S. Lamb. 9, Taraṅga 5, Śl. 33-34.

3. तत्क्षणादुत्तम्भितैः प्रेङ्खत्पताकापटपल्लवविराजितैः प्रयाणयोग्ययन्त्रचित्रशालागृहैः संचारिणि गन्धर्वनगर इव रमणीये .... जाते ... ... शिबिरसंनिवेशे। N. C., p. 195.

4. कारुभिः कारितं तेन कृत्रिमं स्वप्नहेतवे।
सुषिरस्तम्भसंञ्चारं नृपतेर्वासमन्दिरम्॥
तदहमपि सुषिरस्तम्भसञ्चारं वासगृहं निर्मितवतां तथाविधां च रत्नवतीं चतुष्किकां करिष्यतां शिल्पवतां मन्त्रिसमादिष्टं दापयितुं महाभाण्डागारं प्रति यास्यामि। V.S., Act I.

* TIME ANALYSIS IN THE ŚĀKUNTALA OF KĀLIDĀSA.

BY

C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (OXON.),

Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

The Śākuntala has been ever recognised as one of the best specimens of literature in the whole world. In ancient days it occupied in India the position of being *the drama* in Sanskrit Literature. When the drama was introduced to Europe towards the close of the 18th century, it acquired a wide fame among European scholars and literary critics as a masterpiece. Much has been written regarding the artistic beauty of the drama, the date of the author, the chronology of the drama within the works of Kālidāsa and such other matters. There is one aspect of dramatic criticism to which sufficient attention has not been given in recent times, though in ancient days much emphasis has been laid on it; I mean the technique of Indian drama. There is much to be done by way of studying the technique in Indian dramas. What is the relation of the prologue to the main plot of the drama ? What is the relation of the sūtradhāra to the chief character in the drama? Is there any design and symmetry in the drama? What plan is there in the grouping of characters and in the sequence of the scenes? These and such other matters require much study. This paper deals with one such point, namely the time analysis in the Śākuntala.

The question to be considered in this connection is this:—what is the interval between the time when the King is introduced in the first Act of the play and the time when the King is re-united to the Queen in the last Act? On the face of it, the answer is very simple. In the first Act the King is introduced before his marriage with Śakuntalā; in the last Act the King's son through Śakuntalā is a grown up boy. Therefore the interval must be a few years. It may be only five years; it may be six or seven years; it may even be more.

---

* This paper was read at the 7th session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Baroda in December, 1933.

But when one reads the drama carefully and puts the book away and when one begins to think of the problems, some difficulties come in the way. The problem ceases to be so simple of disposal. When one reads the play, one pays little attention to the passage of time. In a drama there is no direct narration of the story; as such the lapse of time is not definitely mentioned in the drama. One is rather seeing the events and all that one knows is that time is passing; but one has no idea of the actual length of time that has passed. It is when one has finished reading the last page that one is conscious of the time that has elapsed. Then one considers the question at what points actually the time had passed and what was the length of time that had passed at each such point.

There is the same difference between a landscape painting and an actual description of a plot of ground as there is between a narration of a story and a dramatic presentation of a story. In a landscape painting one knows that the actual plot of ground is much bigger than the canvas; but he has no idea regarding the actual size of the plot. But in a description of the plot of ground, the actual dimensions are given. From an analysis of the landscape painting, one can get some idea of the size of the plot of ground painted; but that requires effort. The trees, the streams, the birds, the animals and a all such things as figure in the painting affords some material for making the calculations. Similarly when one reads a drama one gets an idea that the time taken by the events is much longer than the time taken for reading the book. But what is the actual length of the time ? This can be settled only after an analysis of the events presented in the drama. What I propose to do is to analyse the plot of the drama Śākuntala and see if we can definitely decide the actual length of time that has elapsed between the first Act and the last Act.

One thing is certain. In a drama there is no passage of time within an Act itself, longer than the time taken to present the events; and this is practically the time taken for reading the Act. The real passage of time must be between the various Acts. If a few years have elapsed between the first Act and the last Act in the Śākuntala, we must settle the particular gap between the various Acts which is wide enough to hold this long time.

The story begins in an afternoon. The king goes out hunting. He was pursuing a deer and he must have been chasing the animal for some considsrably long time when he is introduced

on the stage in the first Act; he appears for the first time in a mood of impatience. Suddenly he comes within arrow-range of the antilope, and just when he was about to shoot, some sages intercept. The sages invite the King to the hermitage of Kaṇva and they go on their errand. The King enters the hermitage, meets Śakuntalā with her two companions and indulges in a long conversation with them. When he departs, it is nearly sun-set.

M. R. Kale says (in the introduction to his edition of the Śākuntala, Bombay, 1925, p. 37)[1] that the story begins in the morning. His reasons are :—(1) The Vaikhānasas who first invite the King to the hermitage of Kaṇva say, समिदाहरणाय प्रस्थिता वयम् (p. 14) which must be in the morning according to Kale. Really the sages must have gone out to the forest to collect *samit* in the afternoon, when they have leisure. In the morning they must bathe early and they have their religious duties to attend to. Further in the third Act (prologue), the ṛṣikumāra says, यावदिमान् वेदिसंस्तरणार्थं दर्भान्‌ऋत्विग्भ्य उपहरामि (p. 63.). Presumably the *darbha* is what he had collected from the forest. It cannot be the *darbha* from the stock in the hermitage, taken to the *ṛtviks* for the *yāga*, because the noon ceremony had already finished and the people were having some rest; and the whole scene following took place in the afternoon. (2) The girls must have begun to water the trees in the morning as is seen from the words of Kaṇva in the fourth Act, पातुं न प्रथमं व्यवस्यति जलं युष्मास्वपीतेषु या (p. 101.). Really this passage does not mean that Śakuntalā used to water the trees early in the morning. All that the passage means is that she thinks of satisfying her own thirst only after giving water to the trees. One is usually thirsty in the afternoon, and the passage is more appropriate if the girls water the trees in the afternoon. (3) The sun is high up in the sky and so Priyaṁvadā suggests that they sit under the shady tree. This can be equally true if the scene is in the afternoon. (4) The whole interview is probably over by ten o'clock in the morning as the bark garments hanging on the boughs of the trees in the mornings are not yet completely dried. The very stanza in which this reference is seen, hints that the time is in the afternoon. The stanza reads as follows;—

1. Pages for quotations from the Śākuntala refer to this edition.

तुरगखुरहतस्तथा हि रेणुर्विटपविषक्तजलार्द्रवल्कलेषु ।
पतति परिणतारुणप्रकाशः शलभसमूह इवाश्रमद्रुमेषु ॥ (p. 37-38.)

In this stanza, the expression परिणतारुणप्रकाशः is interpreted in the commentary as:—

परिणतः सायंकालीनो योऽरुणः सूर्यः तद्वत्प्रकाशः स्फुटः । तद्वर्ण इत्यर्थः ।

And the translation is "having the colour of the evening (twilight) sun". Here the expression परिणतारुण means the setting sun, and it will be appropriate if it occurs in the description of the event at sun-set. Again, the King is introduced at the close of the day's hunt and not at the start. He had gone far astray from his retinue. From all these considerations it is to be concluded that the events in the first Act took place in an after-noon, and not in the morning.

The first hint that we get in the play from which we can deduce anything that has a bearing on the time-element in the drama is contained in the words of the Vaikhānasas who first invited the King to the hermitage of Kaṇva, and the words are:

इदानीमेव दुहितरं शकुन्तलामतिथिसत्काराय नियुज्य दैवमस्याः प्रतिकूलं शमयितुं सोमतीर्थं गतः । (p. 15.)

The sage Kaṇva had just at that time left the hermitage on a pilgrimage to Somatīrtha. The action in the play begins at the time when the sage Kaṇva had left the hermitage. This helps us to fix the interval between the events of the first Act and the events of the second Act. In the beginning of second Act the Vidūṣaka says,

ह्यः किलास्मास्ववहीनेषु तत्रभवतो मृगयानुसारेणाश्रपदं प्रविष्टस्य तापसकन्यका शकुन्तला ममाधन्यतया दर्शिता । (p. 42.)

This clearly shows that, as explicitly stated in the drama, only a night intervenes between the events of the first Act and the events of the second Act. The events of the second Act take place in the morning, when the King is ready to start for the day's hunt.

Now this express statement of a passage of time is in conflict with many indications of a much longer interval of time between the first Act and the second Act. Towards the end of the second Act, two ṛṣikumāras appear and they say,

तत्रभवतः कण्वस्यासान्निध्याद्रक्षांसि न इष्टिविघ्नमुत्पादयन्ति । (p. 59.)

What *iṣṭi* is this ? When the King visited the hermitage on the invitation of the sages immediately after the departure of Kaṇva, there was no *iṣṭi* going on in the hermitage. This is quite clear from the way in which the sages invited the King to the hermitage, which was as follows:—

एष खलु कण्वस्य कुलपतेरनुमालिनीतीरमाश्रमो दृश्यते । न चेदन्यकार्यातिपातः प्रविश्य प्रतिगृह्यतामातिथेयः सत्कारः । अपि च—

रम्यास्तपोधनानामपगतविघ्नाः क्रियाः समवलोक्य ।
ज्ञास्यसि कियद्भुजो मे रक्षति मौर्वीकिणाङ्क इति ॥ (p. 14-15.)

Here there is no mention of an *iṣṭi* and there is no hint of any trouble from the demons. In the prelude to the fourth Act, Anasūyā says, अद्य स राजर्षिरिष्टिं परिसमाप्य । (p. 86.) From this indication it is certain that the *iṣṭi* must have been an important affair, it was not a mere casual or routine ceremonial. It must have extended over a number of days. In the second Act, the ṛṣikumāra says,

तत् कतिपयरात्रं सारथिद्वितीयेन भवता सनाथीक्रियतामाश्रम इति । (p.59.)

This too shows that the ceremonial must have extended over a number of days. When the King went to the Hermitage for the first time, there was nothing special going on in the place. The place was quite secure and the sage Kaṇva had just left the place. Is it possible that over a night they had decided to start a sacrifice, the rākṣasas came and gave them trouble and the residents of the hermitage decided to invite the King to the hermitage for protection ? If a sacrifice was to have begun that evening, why did Kaṇva leave the place exposing the sacrifice to danger from the rākṣasas ? It is certain that if the sage had remained in the place, there would have been no trouble, as is clear from the words of the ṛṣikumāras,

तत्रभवतः कण्वस्य महर्षेरसान्निध्याद्रक्षांसि न इष्टिविघ्नमुत्पादयन्ति ।
(p. 59.)

The only conclusion is that although in the play it is expressly stated that the interval between the two Acts is only a night, in the actual story which the drama represents, we must allow a much longer period of interval between the two Acts.

There are two sets of times in the drama. One is the time in the drama and the other is the time in the story which the drama represents. If we call them A. time and B. time

respectively, then the A. time is one night and the B. time is some days.

The third Act is in an afternoon, as is evident from the words of the King,

क नु खलु संस्थिते कर्मणि सदस्यैरनुज्ञातः खिन्नमात्मानं विनोदयामि ।
(p. 65.)

There are many express statements in the drama which show clearly that between the second Act and the third Act, some days must have elapsed. The words of the King, किं नु खलु मे प्रियादर्शनादृते शरणमन्यत् (p. 65.) may be taken as indicating that to go about in the afternoons and hang about places where Śakuntalā was resting had become a regular pastime with him; that is, he must have been in the hermitage for a few days, and this is how he used to ease his troubled heart every afternoon. The words of Priyaṁvadā,

तस्य राजर्षेः प्रथमदर्शनादारभ्य (p. 68.) and
अनुदिवसं खलु परिहीयसेऽङ्गैः (p. 69.)

also show that many days had passed after Śakuntalā first saw the King. The King too says,

दृष्टो विवृत्य बहुशोऽप्यनया सतृष्णम् (p. 70.) and
निशि निशि भुजन्यस्तापाङ्गप्रसर्पिभिरश्रुभिः (p. 73.)

Śakuntalā herself says,

यतः प्रभृति मम दर्शनपथमागतः स तपोवनरक्षिता राजर्षिः (p. 71.)

All these passages show that many days have passed between the arrival of the King in the hermitage and the events of the third Act. Between the beginning of the third Act and the end of it there is no interval worth mentioning, except the time necessary for the incidents represented in the Act. In the beginning of the Act the ṛṣikumāra asks,

कस्येदमुशीरानुलेपनं मृणालवन्ति च नलिनीपत्राणि । (p. 63.)

This *uśīrānulepana* and the lotus leaves are seen in the middle of the Act. Again the ṛṣikumāra says,

अहमपि तावद्वैतानिकं शान्त्युदकमस्यै गौतमीहस्ते विसर्जयिष्यामि ।
(p. 63.)

At the end of the Act, Gautamī brings the sacred water. Thus the long time cannot have elapsed within the Act itself, and I

have already said that usually no time elapses within an Act, the story being continuous and without the break necessary, if some time is to elapse. The long lapse of time must be between the second Act and the third Act. At the end of the second Act, the King starts for the hermitage; in the third Act, the scene is in the hermitage.

But can we allow such a long lapse of time between the two Acts ? If there are indications to show that a long time has elapsed between the two Acts, there are also indications to show that the incidents of the two Acts are continuous and have no break. Towards the close of the second Act, the ṛṣikumāras leave the stage with an assurance from the King,

गच्छतां पुरो भवन्तौ । अहमप्यनुपदमागत एव । (p. 59.)

In the very beginning of the third Act, the ṛṣikumāra says,

अहो ! महानुभावः पार्थिवो दुष्यन्तः यत् प्रविष्टमात्र एवाश्रमं तत्रभवति निरुपद्रवाणि नः कर्माणि संवृत्तानि ।

का कथा बाणसंधाने ज्याशब्देनैव दूरतः ।
हुंकारेणेव धनुषः स हि विघ्नानपोहति ॥ (p. 62.)

Such an admiration of the King's prowess is appropriate if it is expressed immediately after the arrival of the King at the hermitage and the sudden removal of all obstacles. Read along with what are given in the second Act, this passage suggests that the incidents of the third Act follow immediately on the incidents of the second Act.

Between the second and the third Acts, there are plain indications to show that the B. time consists of a large number of days; but the indications to show that the A. time is much shorter, only a few hours, are not so very plain. The incidents in the second Act took place in the forenoon. At the end of the Act, the King starts for the hermitage. The third Act represents events that took place in an afternoon and it opens with an expression of admiration by a young boy in the hermitage at the sudden change in the whole situation in the hermitage on the arrival of the King. This is sufficient indication to suggest the continuity of the incidents represented in the two Acts.

There are reasons to assume that the incidents of the third Act took place on the last day but one of the *iṣṭi*, for the protection of which from the rākṣasas, the King was staying in the

hermitage. At the close of the third Act the conversation of the King with Śakuntalā was broken by the appearance of Gautamī with the sacred water. The King conceals himself behind a grove. Śakuntalā takes leave of him in the following words,

लतावलय ! संन्तापहारक ! आमन्त्रये त्वां भूयोऽपि परिभोगाय । (p. 83.)

This, in the guise of an address to the grove, is an invitation to the King to meet Śakuntalā again in the same place later in the evening. They must have met at the same place the very same night and their marriage must have taken place at the same time. It is impossible that the King should have stayed on in the hermitage after this secret marriage. He must have left the hermitage on the next day. The incident of the prelude to the fourth Act must have taken place in the afternoon of the day after the incidents described in the third Act. There is practically no long interval between the marriage of Śakuntalā and the departure of the King from the hermitage. For Anasūya says,

ननु सख्याः शकुन्तलाया सौभाग्यदेवतार्चनीया । (p. 87.)

Priyaṁvadā says that they had collected enough flowers for the use in the hermitage and in the above passage Anasūyā informs her that from that day onwards, Śakuntalā had to perform the *iṣṭadevatārcana.* This is a ceremonial which young ladies have to perform commencing from the marriage day. This shows that the marriage took place only on the night previous to the incidents in the prelude to the fourth Act.

This shows that the interval between the third Act and the prelude to the fourth Act was only a night. Again the curse of Durvāsas must have taken place before the arrival of the King at the palace. If he had remembered the marriage when he reached the palace, it is impossible that he did not tell the Vidūṣaka about it. That would have been the first thing for him to tell his friend. But we know that the King had not told his friend about the marriage and the cause for this silence is the curse of Durvāsas and the consequent obliteration of the events from the memory of the King. When the King returned to the palace, the Vidūṣaka had no occasion to ask him about the girl in the hermitage. Because when the Viduṣaka left the forest, the King had told him that it was all a joke, and such jokes must have been very frequent incidents in the relation of the King with his friend. The King had told him,

न खलु सत्यमेव तापसकन्यकायां ममाभिलाषः । पश्य—

क्व वयं क्व परोक्षमन्मथो मृगशावैः सममेधितो जनः ।

परिहासविजल्पितं मया परमार्थेन न गृह्यतां वचः ॥ (p. 62.)

This is confirmed in the sixth Act in the following conversation between the King and Vidūṣaka:

राजा—सखे ! सर्वमिदानीं स्मरामि शकुन्तलाया वृत्तान्तम् । कथितवानस्मि भवते च । स भवान् प्रत्यादेशवेलायां मत्समीपगतो नासीत् । पूर्वमपि त्वया कदाचित् संकीर्तितं तत्रभवत्या नाम । कच्चिदहमिव विस्मृतवानसि त्वम् ।

विदूषकः—न विस्मरामि । किं तु सर्वं कथयित्वावसाने पुनस्त्वया परिहासविजल्प एव न भूतार्थ इत्याख्यातम् । मयापि मृत्पिण्डबुद्धिना तथैव गृहीतम् ।

These facts show that the curse of Durvāsas must have taken place before the King reached the palace, that is, the incidents of the prelude to the fourth Act must be immediately after the departure of the King from the hermitage. There is another evidence to show the same thing. Anasūyā says in the prelude,

अद्य स राजर्षिरिष्टिं परिसमाप्य ऋषिभिर्विसर्जितः आत्मनो नगरं प्रविश्य अन्तःपुरसमागत इतोगतं वृत्तान्तं स्मरति वा न वा । (p. 86.)

The King's men were to have come to the hermitage within three days after the departure of the King from the hermitage. If the King had already failed in his promise, this would not have been the tone of her words. When the appointed day had passed and the King's men had not come for some days after, the tone of Anasūyā's words are quite different. See what she says on a later occasion:

तेन राज्ञा शकुन्तलायामनार्यमाचरितम् ।····प्रतिबुद्धापि किं करिष्यामि ? न मे उचितेष्वपि निजकरणीयेषु हस्तपादं प्रसरति । काम इदानीं सकामो भवतु येनासत्यसन्धे जने शुद्धहृदया सखी पदं कारिता ।

Thus, the incidents of the third Act must have been in an afternoon; the marriage must have taken place that night; the King must have left the hermitage after the forenoon ceremonials of the next day; the incidents in the prelude to the fourth Act must have been that afternoon. The interval according to the A. time

must have been a night, between the third Act and the prelude to the fourth Act.

There are indications to show that the interval according to the B. time must have been much longer. In the fifth Act, there is clear mention of how the King and Śakuntalā used to move very freely with each other in the hermitage. From the description in the third Act, it is certain that till that time they had met only very casually and never had an opportunity to talk freely to each other. In the fifth Act, Śakuntalā says,

नन्वेकस्मिन् दिवसे नवमालिकामण्डपे नलिनीपत्रभाजनगतमुदकं तव हस्ते सन्निहितमासीत् ।....तत्क्षणे स मे पुत्रकृतको दीर्घापाङ्गो नाम मृगपोतक उपस्थितः । त्वयायं तावत् प्रथमं पिबत्वित्यनुकम्पिनोपच्छन्दित उदकेन । न पुनस्तेऽपरिचयाद्धस्ताभ्याशमुपगतः । पश्चात्तस्मिन्नेव मया गृहीते सलिलेऽनेन कृतः प्रणयः । तदा त्वमित्थं प्रहसितोऽसि । सर्वः सगन्धेषु विश्वसिति । द्वावप्यत्रारण्यकौ इति । (p. 131-132.)

This can be only after the events described in the third Act. According to the B. time, Śakuntalā and the King must have been meeting each other frequently in the hermitage after their first meeting in an afternoon. The marriage must have taken place during this time, and the matter was kept very confidential, only the two friends of Śakuntalā having known about it. In due course, when the sacrifice had finished, the King departed. This is according to B. time.

There is sufficient indication in the play of a very long interval between the prelude to the fourth Act and the fourth Act proper. In the fourth Act, we see that Kaṇva has returned from his pilgrimage. He comes to know of the marriage of his daughter. He makes arrangements for Śakuntalā to go to the palace of the King properly escorted. In the fifth Act, the party has reached the palace. The journey to the palace cannot have taken more than two days; there are many evidences in the play to show this. When the King left Śakuntalā he had promised to send his men and take her to the palace in as many days as there are syllables in the name of Duṣyanta. The passage is:

एकैकमत्र दिवसे दिवसे मदीयं नामाक्षरं गणय गच्छसि यावदन्तम् ।
तावत् प्रिये मदवरोधगृहप्रवेशं नेता जनस्तव समीपमुपैष्यतीति ॥

(p. 158.)

The King has to reach the palace from the hermitage and then his men have to reach the hermitage from the palace, all in three days. With the facilities which the King had, he could have reached the palace from the hermitage in a little over a day. Again the messenger from the King's mother to the King, as described at the close of the second Act, announces that on the fourth day from that day there is a ceremonial to be performed in the palace and that the King is expected back. This also shows that the distance from the hermitage to the palace is very short. Thus the journey of Śakuntalā and her party to the palace cannot have taken more than two or three days. It may be in the afternoon of the third or fourth day after she left the hermitage.

At the time when Śakuntalā reached the palace, her pregnancy had advanced to such an extent that it could be easily recognised; in the fifth Act the King says, on seeing her,

तत् कथमिमामभिव्यक्तसत्त्वलक्षणां प्रत्यात्मानं क्षेत्रिणमाशङ्कमानः प्रतिपत्स्ये ? (p. 128.)

Thus the interval between the prelude of the fourth Act and the fifth Act must be about five months. Between the fourth Act proper and the fifth Act, the interval was only two or three days. Thus this interval of five months must be put between the prelude to the fourth Act and the fourth Act proper. The words of the King,

पूर्वमपि न त्वया संकीर्तितं कदाचित्तत्रभवत्या नाम । (p. 152.)

indicate that a long time had elapsed between the King's arrival at the palace and the arrival of Śakuntalā in the palace. This interval must be between the prelude to the fourth Act and the fourth Act proper.

But difficulties arise if we assume such a long interval between the prelude to the fourth Act and the fourth Act proper. It is certain that Gautamī had not known of the marriage of Śakuntalā and her pregnency. Is it possible that a young lady of marriageable age could live in the hermitage in the immediate neighbourhood of an elderly lady like Gautamī and under her constant notice, pregnant and not being recognised by Gautamī? That Gautamī did not notice any change in her daily life for those five or six months is an impossibility. Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā knew about the marriage and knew about the pregnancy. How can one believe that they did not tell Gautamī about the marriage and the pregnancy of Śakuntalā and seek her help in getting out

of the difficulty ? The friends of Śakuntalā must have been waiting for the King's escort for three or four days. When they did not see the King's men coming as promised, they must have got worried and this uneasiness is expressed in the following words of Anasūyā,

अथवा दुर्वासःशाप एव विकारयति । अन्यथा कथं स राजर्षिरीदृशानि मन्त्रयित्वैतावतः कालस्य लेखमात्रमपि न विसृजति । तदितोऽभिज्ञानमङ्गुलीयकं तस्य विसृजावः । दुःखशीले तपस्विजने कोऽभ्यर्थ्यताम् । ननु सखीगामी दोष इति व्यवसितापि न पारयामि प्रवासप्रतिनिवृत्तस्य तातकाश्यपस्य दुष्यन्तपरिणीतामापन्नसत्त्वां शकुन्तलां निवेदयितुम् ।

It is impossible that the two friends of Śakuntalā had been carrying on in this strain for five months till Kaṇva returned. There is a hint in the above passage, which suggests that they had an idea of honestly telling Gautamī all about the affair and trying to send up the ring as a last resort, should the King fail to keep up his promise. They may have waited for a few days more after the date appointed by the King. Meanwhile the sage Kaṇva returned and the story proceeded further. They had no need to tell Gautamī anything themselves.

There is another hint in the play to show that the time between the prelude to the fourth Act and the fourth Act proper was only a few days, and not five months. When Priyaṁvadā told Anasūyā in the beginning of the fourth Act that Kaṇva had made all arrangements for Śakuntalā to proceed to the palace, Anasūyā says,

तेन ह्येतस्मिंश्चूतशाखावलम्बिते नालिकेरसमुद्गक एतन्निमित्तमेव कालान्तरक्षमा निक्षिप्ता मया केसरामालिका । (p. 95.)

When could Anasūyā have made this garland ? Certainly it must be on the day following the incidents of the prelude to the fourth Act, or perhaps a day more after. They were expecting the King's men to arrive on the third day from the day of the incidents of the prelude to the fourth Act. It is the same garland which she now proposes to use for presenting to Śakuntalā on the auspicious occasion of her departure to her husband's palace. Is it possible that a garland should keep for five months, however carefully it may have been taken care of ? This also shows that the incidents of the fourth Act proper took place a few days after the incidents of the prelude to the Act.

Thus the A. time between the prelude to the fourth Act and the fourth Act proper is only a few days, while the B. time is about five months. Between the fourth Act and the fifth Act, both the times are identical, only about two days.

The long interval of a few years, which is the really long interval that we have to account for in the drama, must be put between the fifth Act and the sixth Act. In the fifth Act, the King refuses to accept Śakuntalā; some divine lady carries away Śakuntalā. In the seventh Act, Śakuntalā is the mother of a young boy grown up sufficiently to pull a lion cub by the tail. Between the sixth Act and the seventh Act, the interval is only a day, according to one time, and perhaps a few days according to the other time. It is the time between the King's arrival in Indra's palace and his departure after defeating the Asuras.

The very long period of a few years during which Śakuntalā gave birth to the son and during which the son grew up to be a boy able to drag a lion cub by the tail must be assigned to the interval between the fifth Act and the sixth Act.

Here again there is considerable difficulty in assigning such a long interval between these two Acts. To explain certain things it is necessary to assume that the incidents of the sixth Act immediately followed on the incidents of the fifth Act with only a very short interval, say two or three days at best.

The whole trend of the King's words give the hint that the King had some sort of feeling of having forgotten something. When he enters the stage, at the opening of the fifth Act, he says:

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्
पर्युत्सुको भवति यत् सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः ।
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥ (p. 115.)

Again the King says,

इदमुपनतमेवंरूपमक्लिष्टकान्ति
प्रथमपरिगृहीतं स्यान्न वेत्यव्यवस्यन् ।
भ्रमर इव विभाते कुन्दमन्तस्तुषारं
न च खलु परिभोक्तुं नापि शक्नोमि हातुम् ॥ (p. 128.)

Further he says,

सन्दिग्धबुद्धिं मां कुर्वन्नकैतव इवास्याः कोपो लक्ष्यते । (p. 133.)

And he closes the Act with the words:

कामं प्रत्यादिष्टां स्मरामि न परिग्रहं मुनेस्तनयाम् ।
बलवत्तु दूयमानं प्रत्याययतीव मे हृदयम् ॥ (p. 138.)

All these words show that the King was conscious of there being something wrong somewhere, that he was uneasy about his act in having rejected Śakuntalā. Further the hermitage of Kaṇva was only a little over a day's journey from the King's palace. It was the family teacher of the King who had sent Śakuntalā as the legally wedded wife of the King to be accepted as such by the King. Then there was Śakuntalā's mother Menakā. There was the Apsaras Sānumatī too to help in the situation. Kaṇva was not the heartless recluse to remain silent over the situation for six years. He loved Śakuntalā as much as his life; he undertook a pilgrimage to Somatīrtha to remove some evil fate of Śakuntalā. The two friends of Śakuntalā, namely Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā, could not have kept quiet for such a long time, when they knew the cause for the King having forgotten the incidents of the marriage. They are the two people who knew about the curse of Durvāsas. Śakuntalā was under the protection of Mārīca, and he could and would have done something to save the situation. How is it that all of them kept quiet, without even raising a finger, when any one of them could have very easily found out the truth, and when there were two persons who knew the truth about the situation and also the remedy? The only explanation is that none of them had any occasion to do anything in the matter. Before anything could be thought of, everything had cleared, the ring was recovered and the King was reminded of the marriage; the re-union of the King with Śakuntalā had been effected.

It must have taken two days for Śārṅgarava and the party to return to the hermitage of Kaṇva and to report the matter to the great sage. By that time, the King had been re-united to Śakuntalā. The King was anxious, at the hermitage of Mārīca, to send the information to Kaṇva; but Mārīca assures him that Kaṇva had already known about the happy event by his supernatural powers. Now, Yogic vision is two-fold, one of the Yuktas and the other of the Yuñjānas. Kaṇva was only a yuñjāna; he had to put an effort to understand things that were

taking place beyond his normal vision. Kaṇva could have known of what took place in the hermitage of Mārīca only if he were thinking of Śakuntalā. This shows that Kaṇva could not have been remaining idle after he heard about the tragedy of Śakuntalā. The truth must be that it was about that time that Śārṅgarava reported the matter to Kaṇva and Kaṇva was thinking about the situation. Then he knew how Śakuntalā was re-united to the King at the hermitage of Mārīca. Says Mārīca,

तपःप्रभावात् प्रत्यक्षमेव सर्वं तत्रभवतः । (p. 202.)

There are many hints in the sixth Act to show that the incidents of the sixth Act must have taken place soon after the incidents of the fifth Act. When Sānumatī appears, there is no reference to any previous visit of hers to the palace. It is impossible that for such a long time she did not visit the palace before and try to get information about the after-effects of discarding Śakuntalā. If she had been visiting the palace for six years rather frequently, this is not the way in which she would begin her speech. What she actually says is:

साम्प्रतमस्य राजर्षेरुदन्तं प्रत्यक्षीकरिष्यामि । (p. 143.)

Further, she could have known about the condition of the King, if she had been visiting the palace. She knew that Śakuntalā was in the hermitage of Mārīca. When she finds that the King was thinking of Śakuntalā and the great harm he had done to her, she could have very easily effected a re-union. The fact is that she had not known about the recovery of the ring by the King. This shows that the incidents of the sixth Act proper took place immediately after the incidents of the prelude to the Act. She came to the palace to know if anything could be done for the sake of Śakuntalā.

The words of the Kañcukī,

किमत्रभवत्योः कर्णपथं नायातं शकुन्तलाप्रत्यादेशकौलीनम् ? (p. 147.)

and the words of the two ceṭīs,

श्रुतं राष्ट्रीयमुखाद्यावदङ्गुलीयकदर्शनम् । (p. 147.)

show that the incident of the King having discarded Śakuntalā was quite a recent affair, not a story six years old. The words in the sixth Act of Vidūṣaka,

न खलु मातापितरौ भर्तुर्वियोगदुःखितां दुहितरं चिरं द्रष्टुं पारयतः । (p. 154.)

suggest that the incidents were soon after the King had discarded Śakuntalā. Thus there are enough hints to show that the meeting of Śakuntalā with the King in the hermitage of Mārīca was only a few days, say two days, after she was discarded by the King at the palace. If this be so, there is no difficulty in understanding the silence of all the people concerned in the matter. There was no time for anybody to do anything. After discarding Śakuntalā the King retired with a very disturbed mind. Next morning the ring was recovered. That afternoon he was invited to the palace of Indra and the next day he met Śakuntalā in the hermitage of Mārīca.

On the other hand, the fact of Śakuntalā's son being a grown up boy in the seventh Act is not the only indication of a long lapse of time. There are many other hints. Vidūṣaka says,

तत्र मे चित्रफलकगतां स्वहस्तलिखितां तत्रभवत्याः शकुन्तलायाः प्रतिकृतिमानयेति । (p. 151.)

This picture must have been painted after the recovery of the ring. This suggests a long lapse of time between the prelude to the sixth Act and the sixth Act proper. The words of the King,

साक्षात् प्रियामुपगतामपहाय पूर्वम् । (p. 160.)

show also that between the prelude to the sixth Act and the sixth Act proper, a long time has elapsed.

According to A. time, the interval between the fifth Act and the prelude to the sixth Act is only a night, and the interval between the prelude to the sixth Act and the sixth Act proper is only a few hours, a morning and an afternoon. But according to B. time, long years separate the fifth Act from the prelude to the sixth Act and the sixth Act proper is separated from the prelude to the Act by a fairly long time, perhaps a few days, as is clear from the words:

यदैव खलु स्वाङ्गुलीयकदर्शनादनुस्मृतं देवेन सत्यमूढपूर्वा मे तत्रभवती रहसि शकुन्तला मोहात् प्रत्यादिष्टेति । तदा प्रभृति... । (p. 147.)

uttered by the Kañcukī; this shows that the King had been in that condition after being reminded of the marriage with Śakuntalā, for some time.

From the words of the King in the seventh Act it must be concluded that the incidents of the seventh Act took place the day after the incidents of the sixth Act; the words are:

पूर्वेद्युर्दिवमधिरोहता मया न लक्षितः स्वर्गमार्गः । (p. 178.)

But it is impossible that the King went to Indra, defeated the Asuras and returned to the earth, all within twenty-four hours. Here also we must assume that the A. time was a day and the B. time was a few days.

Thus from a close study of the drama we have to assume two sets of times in the drama as follows:

	A. time	B. time
Between Act I. and Act II	one day	a few days.
Between Act II and Act III	only a few hours	a few days.
Between Act III and prelude to Act IV	one day	a few days.
Between prelude to Act IV and the Act IV proper	a few days	about five months.
Between Act IV and Act V	about two days	about two days.
Between Act five and prelude to Act VI	one day	about five years.
Between prelude to Act VI and the Act VI proper	a few hours	a few days.
Between Act VI and Act VII	one day	a few days.

In this connection, readers are requested to compare this analysis with the same subject dealt with by M. R. Kale in the Introduction to his edition of Śākuntala, 1925, p. 37 and also by Jackson in the Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 20 p. 345 The question of the time-element in the Sanskrit Dramas is also considered in Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus. But in all these places, only one time is considered. The phenomenon of two times running side by side and closely knit together has not been considered. To produce an effect of the continuity of action, there is a shorter time also introduced into the drama. Events follow events in quick succession, and there is no long break between the various actions. This feature is also noticeable in other Sanskrit Dramas. In the Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti, this is very cleverly worked out.

SEMANTIC DIVERGENCES IN INDO-ĀRYAN LOANWORDS IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN.

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR M.A., B.L.

Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

Though it is well known that the vocabularies of the Dravidian languages of south India are honeycombed with Indo-Aryan loanwords, it is perhaps not so well recognized that the meanings attached to some of these loans in the Dravidian languages evidence unique variations.

These semantic divergences fall chiefly into two classes :

(*a*) Borrowings which (as used in south Dravidian) show meanings not met with in OIA. These new significations are in some instances common to two or more of the south Dravidian speeches, while in other instances they appear to have been unique evolutions in individual speeches.

(*b*) Instances in which there exist sharp differences among the Dravidian speeches in the emphasis with which particular semantic aspects of the loanwords have been popularised, though all these aspects may exist side by side in IA.

In the lists[1] that I give below, I have not attempted to mark off these two classes separately as they are found to overlap in

---

1. The following are the abbreviations of the names of classical texts and of reference-books from which I have cited illustrations :

TAMIL—PN—Puṟanāṉūṟu (MM. Swāminathaiyar's edition)—Śaṅgam text.

PP—Pattuppāṭṭu („ „)— „
MM—Maṇimēgalai („ „)—
ŚN—Śūḍāmaṇi nigaṇḍu ( )—9th century.
NN—Nāmadīpikai nigaṇḍu ( )—
TL—Tamil Lexicon (Madras University)
SII—South Indian Inscriptions (Govt. of India)

several cases ; I have merely grouped together the relevant forms under OIA headings. In the discussion of the semantic variations, I have taken into consideration both the literary usage and the modern colloquial meanings.

(1) *Atiśaya* 'pre-eminent' 'superior'
Atiśayam 'excellence' 'superiority

'Wonder' 'astonishment'.—All the chief south Dravidian speeches exhibit this semantic development. The present-day colloquials show only this meaning, while the texts often employ the adaptations with OIA meanings.

MALAYĀḶAM—RC—Rāmacaritam (University edition)—13th C. (?)
KR—Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam, Bālakāṇḍam, Āraṇyakāṇḍam, Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍam (University edition)—14th C.
RP—Rāma Kathāppāṭṭu, Bālakāṇḍam, Ayodhyākāṇḍam (Uḷḷūr's edition)—14th C.
BhG—Bhagavadgītā-p-pāṭṭu (Uḷḷūr's edition)—14 C.
KG—Kṛṣṇagāthā, Pūtanāmōkṣam, Valsastheyam, etc. (University edition)—14th C.
ER—Tuñcatt-Eḻuttaśśan's Rāmāyaṇam—16th C.
EBh— ,, Bhāratam— ,,
EBhg— ,, Bhāgavatam— ,,
PT—Kuñjan Nambiar's Pañcatantram—18th C. (Mangalore edition)
OT— ,, Ōṭṭanduḷḷal— ,, (Maṅgalōdayam edition)
VP—Vaḍakkan pāṭṭu (Reddiar's publication)—?
K—Kēraḷōlpatti (Mangalore edition)—17th or 18th C.
VD—Verapoly Mal.—Portugese Dictionary, cited by Gundert—composed in the 16th and 17th Centuries.
TAS—Travancore Archaeological Series.

KANNAḌA—BP—Basava Purāṇa—15th C.
JBh—Jaimini Bhārata—17th C.
ŚM—Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa (Kittel's edition)—13th C.
P—Purandara dāsara padagaḷu.

TELUGU—Bh—Bhārata—11th and 12th centuries.
AN—Āndhranāmasaṅgraham (Vāvilla edition)—Before 17th C.
ANŚ—Āndhranāmaśeṣam (,,)—18th C.
SN—Sāmbha nighaṇṭu (,,)
V—Vēmana's verses (edited by C. P. Brown)—15th C.

The denominative verb *adiśay-i-* with the meaning 'to marvel' is quite common in present-day Mal. colloquial; the same verbal idea is expressed by *adiśaya-p-paḍ* in Tam., Mal. and Kannaḍa.

Illustrations from old literary texts of the use of the word in the sense of 'wondering' 'marvelling' are not available in large numbers; but the following would show that the semantic evolution should have commenced at a fairly early stage :

Tam. *viyappu vimmidattinōḍu viśittiram irumbūd-inna-mayakkilā-v-adiśaya-p-pēr marrai-y-arpudamāgum.* (The equivalents denoting 'wonder' are *adiśaya, viyappu, vimmidam, viśittiram, irmbūdu* and *arpudam*)—SN, VIII.

" *aḍigaḷ i-v-vaḻi pōnda-v-adiśayam ariyēnē* (I knew not of the marvel of the great ones marching this way.)

Mal. *agila janaṅgaḷum adiśayam ānār* (all the people were struck with astonishment)—RP, Ay., II.

" *anavarum adiśayittu* (all people, having marvelled)—RP, Ay., III.

" *anda nēram marandidu pūdavum, araśanum manam-adiśayam-ānān* (at that time the heavenly spirit disappeared, and king Daśaratha marvelled in his mind)—RP, Bāl., III.

Mal. *adiśayitt-annam vāṅgi-y-araśanum* (the king Daśaratha having accepted the sanctified food in wonder)—RP, Bāl., IV.[1]

---

1. Classical texts in Tel. and in Mal. employ the word only in the OIA sense ordinarily : Tel. *adiśayamuga buddhimantuḍagu budhasevan* (they become pre-eminently wise men by association with the wise)—NP, 5.

Mal. *adiśayam-āyidu tammil-iṇakkavum* (their friendship become exceedingly strong)—KR, Bāl., 49.

In Mal., the word is found used only in this OIA sense in the works of great writers like Tuñcatt-Eḻuttaśśan; and many Mal. scholars of the present day refuse to allow the evolved meaning 'wonder' to be introduced into serious prose or verse. Nevertheless, the occurrence of this word for 'wonder' in the fourteenth-century Rāmakathā-p-pāṭṭu illustrates the fairly early use of the semantic evolution in the west coast colloquial.

(2) *Adṛṣṭa* 'inivsible' 'Destiny (good or bad).

Adiruṣṭam, adiṣṭam, adiṭṭam in Tam. and *adṛṣṭa* in Tel. and in Kann. are equated in the colloquials to 'good luck' 'the fruit of good deeds done during past births' (*nal viṉai payaṉ*, as the Tamilian has it). Originally a *vox media*, the term has come to be associated with 'good luck' in Tam., Kann. and Tel. colloquials. Tam. *adiṣṭaśāli* is 'a lucky person', while *adiṣṭa-v-īṉam* [*adṛṣṭa-hīna*] and *adiṣṭa-k-kaṭṭai* denote 'bad luck'.

Gundert (*Mal. Dict.*, p. 23) associates the meaning 'good fortune' with *adṛṣṭam* as used in Mal. Today, however, the word is rarely equated to 'good luck' in the colloquial spoken in the Cochin State; on the other hand, *adṛṣṭam* and *adṛṣṭa-phalam* are terms which one commonly hears when a person meets with an unexpected calamity.

(3) *Adhvan* 'road' 'distance'
[*adhvāna* 'soundless']

(i) 'Desolation', 'waste', 'ruin'.—These meanings appear in the colloquials of Tam., Tel. and Kann.

Tam. *altuvāṉa-p-paṭṭi-k-kāḍu* (desolate waste land.)
Tel. *adhvānamu vāna* (ruinous downpour of rain.)
,, *adhvānamulō vay-*(to waste, as money.)
,, *adhvānamu jvaram* (wasting fever.)
Kann. *adhvāna pradēśa* (desolate place.)

(ii) 'Perplexity', 'misfortune', 'distress',—Tel. and Kann. show these meanings :

Tel. *aravam adhvānam* (Tamil is a bewildering language.)
Kann. *adhvānada kāladalli madhyānnada ūṭavō ?* (mid-day meal during famine season ?)—Proverb.
,, *ninag-ēnānum-adhvānam-ādāgaḷ-ennam nene-y-endu pēḻdu* (having said, " think of me when any calamity befalls you)—Durgasiṁha's translation (9th Century A.D.) of Pañcatantra, V, 18.

(iii) In the present-day mass-colloquial of Kann., *adhvāna* has the very generalised significations 'immethodical', 'weak' 'bad', 'spoilt', 'useless': *ā pustaka bāḷa adhvāna* (that book is a useless one.) Tuḷu *advāna* is also used in this generalised sense.

(iv) 'Exertion', 'fatigue', 'labour.'—These are meanings given to the adaptation in Mal. colloquial. The word *adhvāni* (painstaking person), derived from *adhvāna*, is also common in

Mal. The classical texts do not show these meanings for the word.

(v) Tuḷu has three structural variants, each with a connotation of its own : *addana* (sickness, affliction), *adhvāna* (unnecessary labour, effort) and *advāna* (weak, useless, bad). The word-stock of Tuḷu has been influenced by that of Kann. chiefly, and by that of Mal. in a lesser degree. *addana* and *advāna* remind us of Kann. usage, while *adhvāna* used in Tuḷu with the meanings 'labour', 'effort' appears to be related to the Mal. meanings.

Kittel (*Kann. Dict.*, p. 55) connects these adaptations with OIA *adhvāna* (soundless), and derives all the new significations from the OIA meaning 'soundless'.

On the other hand, Gundert (*Mal. Dict.*, p. 25) and the Madras University Tam. Lexicon suggest *adhvan* (road, distance) as being the source-form; Gundert further points out that the adaptation may have been modelled oh the Skt. accusative inflexional base *adhvānam*, like the Tam.-Mal. adaptation *śvānam* (dog).

(4) *Anuvādaḥ* 'repetition' 'corroboration'.

(i) Tam., Tel. and Kann. use the adaptation of this form with the OIA signification 'repetition of something by way of explanation or corroboration' in learned contexts. The colloquials of these speeches do not use the word at all.

(ii) In Mal., however, *anuvādam* has been used with the meaning 'permission' from a very early period in literature, since it occurs in fourteenth-century texts. *Anuvādam* (permission) and *anuvad-i* (to permit) in Mal. form parts today of the not inconsiderable stock of IA loans used as current coins in the everyday colloquial of this west coast speech.

anuvādam koṇḍu (with permission)—KR, Bāl., 63.
anuvādattōḍe (with permission)—KR, Ār., 102.

vaṇaṅgi-y-anuvādamoḍu maṉṉaṉum-irundāṉ (the king, having made obeisance and obtained permission, also sat down) —RP, Bāl., VIII.

mādāvu mōdāl anuvadiccīḍugil (if my mother graciously permits)—ER, Ay.

(iii) The meaning 'translation' has been recently introduced into Mal. for this word by Malayāḷi translators of Hindi and Bengali novels. Hindi *anuvād* and Bengali *anubād*

commonly mean 'translation', and educated Malayāḷis who are acquainted with Hindi or Bengali have tried to popularise this meaning for the word in Mal. 'Permission', however, is so deep-rooted and universal in Mal., that the new meaning 'translation' is bound (for a long time to come) to be regarded as an exotic.

(5) *Antaḥstha* 'situated inside.'

The meanings 'corner', 'storey of a building' for Tel. *antastu* 'rank or condition' for Tam. *andastu* and Kann. *antastu* as used in the texts, appear to be closely allied to the OIA signification.

In the colloquials of Tam., Mal. and Kann., however, the word is associated with 'high rank or position' 'distinguished status'. So many people claim this now-a-days that the word is sometimes used in a depreciatory sense also in these speeches.

(6) *Avakaṭa* 'opposite', 'contrary'.

The meanings 'obstruction', 'mischief' and 'danger' are current for the adaptations in Kann., Tel., Tuḷu and Mal.

Kittel (*Kann. Dict.*, p. 116) cites illustrations from BP for the use of the word (*avagaḍa*) in the sense of 'obstruction' 'inaccessibility' and 'monstrosity', while the meaning 'danger' is often given to the word in the Mysore colloquial.

Tel. possesses three structural variants: *avagaḍa,* used for 'danger'; *avaghaḷa* 'difficult' 'impossible' (cf. Marāṭhī *avaghaḷa*); and *āgaḍam* 'intolerable' as in *āgaḍamu nṛpuḍu* 'teasing or tyrannical king'.

In Mal. the word is quite commonly employed in the colloquial in the sense of 'danger'; the word is often written and pronounced *apakaṭa* also.

(7) *Avakāśaḥ* 'space', 'interval', 'scope', 'occasion'. Tam., Kann., Tel. and Tulu adhere to the OIA meanings whenever the word is used in learned texts.

In Mal. the word is common in the modern colloquial in the sense of 'claim', 'right', 'title'. *Avakāśavum adhikāravum* (title and authority) is a familiar phrase in the lawyer's terminology. The classical texts do not, however, show this evolution; cf. KR, kiṣk., 49, 7, where the word means 'scope' or 'occasion'.

(8) *Avadhiḥ* 'limit', 'period of time'.

(i) 'Calamity', 'misfortune' 'suffering'.—These meanings appear sometimes in the colloquials of Tam., Kann. and Tel.

Tam. *pāḻ-avadi-p-paḍa-v-eṉakku muḍiyādu* (It is impossible for me to undergo this suffering)—Tāyumāṉavar's songs (cited in TL).

" *avaḷ romba avadi-p-paṭṭu prasavittāḷ* (she was delivered of a child after great agony).

Tel. *vānik-okk-avadhi vaccīndi* (a great calamity has befallen him).

In Cochin State Mal. colloquial, *avadhi* with the meaning 'suffering' or 'calamity' is not heard anywhere; but Gundert cites VD as equating Mal. *avadhi-p-peḍ-* to 'being made to suffer.'

(ii) The usual meaning for *avadhi* in Cochin State Mal. colloquial is 'leave of absence for a specified period, *i.e.*, up to a certain limit'.

(9) *Avasaraḥ* 'occasion', 'opportunity', 'time', 'leisure'.

While the OIA meanings are preserved in the literary texts-peculiar semantic developments appear in the colloquials of Tam., Kann., Tel. and Tulu (*amasara, avasara, avasāra*).

(i) 'Urgency', 'Hurry'.—

Tam. *avasaramā pōṉāṉ* (he went off in a hurry).

Kann. *bāḷa avasara āyidē, hōga bēku* (there is a great urgency, one should go at once).

Tel. *vāḍ-avasaramu cēstē, nēnu rānu* (If he hurries, I shall not come).

Tuḷu *amasarada bēlœ-y-eḍḍe attu, amusāṇida poṇṇ-eḍḍā attu* (work done in a hurry is useless; a proud girl makes a bad wife)—Proverb.

(ii) 'Necessity', 'compulsion' also occur as semantic developments in Tam., Tel. and Kannada; these meanings mark a stage anterior to that of 'hurry' 'urgency'.

Tam. *avaśarattukku pāvam illai* (necessity knows no sin) —Proverb.

Tel. *avasaram-ainapuḍu vastānu* (I shall come when necessary).

(10) *Avasthā* ' circumstance ', ' state '.

Semantically, the word is a *vox media* in OIA: cf. *avasthe, dvayam* ' the two *avasthās* of joy and sorrow.'

In the colloquials of Tam., Tel. and Kann., the word usually signifies 'a bad state' 'suffering' 'sorrow' 'difficulty', while in Mal. mass-colloquial it denotes 'a high rank or position':

Tam. *romba avasta-paṭṭ-iṅgē vandāṉ* (he reached here after experiencing great difficulties and sufferings).

Mal. *avasta-k-kār iviḍe vaḷarē-y-uṇḍu* (there are many big follows here).

(11) *Ācāryaḥ* 'preceptor'.

(i) The OIA meaning remains in tact when the term is employed to denote the religious heads (*maṭhādhipati's*) of mutts or (as in Mysore particularly) the priests performing *pūja* in temples; but the word has certainly undergone a generalisation of meaning when adopted—as very often in South India—as a caste title by *laukika* Brahmins belonging to the Mādhva and Vaiṣṇava sects.

(ii) *Ācāri*, a structural modification from OIA *ācāryaḥ* denotes Brahmin cooks in parts of Mysore and in Āndhra-deśa, non-Brahmin idol-makers and smiths in Mysore and in Tuḷu nāḍu, goldsmiths (*āśāri*) in the Tamil country and carpenters in Kēraḷa and in Tuḷunāḍu.[1]

(iii) *Āśiriyaṉ* or *āśiriyar* is another Tam. adaptation with the meanings 'teacher', 'scholar', 'author of any great literary work.' *Pērāśiriyar* (the great scholar) is the name by which one of the most eminent of the old commentators of the earliest Tam. grammar Tolkāppiyam is known.

(iv) *Āśāṉ* is yet another adaptation appearing in Tam. (SN, VI) and in Mal. with the meanings 'teacher' and 'elder', In Mal. colloquial to-day, *āśāṉ* is a 'schoolmaster teaching the lowest classes of the elementary schools', or 'an elder, rich in wisdom and experience.' The word is used in the sense of 'leader' in VP—*padiṉeṭṭu kaḷarikkum āśāṉ candu* (*candu* is the leader of eighteen *kaḷaris*), II, p. 48.

---

(1) *Āśāri* in the sense of *śilpi* occurs in the old Mal. text RC., 19—*kuśal migum mayan-āśāri* (the clever architect *mayan*). The term *ācāri* in the following Tuḷu proverb means 'carpenter'; *ācāri gīcāri maroku māri, paṭel sēṇuvae ūrugu māri* (the carpenter is a foe to wood, the headman is a nuisance to the village).

(12) *Ājñā* 'command', 'order'

Tam.	*āṇai*	'command', 'oath'
Mal.	*āṇa*	,, ,,
Kann.	*āṇe*	,, ,,
Tuḷu	*āṇœ*, *āja*	'oath' 'vow.'
Tel.	*āna*	,, ,,

All the south Dravidian speeches possess adaptations of MIA (Prākṛt) *āṇa* (derived from OIA *ājñā*); and all of them evidence the semantic development of 'vow', 'oath'. The older meaning 'command'[1] is given to these adaptations in literary texts, beside the developed meaning; the colloquials show only the significations 'oath' or 'vow.'

The forms have long been recognized as MIA loans by the grammarians.[2] For the structural change, cf. *rājñī* and *rāṇi* 'queen', It is quite possible that the semantic evolution was also a MIA feature: cf. Marāṭhi *āṇa* 'oath', 'vow.'

Structurally, Tuḷu *āja* also appears to be allied ultimately to OIA *ājñā*. *āja* is more common in Tuḷu folk-speech than *āṇœ; āja pāḍ-* is 'to imprecate', *āja korp-*, to swear.'

Semantically, the following illustrations from the texts show the new meaning:

Tam. *āṇāi mey-y-uḍaṉē veṉṟi śūḷēvalāga nārpēr* (*āṇai* has four meanings in Tamil, *viz.*, existence, victory, oath or vow, and command)—SN, XI.

Tel. *ānalu kaḍagaṇḍlu* (oaths are plagues)—Proverb.

Kann. *nim-m-adigaḷāṇe, pusi·y-alla* (by your sacred feet, it's not a lie)—JBh.

Tulu. *ānœ-y-āṇḍala buḍuve, āṇœ buḍaye antegœ.*

---

(1) For the older meaning, cf. Tam. *tol-āṇai nal āśiriyar* (a good teacher of ancient precepts), PP, Madurai kāñci, l. 761; *agilamellām kaṭṭi-y-āḷiṉum kaḍal mīdile āṇai śelavē niṉaivar* (though lords of the universe, they would still think of commanding the ocean), Tāyumāṉavar's songs (University Inter. Selections p. 433); Mal. *Kampaññi-y-āṇa tikkariccu* (defied the orders of the company), Telicherry Records (cited by Gundert).

(2) In his commentary on Sūtra 402 of Tolkāppiyam, Śolladigāram, the Tamil scholiast Śēṉāvaraiyar classes *āṇai* as a Prākṛt loan. Sūtra 278 of Kann. ŚM deseribes *-ṇ-* of words like *āṇe* [Kann. form] as being the *tadbhava* development of OIA *-jñ-*. For Mal., cf. the commentary on L, II, 4, which refers to *āṇa* as being derived from Pkt.

Mal. *ammāvan kāl-āṇe satyamāṇu* (by the feet of my uncle, I swear it's true)—VP., III, p. 14.

(13) *ābhāsaḥ* 'splendour', 'reflection', 'phantom' 'fallacy'. The colloquials of Tam., Mal., Kann. and Tuḷu show the meanings 'disagreeable', 'incongruous', 'filthy' for this word. The OIA meanings are adhered to only in learned usage.

Tam. *ābāsa pēccu pēśāde* (do not thou talk in a vulgar strain).

Mal. *kulahīnanāyuḷḷ-ōr ābhāsan* (a vulgar fellow of ignoble descent).

Kann. *ābhāsada mātu* (vulgar conversation).

,, *abāsu* (foul smell) in the north Kann. country.

(14) *Uttara* 'superior', 'subsequent';
Uttaram 'answer', 'reminder'.

(i) 'Order', 'permission from a superior' are the meanings which *uttara-v-u* of Tam., Mal. and Tel., and *uttara* of Kann. show. These developed meanings are found only in the colloquials. The other form *uttaram* is used in the sense of 'answer' or 'reply' both in texts and in the colloquials.

(ii) Tel. *uttaram* in the mass-colloquial has come to mean 'letter', 'communication':

alluḍi uttaram vaccindi (the letter of the son-in-law is come).

(15) *Upāyaḥ* 'going near', 'means', 'expedient', 'strategy'.

(i) The pejorative meaning 'strategy' is a very conspicuous note in the colloquial use of the word in Tam., Mal. and Tuḷu, though in the texts the other OIA meanings also appear often.

(ii) In the colloquial Tam. used by the Tamilian colonists in Malabar, the word is also sometimes equated to 'poor and humble in worldly status' (<'living on expedients'). This has been evolved apparently from contexts like *upāya-kālakṣepam.*

(16) *Kalpaḥ* 'injunction', 'order'.
[*Kalpanā* 'plan', 'fabrication', 'idea'.]

(i) The Mal. form *kalpana* means 'order', 'command'. The word in Mal. (along with *kalp-i-* 'to command') is both literary and colloquial.

Kalp-i- of Mal., *kaṟp-i* of literary Tam. and *kalp-i-s-* of literary Kann. with the meaning 'to order' are denominative

verbs formed from OIA *kalpaḥ* 'injunction'. This signification appears to have been adopted for *kalpana* also as a noun-idea in Mal.[1]

(ii) In British Malabar Mal. colloquial, the meaning of *kalpana* in the mass-speech is often restricted to 'leave of absence permitted by the order of a superior'.

(17) *Kalāpaḥ* 'collection', 'bundle', 'peacock's tail'.

Apart from the OIA meanings which appear in the literary texts[1] of the chief south Dravidian speeches, there is a new set of significations commonly attached to the words in the colloquials of Tam., Mal., Kann. and Tel. (*kalāpana*): 'uproar', 'confusion', 'quarrel'.

Tam. *haidar kalāpam* (confusion and uproar created by Hyder Ali's army).

" *kalāp-i-* (to create uproar)—a regional word in the colloquial.

Mal. *ṭippuviṉde paḍa-k-kalāpam* (the great stir and confusion produced by the invading armies of Tippu Sultan of Mysore).

Kann. *kalāpa māḍa bāradu* (no quarrels!) in the colloquial of Mysore.

---

1. *Kalpiccu* (ordered) occurs in a twelfth-century west coast inscription [TAS, IV, p. 72, ff., l. 59]; this meaning, beside the other signification 'planning in one's mind', is found in texts of later periods frequently. The noun *kalpana*, however, with the meanings 'order', 'permission' is not commonly found in old classical texts in which this form occurs only with OIA meanings. In the modern Mal. colloquial, *kalpana* is only 'order' or 'permission.'

Literary Tam. *kaṟpi-* (to order) should be distinguished from *kaṟpi-* (to teach) which is the causative form of the verb *kaṟ-k-* [*kal+k*] 'to learn'.

2. The literary texts use the word only with OIA meanings:

Tam. *maṇivayiṟ-kalāpam paratti* (spreading the feather-clusters which looked like congregations of blue gems)—PP, Śiṟupāṇāṟṟuppāḍai, l. 15.

Mal. *pattunūrāyiram kattuṉṉa-t-tīkkanal jvālā-kalāpattinn-ottuḷḷa ratna-prakāśaṅṅaḷ* (the shine of gems, which resembled the collection of a hundred thousand flames)—OT, p. 263.

Kann. *nṛtya-gīta kalāpa-nūtanagaḷ-ida* (with groups of people engaged in songs and dances)—Kanarese Anthology (ed. by Kittel, Mangalore), p. 2.

I think that the use of the word in contexts like Tam. *haidar kalāpam* and Mal. *ṭippuvinde paḍa-k-kalāpam* where the OIA signification 'collection' [of soldiers] in these phrases and the associated idea of 'confusion and uproar' [created by the invasions of Haidar and Ṭippu] may have existed side by side, possibly led to the permanent association of the prossemic meaning with the word *kalāpa* in colloquial usage.

This process of change was perhaps helped by the existence of native Dravidian *kalamb-* (to be stirred) and *kalāv-* (to be agitated, confused)[1] derived from a base appearing in Tam. *kalai-*, Kann. *kale-* and Tel. *kala-* 'to be stirred, confused'.

(18) *Keliḥ* 'amorous sport', 'joke'.

The idea of 'ridicule' is always associated with the use of this word in the colloquials of Tam. and Kann. In literary texts, Tam. *kēli*, Kann. *kēḷi*, *kēṇi*, *kēli*, Mal. and Tel. *kēḷi* are used with OIA meanings only.

Tam. *kēli-k-kāraṉ* is 'a jester' or 'a buffoon'.

(19) *Kṣema* 'beneficial', 'prosperous.'

Modern Mal. *kēmam* has the generalised meanings of 'strength (physical or mental)', 'eminence', 'success', 'cleverness.' The word is an early loan from MIA (Prākṛt); cf. literary Kann. *kēma* (beside *cēma*, *sema*)[2] which, however, does not have the generalised meanings current in the Mal. colloquial of today. Modern Mal. colloquial *keṅ-gēman* (superb excellence) contains an intensive prefix fashioned after the word *kēmam*:

> *prabhuvine keṅ-gēmam-āy salkariccu* (the lord was entertained in superb splendour).
>
> *paḍiyum paḍippurayum kēmam-ākki* (made the gate and the gate-house eminent-looking)—VP, p.

(20) *Gōṣṭhi* 'assemblage', 'conversation'.

Mal. *gōṣṭhi* possesses, besides the OIA meanings which appear only in the texts, the signification 'prank', 'contortions and gestures' also. This latter signification is exclusive for the word in the colloquial, but it occurs in literary passages also

---

1. For the use of native *kalāv-* in old Tam. in the sense of 'being stirred', cf. PP, I, l. 301, and the same work, VII, l. 6.

2. Sūtra 262 of Kann. ŚM recognizes the forms *kēma* and *sēma* as *tadbhava* forms in Kann.

from an early period (14th century), as the following illustrations show:

kāṭṭi-k-kūṭṭina gōṣṭhi (the pranks that were shown)—occuring in a passage cited in the *vyākhyā* to Sūtra 3 of the fourth Śilpam of the fourteenth-century Mal. grammar Līlātilakam.

kāṭṭunna gōṣṭhigaḷ kaṇḍāl etrayum ciriyāgum (the sight of the grimaces and pranks would provoke side-splitting mirth)—PT, I, 92.

gōṣṭhigaḷ kāṭṭiyum mara-k-kombil ēriyum (showing grimaces and jumping on the branches of trees)—OT, p. 189.

This meaning for *gōṣṭhi* appears to be peculiar to Mal. It is quite different from the OIA significations; and, structurally, the form *gōṣṭhi* is non-Dravidian.

I think that here a native word with the meaning 'prank', 'grimace', 'contorted gesture' has been given a Sanskritic form on account of analogy. OIA *gōṣṭhi* with the OIA meanings occurs in in Kann.[1] and Mal. as *gōṣṭhi* and as *kōṭṭi* (described as a *tadbhava*). At the same time, a native form *kōṭṭi* with the meaning 'prank', 'crooked gesture' exists in Tam. and in Mal. To this native form are related Tam. *kōḍaṅgi, kōṇaṅgi* (crookedness), Kann. *kōḍaṅgi* (buffoonery), Kann. *kōḍaga* (monkey), Tel. *kōḍigamu* (prank, mimicry), all of which are founded on a lease *kōḍ-* signifying 'to be bent, crooked'.

The existence of the *tadbhava kōṭṭi* beside OIA *gōṣṭhi* (assemblage, conversation) perhaps led to the creation of a Sanskrit-like variant *gōṣṭhi* for the native *kōṭṭi* (prank, grimace) also.

(21) *Taṭastha* 'present', 'near at hand', 'neutral'.

(i) Mal. *taḍastam, taḍassam* have in the colloquial the meaning 'obstruction':[2]

---

1. Cf. Kann. ŚM, Sūtra 284.

2. The meaning 'mediation' which *taḍastham* or *taḍastha* has in Kann. and Mal. appears to be allied to the OIA sense of 'neutrality':

Kann. *taḍasthanād-avanige taṇṭe-y-ēnu* (A mediator has no cause to worry)—proverb.

Mal. *taḍastañ-ceyuṉṉa āḷugaḷe kōḍadi śikṣikkum* (the court will punish those who offer obstruction to the processes of the court).

" *niṅṅaḷkadu manass-āṇeṅgil ñaṅṅaḷk-ēdum taḍassamilla* (if you so wish it, we would offer no obstruction to it)—VP, III, p. 79.

Here again, OIA *taṭastha* appears in Tam. and in Mal. both as *taḍastam* [described as the *tatsama*] and as *taḍattam* [described as the *tadbhava*]; on the other hand, there exist, in Tam. and in Mal., the native forms *taḍaidal, taḍaccal* with the meaning 'obstruction', founded upon the native base *taḍai* (to be obstructed) represented in all south Dravidian speeches. The structural similarity of the forms led very probably to the association of the meaning 'obstruction' with *taḍastam* also in Mal.

(ii) Tel. has a denominative verb *taṭasth-inc*—(formed from OIA *taṭastha* 'standing by)", which is used in the literary dialect with the generalised meaning 'to happen, come about, materialise', as in *ī bhāṣaḷu ā bhāṣalanuṇḍi antagā māṟi-pōvuṭa taṭasthiñcinadi* (a complete change between these speeches and those came about).

(22) *Tāmasa* 'dark' 'ignorant' 'vicious'

(i) While in learned usage the OIA meanings are often given to the word in all south Dravidian speeches, the literary dialects of Tam., Kann. and Tel. show also the evolved meanings 'torpidity', 'sluggishness' 'slothful tardiness':

Tam. *mandam, viḷambidam tāmadam* [*paryāyas* for torpidity.] NN, 562.

Tel. *tāmasiñci seya tagad-eṭṭi kāryambu* (no act should be done sluggishly).

These meanings do not appear commonly in the colloquials of these speeches.

(ii) While the use of the word in the literary texts of Tam., Tel. and Kann. always implies an element of the reprehensible, Mal. usage shows that the word has been employed from the fourteenth century onwards in the sense of 'delay' in which

---

Mal. *nālu pēr taḍasthānmar* (four mediators)—PT, III, l. 205.

" *taḍattam parayuga* (to mediate)—VD, cited by Gundert.

absolutely no element of pejoration is involved. Further, this meaning for the word exists in Mal. colloquial also. The following are illustrations from the texts:

tāmasiyāde kūḍe viḍ-ennoḍu (send him with me without any further delay)—KR, Bāl., 56.

tāmasiyāmal uṟaṅṅuga nām-ini (let us now sleep without any delay)—KR, Bāl., 96.

eṉṉal-oṭṭum tāmasiyāde (if so, without any the slightest delay)—OT, p. 474.

tāmasikkarud-oṭṭumē Raghunātha nāthā (O Lord of the Raghus ! there should not be any delay)—OT, p. 474.

The idea of 'delay' associated with the word in present-day Mal. colloquial is entirely divested of the unfavourable affective connotation attaching to the word in Tam. and Tel. literary usage.

(ii) Further semantic developments have occurred in the use of the word in Mal. colloquial. The word is also employed to mean 'staying' 'stopping at a place temporarily' and sometimes even 'residing permanently in a place'. The stages through which this peculiar evolution of meaning took place are still traceable, since the word is given all these meanings in the colloquial of to day according to the context. From 'lingering' or 'delaying' which (as noted above) is common alike in literature and in the colloquial, the idea of 'stopping at a place for a while' was evolved in the colloquial; and then the connotation of 'temporariness' being often lost sight of, the word has come to be employed sometimes in the colloquial for 'permanent residence in a locality'.

All these meanings exist side by side in the modern colloquial:

tāmasam uṇḍō ? (would there be delay ?)

eviḍeyā tāmasam ? (where do you stop now ?), used (for instance) in connection with the temporary visit of a person to a foreign place.

eṇḍē sthira tāmasam ā nāṭṭilāṇu (I permanently reside in that country).

ī rājyattil tāmasikkuṉṉa āḷugaḷ-ellām (all the people living in this country).

(To be continued)

PRAKĀŚAVARṢA'S RASĀRṆAVĀLAṀKĀRA.

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, B.A., (HONS.)

Research Student in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

In Vol. V of the I H Q appeared a transliterated edition of the text of the Alaṁkāra work, Rasārṇava, by one Prakāśavarṣa. The editor of the work, Pandit Venkatarama Sarma, wrote an introductory note in which he made numerous uncritical remarks. The most startling of his views expressed therein is that Prakāśavarṣa's Rasārṇava is, next to Bharata's work, the most ancient Alaṁkāra treatise ; that from this Rasārṇava both the two "Alaṁkāra Tantra Prajāpatis", Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, profusely borrow. Dr. S. K. De persued the question and in a comment upon this article of Pandit Venkatarama Sarma, maintained that the Rasārṇava borrowed most of its matter from Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa. But Dr. De says rather in a halting way: " the supposition, however, of Bhoja's borrowing from Prakāśavarṣa appears to me very unlikely." (p. 779.)

The work interested me in connection with my study of Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa and Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and it is of value as one of the few works that followed Bhoja. All the similarities between Rasārṇava and the two works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are due to the fact that Prakāśavarṣa borrows wholesale from Bhoja, who incorporates into his work almost each verse of Daṇḍin and as much as possible of Bhāmaha also. The mention of Bāṇa with reference to Gadya, and of Sāhasāṅka, Āḍhyarāja and others with reference to Sanskrit and Prākṛt is all borrowed by Prakāśavarṣa from Chapter II of Bhoja's S. K. A. (see under the first two Śabdālaṁkāras called Jāti and Gati) and Bhoja himself here draws upon Rājaśekhara. The only originality shown by Prakāśavarṣa is in the direction of, as Dr. S. K. De remarks, slight deviations, rejection of one item of Bhoja, adding one more, or reducing the number of the varieties of one item and so on. But in the main, the Rasārṇava is a run-

ning summary of Bhoja's S.K.Ā. There is also this to be noted. Prakāśavarṣa is one of the few Sanskrit Ālaṁkārikas who has gone through Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. and therefore, in a way, the Rasārṇava is a bird's eye view of the Śṛ. Pra. also. So, while almost every bit of what Pandit Venkatarama Sarma has said is error, the guess of Dr. S. K. De stands—that not only can we see the influence of "the unique Rasa-Chapter [s]" of Bhoja's S. K. A. "but also probably of his much larger" Śṛ. Pra. on Prakāśavarṣa. (p. 177, IHQ. V.) I agree also with what Dr. De says of it in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, IV. ii p. 283—"This work (Prakāśa's Rasārṇava) also shows the influence of the above work of Bhoja (Śṛṅgāraprakāśa). It is a comparatively recent composition, and Prakāśavarṣa cannot be identical with the Prakāśavarṣa known to us as the preceptor of Vallabhadeva, the famous scholiast on the standard classical Kāvyas." (p. xxii, IHQ. V. Supplement.)

As both Mr. Venkatarama Sarma and Dr. S. K. De have pointed out, the text as available now is incomplete. Both, however, note the incompleteness only as regards the Rasa Chapter and hold that the work seems to be in five chapters. I have been led to infer that it is a work in six chapters of which one whole chapter, the fifth, on Ubhayālaṁkāras is lost as also the major part of chapter six on Rasa. Chapter I deals with Doṣas, II with Guṇas, III and IV with Śabda and Artha Alaṁkāras and the next chapter has only two pages of matter in the Ms. It treats of Rasa and is called Śṛṅgāra-vyakti. This chapter must have been bigger than the rest; for, here, as is proved by even the little that has been spared to us, Prakāśavarṣa summarises Rasa as treated by Bhoja in his voluminous Śṛ. Pra. It is accepted in the beginning of chapter III by Prakāśavarṣa that Alaṁkāras are of three kinds, Bāhya, Ābhyantara and Bāhyābhyantara. This is an idea borrowed from Bhoja as Dr. De also points out. (p. 777.) Bhoja compares these three kinds of Alaṁkāras to three kinds of feminine toilet in the Śṛ. Pra. There is, therefore, no doubt as to the fact that Prakāśavarṣa dealt with all the three kinds. But as we see now in the Ms., chapter three deals with Śabdālaṁkāras (Bāhya) and chapter four with Arthālaṁkāras (Ābhyantara). After that we pass to a fragment of two pages of matter forming the end of the chapter on Rasa. So, I conclude that the work is in six chapters, chapter V being devoted to Ubhayālaṁkāras (Bāhyā-

bhyantara). Thus the gap is not only in the Rasa chapter but in the Alaṁkāra section also.

Let me draw attention to the following noteworthy points in Prakāśavarṣa's work, in so far as it follows Bhoja. The elaborate comparative study of Bhoja's S. K. A. and the Rasārṇava on Doṣas and Guṇas by Dr. De has made an exhaustive account unnecessary.

i. In the Doṣa-prakaraṇa, Prakāśavarṣa accepts Bhoja's Doṣa called 'Arītimat' which is the 'reverse'—Viparyaya—of the Guṇas of Daṇḍin—Śleṣa etc., with Samādhi omitted. (*Vide* S. K. A. Śls 28-43. pp. 24-30).

ii. In the Guṇa-prakaraṇa, Prakāśavarṣa uses Bhoja's phrase 'Guṇopādānam.' Bhoja had, when he wrote the S. K. A., a scheme in his mind which he elaborated and gave out under the name Sāhitya in his Śṛ. Pra. This system of Sāhitya of the Śṛ. Pra. is implied in S. K. A. I, 2.

निर्दोषं गुणवत् काव्यम् अलङ्कारैरलङ्कृतम् ।
रसान्वितं कविः कुर्वन् कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च विन्दति ॥

In his Śṛ. Pra., Bhoja gave this scheme as Doṣa-hāna, Guṇa-ādāna or Guṇa-upādāna, Alaṁkāra-yoga and Rasa-anvaya or Rasa-aviyoga, some of which phrases, he fashioned out of Vāmana I. i. 3. These phrases are used by the Rasārṇavālaṁkāra.

In the Guṇa section, almost all the Guṇas of Bhoja are accepted. Notably, Bhoja's third set of Guṇas called the Vaiśeṣika Guṇas, which are Doṣas that turn out to be Guṇas in certain circumstances, is accepted by Prakāśavarṣa.

iii. *Alaṁkāra.* Chapter iii: Bhoja's phrase 'Alaṁkāra-yoga' is used. The threefold classification of Alaṁkāras into Bāhya, Ābhyantara and Bāhyābhyantara and the comparison of these to the three kinds of toilet of women found in Rasārṇava are from Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. This will be seen from Rasārṇava III, Śls. 5-8, compared with the following passage from the Śṛ. Pra.

"अलङ्काराश्च त्रिधा, बाह्याः, आभ्यन्तराः, बाह्याभ्यन्तराश्च । तेषु बाह्याः वस्त्रमाल्यविभूषणादयः । आभ्यन्तराः दन्तपरिकर्म-नखच्छेद-अलककल्पनादयः । बाह्याभ्यन्तराः स्नानधूप(विलेपनादयः) । etc."

Mad. Ms., Vol. II, p. 266.

Regarding the Śabdālaṁkāra called Vṛtti which is borrowed by Prakāśavarṣa from Bhoja, Dr. S. K. De says (p. 778), "to

the four orthodox Vṛttis, Bhoja adds two more, but Prakāśavarṣa mentions only five." The truth of this apparent difference between Bhoja and Prakāśa is this. Bhoja treats of his subjects more than once and under more heads than one, especially in his Śṛ. Pra. He treats of Vṛttis first as a Śabdālaṁkāras and he accepts six of them. Again, with reference to drama in particular, he takes up Vṛtti in the twelfth chapter where he gives *five* varieties of it. A third time, he takes up Vṛtti in Chapter XVII under Anubhāvas, where he gives only the four "orthodox" Vṛttis. Even in his S. K. A., Bhoja speaks of Vṛttis twice, once among Śabdālaṁkāras in chapter II, where they are six and again in the fifth and last chapter where he mentions only the four "orthodox" Vṛttis. Now, Prakāśavarṣa follows Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. of Chapter XII, where Bhoja adds to the four Vṛttis of Bharata a new one, which is a 'mixture' of all the four, called Vimiśrā. Its scope is common to all the four Vṛttis—साधारणीमर्थचतुष्टयस्य. (*Vide* J. O. R. Madras, Vol. VII, pp. 101-2.) Bhoja names it Vimiśrā and describes it as Sādhāraṇī and Prakāśavarṣa choses to call it by the second word—Sādhāraṇī. The verse which describes this fifth Vṛtti in the Rasārṇava is reproduced from Chap. XII. of the Śṛ. Pra.

यत्रारभट्यादिगुणाः समस्ता मिश्रत्वमाश्रित्य मिथः प्रथन्ते ।
मिश्रेति तां वृत्तिमुशन्ति धीराः साधारणीमर्थचतुष्टयस्य ॥

This verse in Rasārṇava III. (Śl. 37) is from the Śṛ. Pra. of Bhoja, Chap. XII. p. 459, Vol. II, Mad. Ms. (*Vide* J. O. R. Vol. VII, pp. 101-2). The curious fact here revealed is that though Prakāśavarṣa borrows so much from Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra., he does not know its identity. Without knowing the name of the work from which he quotes, Prakāśavarṣa ascribes this verse to one Mahā Bhāmaha. This Mahā Bhāmaha has set Pandit Venkatarama Sarma to imagine many things, one of which is that, prior to Bhāmaha, the author of the Kāvyālaṁkāra, there was a Mahā Bhāmaha. He cites here Dr. S. K. De to show that two Bhāmahas existed. It may be a fact that there were two Bhāmahas, that Bhāmaha the commentator on Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa was different from the old Ālaṁkārika and that there existed even a third Bhāmaha, the author referred to as having written upon Prosody in a commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara. But Prakāśavarṣa is no evidence in this connection. It has not yet been proved that two Ālaṁkārikas of the name

Bhāmaha existed. Prakāśavarṣa's citation of Mahā Bhāmaha is mistaken. The verse cited is from Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. This wrong citation is similar to the many citations from Bhāmaha in the Kāmadhenu on the K. A. of Vāmana. Giving these extracts found in the Kāmadhenu (on p. V. IHQ. V.) Pandit Venkatarama Sarma says :—

" Among these extracts, some are to be found in the K. A. of Bhāmaha, while the others are not. These latter extracts are supposed to be quotations from another Bhāmaha, whose name is mentioned in the Rasārṇava as Mahā Bhāmaha, and who is much older than Prakāśavarṣa and Bhāmaha."

Of the five extracts from Bhāmaha given by Pandit Venkatarama Sarma as contained in the Kāmadhenu, the first is:—

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।

तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः ॥ Vani Vilas Edn. p. 4.

Who does not know this as a verse from the Kāvyakautuka of Bhaṭṭa Tota, the teacher of Ācārya Abhinava Gupta ? (*Vide* J. O. R., Madras, VI. ii. My article on Writers quoted in the Abhinava Bhāratī.) Kṣemendra and Māṇikyacandra quote it with the mention of Tota's name.

ii. The next extract from Bhāmaha in the Kāmadhenu is on p. 4 and is the very well-known and oft quoted definition of Sūtra—अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं etc. This quotation from Bhāmaha is not noted by Mr. Venkatarama Sarma. There is no evidence at present to prove that Bhāmaha is the author of this well-known definition of Sūtra.

iii. The third reference is also on p. 4 and is similar to the above, being a definition of the type of Śāstra-treatise called Vṛtti.

iv. On p. 5, the Kāmadhenu says:—तदुक्तं भामहेन—उपश्लोक्यस्य माहात्म्यात् उज्ज्वलाः काव्यसम्पदः. This is followed by two similar quotations from Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa and King Bhoja. These are not the original quotations of Gopendra Tippa but are mechanically reproduced by Tippa from Vidyānātha's Pratāparudrīya. (*Vide* p. 8. Bālamanoramā Edn. Madras.) Vidyānātha gives an additional citation from Rudra Bhaṭṭa : उदारचरितनिबन्धना प्रबन्धप्रतिष्ठा. Of these, the verse cited in Bhoja's name, I have not been able to trace either in the S. K. A. or the Śṛ. Pra. As far as the only available Alaṁkāra work of Bhāmaha can show us, the line attributed to Bhāmaha is not found therein. But regard-

ing the verse quoted in Udbhaṭa's name, we cannot say anything definitely, having lost his two works, the two commentaries on Bhāmaha and Bharata. The quotation in Rudra Bhaṭṭa is not traceable in the Śṛṅgāra Tilaka. Vidyānātha gives another quotation on the difference between Guṇa and Alaṁkāra from Rudra Bhaṭṭa on p. 243 and this also sails in the same boat as the previous one. So, Kāmadhenu's source, Vidyānātha, is of very doubtful value in deciding or confirming the existence of another Bhāmaha.

v. On p. 20 of the Kāmadhenu there is a reference to Bhāmaha which Pandit V. Sarma has not noted. It speaks of the modes of 'stage-addresses.' तदुक्तं भामहेन—

भगवन्तोऽवरैर्वाच्या विद्वद्देवर्षिलिङ्गिनः ।
विप्रामात्याग्रजास्त्वार्या नटीसूत्रभृतौ मिथः ॥

Who will believe this to be from a Bhāmaha, big or small, old or new? The verse is from the Daśarūpaka Prakāśa II, Śl. 67, p. 77.

vi. On p. 29 of the Kāmadhenu, Bhāmaha is quoted as giving an enumeration of the sixty-four Kalās. There is nothing at present to show us that this is from a work of Bhāmaha which is lost. Dr. Keith relies on Kāmadhenu and postulates the existence of another work of Bhāmaha.

vii. On p. 36 is another similar quotation from Bhāmaha, not noticed by Pandit V. Sarma. It is on the nature of Muktaka and is not found in the Bhāmahālaṁkāra.

viii. The only genuine quotation by Kāmadhenu from Bhāmaha is the one on *ymaka* found on p. 98. The quotation is from Bhāmaha's K. A. II. 17. Therefore Pandit V. Sarma's statement that *some* of these extracts are found in Bhāmaha's K. A. is wrong.

From the above examination of the so-called Bhāmaha extracts in the Kāmadhenu, one can clearly see the reliability or otherwise of the information supplied by so a late writer as Tippa, regarding the name Bhāmaha, the number of writers who had that name, their works, etc. Anyway, Kāmadhenu is as worng as, if not more than, Rasārṇava which gives a verse from Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. and ascribes it to a Mahā Bhāmaha. Further, Prakāśavarṣa, even if it be granted that he quotes from a Bhāmaha, does not mean a Bhāmaha different from the well-

known author of the Kāvyālaṁkāra, whose place in Alaṁkāra literature is surely important enough that he should be called 'Mahān'. Above all, the Kāmadhenu is too unreliable a ground for Dr. Keith to suppose that Bhāmaha wrote a work on the sixty-four arts, perhaps on the model of Daṇḍin's Kalāpariccheda, if the latter was ever writen at all. (*Vide* p. 182. Dr. Keith on Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, Studies in honour of Lanmann.)

Coming back to the text of the Rasārṇava, in chapter three treating of Śabdālaṁkāra, Prakāśāvarṣa accepts only eighteen Śabdālaṁkāras, omitting seven of Bhoja, *viz.*, Gati, Ukti, Paṭhiti, Vākovākya, Adhyeya, Prekṣya and Abhineya. He gives the following eighteen: Jāti, Rīti, Vṛtti, Racanā, Ghaṭanā, Mudrā, Chāyā, Yukti, Bhaṇiti, Śravyatā, Śleṣa, Citra, Praśnottara, Prahelikā, Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Gūḍhokti and Aucitya. The most striking innovation made by Prakāśa is the addition of Aucitya as a Śabdālaṁkāra. Bhoja does not do so. As a matter of fact, though mentioned here and there, Aucitya, as a separate concept of great importance, is not systematically dealt with by Bhoja, either in his S. K. Ā or Śṛ. Pra. But Prakāśavarṣa perhaps came later than Kṣemendra who raised the concept of Aucitya into a system and so could not overlook it. He pushed it into the list of the Śabdālaṁkāras and in this respect, stands comparison to some extent with the Agnipurāṇa which makes Aucitya an Ubhayālaṁkāra. (345, 2 and 5)

The Śṛ. Pra. closes the Śabdālaṁkāra section with a number of Anuṣṭubhs on the several Śabdālaṁkāras and Prakāśavarṣa has a similar set of general verses on all the Śabdālaṁkāras, comparing them to the several ornaments on the form of Sarasvatī and pointing out the importanee or beauty of each.

IV. In chapter four, Prakāśavarṣa speaks of twenty-eight Arthālaṁkāras; adding four to Bhoja's twenty-four. The four added items are only those which Bhoja had included under one or the other of his twenty-four.

Under the Arthālaṁkāra of Āgama, a Pramāṇa alaṁkāra derived by Bhoja along with similar ones from the Mīmāṁsā, Prakāśavarṣa treats of the four Puruṣārthas and their varieties—a subject dealt with by Bhoja in his Śṛ. Pra. as four different kinds of Śṛṅgāra. (Chapters XVIII—XXI. Vol. III, Mad. MS.)

V. The Ubhayālaṁkāra chapter is missing in the MS.

VI. *Rasa-chapter*. The gap in this chapter is a real loss. For Bhoja's ideas on Rasa are strange and few are the writers

who took trouble to plod through the thick tropical jungle of the Śṛ. Pra. and expound its contents in a brief manner. One work which did so is the Rasārṇava. Many references to Bhoja's Rasa theory in later Alaṁkāra works are available but many of these, as also the guesses of modern scholars, are wrong in that they suppose that the one Śṛṅgāra Rasa which Bhoja upheld is the first of the eight well-known Rasas handed down from Bharata. This is not the case. This is not the place to expatiate upon the subject which forms the subject of a separate thesis of mine on the Śṛ. Pra. Suffice it to point out here that the one Śṛṅgāra Rasa formulated by Bhoja is Ahaṁkāra or Abhimāna which is not the developed state of the *sthāyin* called Rati (Rati-prakarṣa) but which is the germ from which Rati and the forty-eight other Bhāvas arise. Even in the S. K. Ā. itself, the first verse of the Rasa chapter (the 5th) gives the theory in a nustshell when it says: रसोऽभिमानोऽहङ्कारः श्रृङ्गार इति गीयते । The forty-nine Bhāvas which arise from this Ahaṁkāra-Śṛṅgāra, *viz.*, Rati, Hāsa, Śoka, etc., have their own developed state (Prakarṣa or Puṣṭi), but even in that state they are only Bhāvas, Sañcāri Bhāvas, surrounding the central flame of Ahaṁkāra and serving to heighten it. सप्तार्चिषं द्युतिचया इव वर्धयन्ति । Śṛ. Pra. I. Therefore all Bhāvas, whether they are in the Bhāva-grade or Bhāva-prakarṣa, grade, serve only to manifest the one Śṛṅgāra Rasa of Alaṁkāra—श्रृङ्गारव्यक्तिहेतवः । Few writers clearly grasped this view of Bhoja. Ratneśvara, commentator on the S. K. Ā., (printed in the K. M. edn.), Bhaṭṭa Narasiṁha, another later commentator on the S. K. Ā. (Mad. Ms.) and Prakāśavarṣa (Mad. Ms.) are three authors who properly understood the Śṛ. Pra. Therefore it is that Prakāśavarṣa calls his Rasa chapter Śṛṅgāra Vyakti. The full significance of this name can be understood only when Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. is understood. Prakāśavarṣa says:—

ए(वं) (रत्या)दयो भावाः श्रृङ्गारव्यक्तिहेतवः ।
कात्स्न्यीदेकोनपञ्चाशद्यथाभेदं प्रकाशिताः ॥

This verse is the first of the concluding verses of the Śṛ. Pra. chap. XIV treating of the forty-eight Bhāvas other than Rati which Bhoja deals with in a saparate chapter, the preceding one (13th). (P. 83. Vol. III, Śṛ. Pra. Mad. Ms.) The other concluding verses at the end of chapter XIV of the Śṛ. Pra. are also reproduced by Prakāśa. They are:—

जन्मानुबन्धातिशयसंपर्कानुमगा इति ।
युञ्जीत सर्वभावेषु वर्गयोरुभयोरपि ॥
यदपि च गदितं प्रकर्षगामी भवति रसो रतिविस्मयादिरवे ।
तदिदमिति निराकृतं प्रकृष्टाः प्रतिनिजभेदममीह सर्व एव ॥

The former verse refers to the various stages of each Bhāva, rise, continuity, development etc., elaborated in the thirteenth chapter of the Śṛ. Pra. The latter verse of Bhoja reproduced by Prakāśavarṣa sums up part of Bhoja's new Rasa theory, according to which the name Rasa can be applied only to to the one element of Ahaṁkāra otherwise called Abhimāna and Śṛṅgāra; and that Rati and other Bhāvas, even though they are developed to a state of Prakarṣa do not become Rasas strictly, in so far as they still continue to be is the state of Bhāvanā. That 'Ratyādiprakarṣa' is Rasa is the old theory; Bhoja says that even that Prakarṣa is only Bhāva. All these Bhāvas in their Prakarṣa stage go to enflame the ever glowing light of Ahaṁkāra in us which is the one element we enjoy and which enables us to enjoy other emotions and other things. Therefore Ahaṁkāra Śṛṅgāra-Abhimāna is the one and only Rasa.

Having formulated and glorified this new Śṛṅgāra, Bhoja extols the old Śṛṅgāra also, the 'lower' Śṛṅgāra Rasa which is the developed state (Prakarṣa) of the Bhāva called Rati, the love between man and woman. This Rati is the first and greatest child of Ahaṁkāra-Śṛṅgāra. Bhoja calls it in chapter XI of his Śṛ. Pra. सकलभावमूर्धाभिषिक्त (*see also* S. K. Ā. V, P. 613) and at the end of chapter XIII which is devoted to the elaboration of varieties of this Rati, Bhoja says of it:—

सैष भावो रतिर्नाम कामकल्पद्रुमाङ्कुरः ।
सौहृदाङ्कुरकन्दश्च द्विप्रकारोऽपि दर्शितः ॥
भावान्तरेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो रतिभावः प्रकृष्यते ।
कविवर्गः समग्रोऽपि तमेनमनुधावति ॥
निसर्गसंसर्गमुखैः प्रभेदैर्जन्मानुबन्धातिशयादिभिश्च ।
इदं विनिश्चित्य निवेशयन्तः कवी(न्द्र)दालं(भावं) कवयो लभन्ते ॥

Śr. Pra. Mad. Ms. Vol. III, p. 33.

All these three verses are reproduced by Prakāśavarṣa *See* IHQ: Transliterated text: P. 19 Śls. 11-14. Prakāśavarṣa must have simply summarised Bhoja, accepting his varieties of Rati,

viz., Naisargikī, Sāṁsargikī etc., and his stages of Rati *viz.*, Janma, Anubandha, Atiśaya etc. The last chapter on Rasa in the Rasārṇava must have epitomised Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra., chapters XI, XIII and XIV especially and to some extent the vast treatment of Rasa in the rest of the Śṛ. Pra.

The text of the Rasa chapter in the Ms. of the Rasārṇava, as it is, begins abruptly. Much is lost in the beginning. As available the chapter opens with the verse:—

> उक्तः सोऽयं विभावानुभावसञ्चारिसङ्करः ।
> क्रमेण सर्वभावानां शृङ्गारेषु चतुर्ष्वपि ॥

The four Śṛṅgāras referred to here are Bhoja's Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa Śṛṅgāras; and by the statement "उक्तः ...सर्वभावानाम्" it is plain that in the preceding part, now lost, the Vibhāvas etc., of all the forty-nine Bhāvas have been given. The portion before this verse, which is unfortunately lost, must have corresponded to chapters XI, XIII, XIV and XVIII-XXI of the Śṛ. Pra. Prakāśavarṣa must have thus proceeded with his subject:

1. Rasa is only one; it is Ahaṁkāra-Śṛṅgāra; forty-nine Bhāvas, Rati etc., are born from it; they are not Rasas even when they attain Prakarṣa.

2. Four basic kinds of Śṛṅgāra pertaining to the four Puruṣārthas and their explanation.

3. Śṛṅgāra developed from Rati—Sambhoga and Vipralambha. Here the Rasārṇava would have summarised Śṛ Pra., chapters XIII and XXII to the very end of the work. In this section Rati must have been analysed. This section must have concluded with the verses on Rati quoted above, 'सैष भावो रतिर्नाम etc.' and with the colophon 'Rati-prapañca'. Then the forty-eight Bhāvas and Rasas developing from these must have been discribed. The end of the chapter is available in the verses quoted above एवं रत्यादयो भावाः etc. which say that all the forty-nine Bhāvas are only Bhāvas and that they help to manifest Ahaṁkāra-Śṛṅgāra (शृङ्गारव्यक्तिहेतवः). The chapter is named significantly as Śṛṅgāra Vyakti.

In view of such an exposition in a succint form of Bhoja's Rasa theory as found in Bhoja's Śṛ Pra., the loss of the major part of the Rasa chapter of Prakāśavarṣa's Rasārṇavālaṁkāra is regrettable.

A NOTE ON THE RŪPĀVATĀRA.

BY

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.,

Professor of Indian History and Archaelogy,
University of Madras.

Professor M. Rangacharya, to whom we owe an excellent edition of the *Rūpāvatāra* discusses the date of its author, Dharmakīrti, in his learned introduction. He points out that the *Kāśikāvṛtti* is repeatedly cited in the *Rūpāvatāra*, and that consequently the author must have lived later than the 9th century A. D., the date usually assigned to the completion of that great work by Vāmana and Jayāditya. He also points out that Haradatta and Jinendra, who annotated the *Kāśikā*, are also mentioned by name in the *Dhātupratyaya-pañcikā*, the second part of the *Rūpāvatāra*. The lower limit for the date of Dharmakīrti was found by him in the mention of the *Rūpāvatāra* in the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* of Gauraṇārya and the *Tantrapradīpa*, also called *Anunyāsa*, of Maitreyarakṣita. He reached the conclusion that the *Rūpāvatāra* must therefore have been composed earlier than the 13th century A. D., and attained celebrity in the 14th.

The grammarian Dharmakīrti, for whom a date between the 9th and the 13th century was thus reached, was sought to be identified by the same scholar with the Bhikṣu of that name mentioned[1] in the *Mahāvaṁśa* as the contemporary of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186), and perhaps also the author of a Pāli grammar and the bearer of the surname Saṅgharāja. This identification found some support in the opening verses of the *Rūpāvatāra* in which the author salutes '*sarvajña anantaguṇa*,' the Buddha, at the commencement of his work.

But the place of the *Rūpāvatāra* as the beginner's manual of Sanskrit grammar had become well established much earlier than the fourteenth century. This is now clear from several Cōḷa inscriptions mentioning the study of the *Rūpāvatāra* as part of the curriculum of higher Sanskrit schools. Thus the Eṇṇāyiram ins-

1. Ch. 76 v. 32.

cription[1] of the reign of Rājēndra I (1012-1044) makes provision for feeding forty pupils who learn *Rūpāvatāra*:-*rūpāvatāram kēṭpār nāṟpadiṉmar*, and for the maintenance of one teacher (*rūpāvatāram vakkāṇippāṉ oruvaṉ*) on a salary of three *kuṟuṇis* of paddy per diem and one half of a *kaḻañju* of gold per annum. A similar provision is made at Tribhuvani[2] for the maintenance of a teacher of *Rūpāvatāra* in a college in the reign of Rājādhirāja I, the successor of Rājēndra I: *Rūpāvatāraṅ-kēṭpippāṉ oruvaṉukku nel tūṇip-padakkum*, a wage twice as much as in the record cited above; the same inscription provided again for the feeding of thirty pupils studying this work—*rūpāvatāraṅkēṭpār muppadiṉmar*. It is worth mentioning that both these inscriptions state that there were other students and teachers in each of these colleges pursuing the study of advanced grammar (Vyākaraṇa). Yet another record[3] dated A. D. 1067 gives details relating to a third educational institution at Tirumukkūḍal. Here both Vyākaraṇa and *Rūpāvatāra* were taught by a single teacher who was paid a daily wage of one *tūṇi*, and ten *kāśus* apparently in the year: *vyākaraṇam rūpāvatāram vakkāṇikkum bhaṭṭaṉ oruvaṉukku nāḷoṉṟukku nel tūṇiyum kāśu pattum*. His pupils numbered twenty in all: *vyākaraṇamum rūpāvatāramum kēṭkum brāhmaṇac-cāttirar irupadiṉmarum*. These instances are enough to show that the popularity of the *Rūpāvatāra* dates back at least to the eleventh century. It is thus clear that the Ceylonese monk who was the contemporary of Parākramabāhu I could not have been the author of this work. In fact, the cautious scholar that he was, Professor Rangacharya was well aware of the slender evidence on which he based his view, and said so in so many words. "In the absence of other strong evidence," he wrote, "it is not possible to decide that this Dharmakīrti and no other was the author of this work. But the fact that in the Kēraḷa and Tamil countries the *Rūpāvatāra* was once in very common use may go to support a Ceylonese origin for the author of that work."[4]

It is noteworthy that Rangacharya also noticed[5] another reference to the *Rūpāvatāra* though he missed its significance.

---

1. 333 of 1917.
2. 173 of 1919.
3. 182 of 1915.
4. Translated from the Sanskrit Introduction p. xv.
5. XX *ibid*, p. *ix* n. *i*.

This occurs in the commentary of Guṇasāgara to Amitasāgara's *Yāpparuṅgala-k-kārikai.* In fact the whole passage where it occurs is of unusual literary interest and no apology is needed for our transcribing and translating it here:

" Iṉṉūl eṉṉa peyarttō eṉiṉ, pāḷittiyam eṉṉum pāgadavilakkaṇamum piṅgaḷam eṉṉum candōpicitamum pōla kārikaiyāppiṟṟāy, guṇakāṅkiyam eṉṉum karu-nāṭakac-candamē pōla magaḍū muṉṉilaittāy avaiyaḍakkamum uḍaiyadāy, mayēccurar yāppē pōla udāraṇameḍuttōdi, iśaittamiḻ-c-ceyyuṭṭuṟaik-kōvaiyē pōlavum arumaṟaiyagattaṭṭaga-vōttin varukkakkōvaiyē pōlavum urūpāvatārattiṟku nītakacculōkamē pōlavum mudaniṉaippuṇarttiya-vilakkiyattadāy, vēdattiṟku niruttamum viyākaraṇattiṟku-k-kārikaiyum aviṉaynār yāppiṟku nālaḍinārpadumpōla, yāpparuṅgalam eṉṉum yāppiṟkaṅgamāy, alaṅgāramuḍaittāga-c-ceyya-ppaṭṭamaiyāl Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai eṉṉum peyarttu."

" If it be asked what the name of this work is, it is called *Yāpparuṅgala-k-kārikai* because: (1) it is composed in the form *Kārikai* (*Kārikā*) stanzas like the Prākṛt grammar called Pāḷittiyam (?) and the Chandōviciti also called Piṅgaḷam; (2) it is addressed to a woman and begins with an apologia like the Kanarese (work on) prosody called Guṇakāṅkiyam; (3) it cites illustrations like the prosody of Mahēśvara; (4) it contains mnemonic verses (composed of first words) similar to the *Kōvai*[1] of *Śeyyuḷ-tuṟais* in the *Iśai-t-tamiḻ*, the Kōvai of a *varga* in the text of each *aṣṭaka* within the veda, and the ' leading stanzas '[2] (*nītaka-ślōka*) in the *Rūpāvatāra*; and (5) like the Nirukta to the veda, the *Kārikā*[3] to the Vyākaraṇa, the *Nālaḍi-nāṟpadu* to the prosody of Avinayaṉār, this work has been composed as a beautiful pendant to the work on prosody called *Yāpparuṅgalam*." A perusal of the ślōkas that occur frequently in the course of the *Rūpāvatāra* and of the mnemonic verses in the *Yāpparuṅgala-k-kārikai* will show clearly the aptness of Guṇasāgara's comparison.

Now, the date of Guṇasāgara, the disciple and younger contemporary of Amitasāgara, has been settled with great probability to be the early part of the eleventh century,[4] that is about the

1. Lit. stringing together (of first words of a series of passages or verses).

2. On the analogy of 'leading questions.'

3. Of Bhartṛhari; or possibly the Kārikās in the *Mahābhāṣya and Kāśikā.*

4. Journal of Indian History, Vol. v, pp. 204-9.

same time as the inscriptions cited above. It should be noted that Dhammakitti (Dharmakīrti) is a very common name among Buddhist monks, and without more specific details about the author of the *Rūpāvatāra* than we seem to have now, it will not be possible to determine his exact date.

That the *Rūpāvatāra* of the *Kārikai* and the Cōḷa inscriptions cited above is the work of Dharmakīrti on Sanskrit grammar and not the *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* of Siṁharāja may be presumed as a matter of course. The absence of any verses in the *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* which conld be referred to as *nītaka ślokas*, and the citation[1] by Siṁharāja of Kṣīrasvāmin, an eleventh century writer, convert the presumption into a certainty. It is possible that the *Prākṛtārūpāvatāra*, as its name implies, had the work of Dharmakīrti for its model.

One last observation remains to be made. If our discussion has pushed back the lower limit for the date of *Rūpāvatāra* from the twelfth to the tenth century, the upper limit is now seen to be much earlier than the ninth century; for the *Kāśikāvṛtti* appears to have been completed not in the ninth century as Rangacharya held, but sometime in the seventh century, a commentary on that work having been composed about 700 A. D.[2]

---

1. Prākṛtarūpāvatāra: ed. Hultzsch: viii, 11, p. 37.
2. Keith-Sanskrit Literature, p. 430.

A NOTE ON "ABHINAVA'S POLYMATHY"

By

V. Raghavan, B.A., (Hons.)

Research Student, University of Madras,

In a note on The Nāṭya Śāstra and the Abhinavabhāratī in the IHQ., X. 1, March, '34, Mr. Manomohan Ghosh proposes to discuss the 'principles connected with the interpretation' of the Nāṭya Śāstra (N. Ś.) and the chief object of the note seems to be to prove Abhinava's nescience. The note has to be understood with reference to its etiology and it appears close upon a discussion on the architecture of the theatre described by Bharata in chapter II of his N. Ś. in the previous numbers of the IHQ. in which Mr. Mankad, Mr. M. Ghosh, and myself took part. It is with reference to that discussion that Mr. Ghose says in a footnote on p. 161 of this note that Mr. Mankad and Mr. Raghavan have given undue weight to the Abhinavabhāratī (Abhi. Bhā.). A perusal of the studies of mine on some subjects of the N. Ś. and the Abhi. Bhā. published in the J. O. R. Madras will show how I have not been a blind Bhakta of Abhinava, how I have often gone to the very text of the N. Ś. and not only that, how I have pointed out that Bharata's text itself has often to be quietly laid aside. Regarding the particular subject of Theatre-architecture, I have said only this much, that Abhinava cannot be totally neglected, that at least to one who wants to consult Abhinava, it is plain that Raṅga-śīrṣa and Raṅga-pīṭha are two different places and that the measurements of the various parts of the house in our interpretation differ from those of Mr. Ghosh. It cannot be said that our interpretation is not borne out by the text of the N. Ś. itself and with our interpretation which satisfies us, we find that Abhinava agrees.

In the Note under discussion, Mr. M. Ghosh has expanded the issue to one of a general challenging of Abhinava's polymathy or of 'Abhinava's omniscience' as he says. He quotes a passage from the Abhi. Bhā. where on the subject of Prākṛt grammar, Abhinava refers us for further knowledge to such Prākṛt grammar works as Prākṛtadīpikā, the Vṛtti on the Prākṛtasūtras by

Utpala and the work called Paddhati. Basing himself on this passage, Mr. Ghosh says that Abhinava "was not very well informed about Prākṛt Grammars and Grammarians". The reason given for this conclusion is that Abhinava has not mentioned the known authorities, Vararuci, Bhāmaha, and Caṇḍa, but has mentioned 'unknown' writers. This, after all, is negative evidence and it is too much to jump from this to the conclusion that "*any faith in Abhinava's omniscience will have to be given up.*" None has blindly taken Abhinava as 'Sarvajña' but it would seem that Mr. Ghosh asks us to take Abhinava as an 'Ajña'; not to worry ourselves over the text of his commentary, and waste time in reading it. For, he says that, to add to the inherent unreliability of the Abhi. Bhā., its text is in a wretched condition and that a critical edition of the Abhi. Bhā. is well nigh an impossibility, for a long time. This remark applies equally to the "wretched conditions of materials" regarding the text of the N. Ś. itself which alone Mr. Ghosh proposes to rely upon and study. At best, Mr. Ghosh has argued only for the need for strenuous, devoted and patient research in Nāṭya Literature.

To return to Abhinava's alleged lack of information on Prākṛt Grammars, the evidence cited by Mr. Ghosh is similar to Bāṇa's omission to praise Vālmīki and his epic in the introductory stanzas of his Harṣacarita. That Vararuci, Bhāmaha and Caṇḍa are the only universal authorities who exhaust the field, that a work called Prākṛtadīpikā, a Prākṛt Grammarian named Utpala and his Sūtra Vṛtti, and another Prākṛt Grammar called Paddhati are insignificant works and that Abhinava's omission to refer to the former set of writers and his reference to the latter, argues his ignorance of Prākṛt Grammar Literature is to say too much. To Abhinava are due our thanks for enriching our information on Prākṛt Grammar Literature. On the subject of Prosody, Abhinava has quoted Jayadeva and Kātyāyana and not Piṅgala. Jayadeva at least is referred to twice by Namisādhu and his work is available. The quotation from a Kātyāyana's treatise on Prosody is a pure gain to our knowledge of Prosody Literature.

In the first paragraph of his Note, Mr. Ghosh has been least anxious to examine the MS of the Abhi. Bhā. before he passes his judgment that Abhinava's commentary is an "one-sided version". Mr. Ghosh says: "This commentator (Abhinava), as was very natural for a scholar in those days, followed the recension of the

work that was available to him and *probably did not know that there might be other recensions of the same.* As a result of this, Abhinava's commentary loses much of its value". (P. 161.)

Now, there is concrete evidence to prove that Abhinava knew the two chief recensions of the N.Ś. In his Abhi. Bhā. itself, there are three places where Abhinava himself says that another recension exists. This has already been pointed out by me more than once, in the articles on Lakṣaṇa and Writers quoted in the Abhi. Bhā. published in the J. O. R., Madras. It is well-known that on Lakṣaṇas, the N. Ś. has to recensions, the Anuṣṭubh and the Upajāti recensions as I have called them in the paper on Lakṣaṇa. (*Vide* J. O. R., Vol. VI, p. 55.) Abhinava here notices the existence of two 'Pāṭhakramas', of other MSS. containing a different set of Lakṣaṇas, and says that he chooses for the main exposition the recension handed down to him by his teacher and that then and there he notes the Lakṣaṇas of the other Pustakas also and explains them. He says:

"तथा च मतान्तरेण भरतमुनिरेव अन्यथाप्युद्देश(शेन) लक्षणेन च नामान्तरैरपि लक्षणान्तरैरपि च व्यवहारं करोति । तत एव पुस्तकेषु भेदो दृश्यते, तं च दर्शयिष्यामः । परितो(प्रथमो ?) देशक्रमस्तु अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः ।"

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS., Vol. II, p. 384.

Similarly at the beginning of the chapter on metres (chap. XV), Abhinava speaks of the prevalence of two recensions. He says:—

"तत्रेहाध्याये भरतमुनिस्त्रिकैर्मकारादिभिः ? कैश्चित् किञ्चिल्लक्षणं स्वीकृतम् इति द्विविधं पुस्तकपाठो दृश्यते । मध्ये च चिन्तनाय (चिरन्तन ?) पुस्तकेषु उभयमपि पठ्यत इति एतन्नाम्ना एतत्प्रसिद्ध्या आत्मशाखि-(खा)श्लाघनीयेत्यर्थः ।" Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS., Vol. II, p. 374.

Again, Abhinava notes while commenting on the Guṇas and the Doṣas that in certain MSS. the Doṣa-section precedes and in certain others, the Guṇa-section but that the majority of MSS. read the Doṣa-section first.

"केषुचित् पुस्तकेषु च एष ग्रन्थः पश्चात् दृश्यते । बाहुल्येन प्रथमं दृश्यत इति तथैव व्याचक्ष्महे ॥"

Mad. MS. Vol. II, p. 408.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MANAMEYODAYA, AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON THE MIMAMSA BY NARAYANA: EDITED WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY C. KUNHAN RAJA AND S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, WITH A FORE-WORD BY PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE, ADYAR, 1933, pp. li,—349. Rs. 5.

The term *Mīmāṁsā* suggests the idea of tiresome ritualistic exegetics to the mind of the average listener. This is due not merely to the nature of Mīmāṁsā and its acknowledged concern with ritual, but also to the lack of handy books giving clear information to the beginner on the epistemology and cosmology of the *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*. The task is rendered peculiarly difficult by the existence of two divergent schools of that system, owing allegiance one to Prabhākara and the other to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. In the 16th century A. D., Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, a Nambūdri brahmin, celebrated as the author of the *Nārāyaṇīya* and the *Prakriyā-sarvasva*, attempted to meet the need for a suitable hand-book. He is a follower of the Bhāṭṭa school and his work is largely based on Cidānanda's *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* (hitherto unpublished). Though his aim to write on both the epistemology and the cosmology (the *māna* and the *meya*) is announced in the third and fourth lines of the introductory verse, he actually finished only the first part of the task; and the work was completed later by another Nārāyaṇa.

The book has once been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series; that edition, though quite good for a first effort, left much scope for improvement. The present editors have utilised fresh manuscript material and provided a more satisfactory text. The English translation which accompanies the text on each page is always readable and fairly accurate; the descriptive table of contents, the comparative statements of *pramāṇas* and *prameyas* in different systems, and the notes are other features of value.

The Mānameyodaya is written partly in verse and partly in prose; it is not, however, as if the prose were an explanation or elaboration of the verses. The verses come when the author is

in the mood so to express himself; they are not continuous; and the editors have been wise in departing from the Trivandrum model and refraining from giving continuous numbers to the verses. They have on the other hand divided the matter into paragraphs and numbered them serially in each section. This is a distinct advantage for purposes of reference.

We have already characterised the translation as readable and generally accurate. There is still room for improvement in some of the English equivalents adopted by the translators. It is difficult to justify the rendering of "sambhava" as "inclusion" except in the solitary example cited in the text; "probability" adopted by Dr. Jha, would perhaps be more satisfactory. The nearest approximation to "tarka" is *reductio ad absurdum;* "counter-argument", the equivalent adopted by the editors is rather unhappy, if not positively misleading; it is undoubtedly difficult to find suitable terms in English which will bring out the differences between anumāna, yukti, and tarka, but it is up to the editors to find something more satisfactory than "counter-argument!" 'Āgama' has been rendered as 'authority'; this is persumably based on such usage as that which contrasts authority with reason; but there is also such usage as "on the authority of the senses" and "the authoritativeness (prāmāṇya) of perception"; it will, therefore, be better to use some other equivalent like "verbal testimony" which, however tame, may yet serve to avoid confusion.

These are minor shortcomings that we may be sure will be removed in a future edition of the book which bears on every page of it the stamp of patient and deep study of the subject-matter handled by the editors. This scholarly edition of the work of Nārāyaṇa will be of great value to all students who are in need of a reliable elementary treatise on the Mīmāṁsā.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BHEDABHEDA BY PROF. P. N. SRINIVASASACHARI, M.A., PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, PACHAIYAPPA'S COLLEGE, MADRAS—SRINIVASA VARADACHARI & CO., 190, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS, 1934—xvi, 366. Rs. 5.

It is a matter of great gratification for students of Indian Philosophy that one of the most neglected and obscure sides of Indian philosophical speculation—the philosophy of *Bhedābheda*

has now been presented by Professor Srinivasachari in a most admirable and lucid manner. The author has brought to bear on this system of philosophic thought his ripe experience both as an ardent student of Indian Philosophy and as a careful thinker of philosophical problems. Originally delivered under the auspices of the University of Madras as Honorary Readership Lectures under the caption "The Philosophy of Bhāskara" the work has been amplified considerably, bringing together all aspects of the philosophy of Bhedābheda—Indian and European. Indian Philosophers mostly of the pre-Śaṅkara age and some of a later date adopted this system of philosophical speculation. In fact, we find the beginnings of this thought even in the pre-Bādarāyaṇa period. Some of Bādarāyaṇa's predecessors, Auḍulomi[1] and Kāśakṛtsna[2] by name seem to have adopted this view-point. The sūtra सर्वापेक्षा च यज्ञादिश्रुतेरश्ववत्[3] is interpreted by Bhāskara to prove that *jñānakarmasamuccaya* is the *forte* of Bādarāyaṇa. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Bhartṛprapañca in the pre-Śaṅkara period are the most noteworthy exponents, among others, of this system of thought. Some of the Vṛttikāras, whose identity is not quite clear, are deemed to have belonged to this school of thought. This fact is made clear by Śrī Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra, the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad and the Chāndogyopaniṣad. We have this conception, already presented in a definite form in the Śloka Vārtika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. He says:—

यथा कल्माषवर्णस्य यथेष्टं वर्णनिग्रहः ।
चित्रत्वाद्वस्तुनोऽप्येवं भेदाभेदावधारणम् ॥[4]

* * * *

यदा तु शबलं वस्तु युगपत्प्रतिपद्यते ।
तदान्यानन्यभेदापि सर्वमेव प्रलीयते ॥[5]

In the post-Śaṅkara period, Bhāskara is the pre-eminent writer on *bhedābheda* whose work is preserved intact to-day. The works of the successors of Bhāskara—Keśava, Yādavaprakāśa, Amṛtānanda and others, and works like the Brahmaprakāśikā are not

1. Brahma Sūtra I-iv-21.
2. BS. I, iv, 22.
3. BS. III, iv, 26.
4. Ślv. p. 561.
5. Ślv. p. 562.

preserved to us. Most of the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas following Kumārila Bhaṭṭa seem to have adopted the philosophical position of *bhedābheda*, and Pārthasārathi Miśra is an instance.

The Philosophy of *bhedābheda*, expressed briefly, is based on the following doctrines:—identity in difference or identity co-existing with difference; the reality of the attributes of the Brahman; the evolution of God into the world or technically the *Pariṇāma* view of causation; *Jñānakarmasamuccaya* as the means through which one can attain mukti; and the non-acceptance of the theory of *jīvanmukti*. The followers of this system of thought, obviously, cannot accept in its full significance the Advaitic Monism of Śaṅkara. At the same time, they are not prepared to fall in with the philosophical views of Viśiṣṭādvaitins or with the dualism of Madhva.

The apparent unpopularity of this system of thought is due to the fact that conflicting ideas are found mixed up in their scheme. *Difference* and *Identity* cannot co-exist, or exist, one in the other and it is paradoxical to postulate any relationship between them. The weak points in this system have been fully exploited by the Advaitins on the one hand and the Viśiṣṭādvaitins on the other.

Professor Srinivasachari deals in the first book with the philosophy of Bhāskara in all its aspects—Bhāskara's epistemology, his theory of causation, the cosmology adopted by him, his criticism of the *māyā-vāda* of Śaṅkara, his treatment of psychology, ethics and religion. In the first part of the second book, other Indian schools of *bhedābheda* thought are referred to and their theories stated in brief. Yādavaprakāśa, Bhartṛprapañca, Nimbārka, Keśava, Śāktas—all these come in for treatment here. In the second part of this book is contained a criticism of *bhedābheda* position from the point of view of the Advaitin and the Viśiṣṭādvaitin. In his statement of the criticism of *bhedābheda* from the view-point of the Advaita system the author refers to Vācaspatimiśra's criticism of *bhedābheda*.

To that may be added the criticism of Maṇḍanamiśra. In his Brahmasiddhi, Maṇḍana observes:—

"एकं च द्यात्मकं चेति कथं न व्याहतं वचः"

" How is it possible to postulate that a thing is one and two-fold at the same time ?"

This is followed by a citation of the parallels of this system, found in western philosophy—in Neo-Platonism, Spinoza, Hegel, Royce, Bradley, Bosanquet, Schelling, etc. Neo-platonism, which is the fountain head of all European mystic philosophy is much more akin to the Absolute idealism of Śaṅkara than to any other system. According to Plotinus the Absolute could be realised through its eternal values—truth, goodness and beauty. Plotinus, as elucidated by Caird, leans more towards Śaṅkara. But in the view of Dean Inge, Plotinus adopts a position which leans more towards Bhāskara. Spinoza is definitely a *bhedābhedavādin*. His view of causation is the *pariṇāmavāda* of the *bhedābhedin*. The philosophy of Spinoza is usually described as the theory of *natura naturans*, which is very similar to the realization of unity in its 'modal multiplicity' in *bhedābheda*. Hegel comes much nearer to *bhedābheda* than all others; and following him, Royce and Bosanquet are confirmed believers in *bhedābheda*. Bradley on the other hand is more idealistic and his philosophical position is more akin to that of Śaṅkara. He may be taken to show tendencies towards *bhedābheda* when he talks of grades of reality.

Among latter day writers, Prof. Srinivasachariyar sees *bhedābheda* tendencies in the views of Dr. Thibaut, Sir Radhakrishnan and others. The present work is dedicated to two scholars whose philosophical leanings leave no doubt. Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriyar is a confirmed *Advaitin* and Professor Vasudevachariyar is staunch *Viśiṣṭādvaitin*. Professor Srinivasachariyar is of opinion that chronologically and philosophically the *bhedābheda* system comes between the two.

Appendices I & II, containing the differences in the interpretation of some of the Vedānta Sūtras by Śaṅkara, Bhāskara and Rāmānuja, and the glossary enhance the usefulness of the work. We heartily congratulate Professor Srinivasachariyar on his able exposition of the *bhedābheda* doctrine. We wish that he brings to bear his mature philosophic thinking on many other works of this type.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

SRIMAD VALMIKIRAMAYANAM—EDITED BY A COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF FOUR SCHOLARS—PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY MR. R. NARAYANASWAMI IYER, PROPRIETOR OF THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE, MADRAS—With the Indices of Śloka Ardhas and names of persons, rivers, mountains, places etc.—Price:—Thin paper edition Rs. 5.—Thick paper edition Rs. 4.

This new edition of our great Epic, the Rāmāyaṇa may be said to supply a real want. There have been many editions of the Rāmāyaṇa but some are in the Grantha characters, which are little known now among the present-day Sanskrit reading public. Some are costly and some others are not carefully edited with special attention to the various readings. But this book combines all the attractions of a well-printed cheap edition which has undergone careful editing at the hands of a committee of distinguished scholars. As the Rāmāyaṇa is still read in many Hindu households in the Pārāyaṇa style, the present edition is sure to give immense satisfaction to the lovers and readers of the Rāmāyaṇa. The two special features to be noted in this edition are the critical notes appended at the foot of every page and the paintings. It will be no exaggeration to say that the notes are very valuable and that they solve satisfactorily the doubts and difficulties which arise as one reads the Rāmāyaṇa with some attention. The paintings have been done by that talented Andhra artist, Mr. Rammohan Sastri. The publishers, namely, the M.L.J. Press have brought out two kinds of editions, one on India paper, and the other on ordinary paper. The India paper edition is very handy and convenient specially for the purpose of Pārāyaṇa. The Sanskrit types, are very pleasing to the eyes. Mr. R. Narayanaswami Iyer deserves our warm gratitude and our hearty congratulations for bringing out this beautiful edition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.

A STUDY OF ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS—WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTHERN INDIA—BY SURENDRA KISOR CHAKRABORTY, M.A., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, ANANDA MOHAN COLLEGE, MYMENSINGH, BENGAL, 1931. v-242. Rs. 5—or S. 8.

Professor Chakraborty's work on Ancient Indian Numismatics brings together in a short compass much interesting information on the evolution of coinage, the origin and antiquity of coinage in India, weights and coin denomination, the metrology of the coins, the mode of their fabrication, the relation of coinage to the state and the provenance and coin types. The author traces the history of coinage from the Ṛg-Vedic age down to the times when we have different types of coins. References in literature are fully exploited. The author proves that coinage in India had an independent development and was not in any manner influenced by Babylonia, as was regarded by some. Evidences from the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, Pāṇini, Buddhist literature, Kauṭilya, Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc. are frequently cited in determining the value and nature of the coins like the Niṣka, Kārṣāpaṇa, Purāṇa, Dīnāra, Dhāraṇa, Śatamāna, Kṛṣṇala, Suvarṇa, etc. The author is of opinion that silver was a late addition in Indian coinage. The tables on pages 48, 54-55, 58, 92, 103 are as instructive as they are interesting. In the chapter on the provenance and coin types the author refers to several places in northern India and speaks of the coins found therein.

We heartily cogratulate the author on this interesting monograph.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

MADRAS ORIENTAL SERIES. No. 6.

CITRAPAṬA

BY

ŚRĪMAD APPAYYA DĪKṢITA

EDITED BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Ph.D.

Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit

University of Madras

त म सो मा ज्यो ति र्ग म य

PUBLISHED IN THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

MADRAS

1934

PRINTED AT
THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS
MYLAPORE, MADRAS
1934

PREFACE

The Citrapaṭa of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita, which is now issued for the first time, is a short treatise, giving in a convenient form the siddhāntas of the Adhikaraṇas of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system of Jaimini. Uttamaślokatīrtha, most probably the teacher of Svayamprakāśayati, calls this work *Laghuvārtika* and has commented upon this in his *Laghunyāyasudhā*. The Nyāyasudhā is a commentary on the Vārtika of Kumārila. Since the work that Uttamaśloka comments upon is called the Laghuvārtika, the commentary has been named Laghunyāya sudhā.

The Text is based on the following MSS:—

A. This is a paper Ms. of the work in Devanāgarī characters in the Adyar Library, Madras. (X-I-133.)

A[1]. This is another Ms. of the same work in plam leaf in grantha characters in the Adyar Library. (XI-F-24.)

G. This is a palm leaf Ms. of the work in Telugu characters in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. (R. No. 3875.)

T. This is a palm leaf Ms. of the work in the Sarasvatīmahāl Palace Library, Tanjore. (6975.)

LV. Laghuvārtika with Laghunyāyasudhā. The Ms. belongs to the G. O. MSS. Library. (R. No. 4186.)

Enough has been said by several scholars regarding the date and nativity of the author of this short treatise. It is not therefore necessary to refer to those facts in detail. Suffice it to say that he flourished in the middle of the 16th century in South India. It is very likely that he flourished between the years 1520 and 1592.

Reference may be made to the following works composed by him on Pūrvamīmāṁsā. They are:—

1. Pūrvamīmāṁsāviṣayasaṅgrahadīpikā.
2. Pūrvottaramīmāṁsāvādanakṣatramālā.
3. Dharmamīmāṁsāparibhāṣā.
4. Vidhirasāyana and its commentary.

5. Upakarmaparākrama and its commentary.
6. Śāstradīpikāvyākhyā—Mayūkhāvalī.
7. Citrapaṭa.
8. Atideśalakṣaṇapunarākṣepa.

Of these numbers 2, 4 and 5 alone have been printed so far. Ms. copies of the rest are available and it is not known when they may see the light of printing.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

ANTIQUITY AND EVOLUTION OF ART IN INDIA.

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A. (HONS.),

Madras.

The oldest examples of drawing and design executed by the hand of man are to be seen in the quaint but highly appreciable figures of animals and birds scratched on pieces of bone with the bringing into being of which the first race of primitive man is credited as the father of the first piece of art in the world. The caves of Altamira in Spain that contain certain remarkable specimens of colour drawings of wild beasts like the bison etc. carry the history of art to an almost incredible, but yet really true, early date—about 50000 years prior to the times in which we are living. And that shows that art expression has been part of the very life and nature of man. The earliest scripts of the world like the Egyptian and the Chinese etc. are all picture-scripts. What the eye sees creates a greater impression on a person than what the ear hears. In other words form is much more powerful than sound. 'रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्' says Kālidāsa. The first in order is रम्याणि वीक्ष्य—form is given greater prominence.

Human nature being the same all the world over, the same spirit and influences work in all countries and climes, bringing into being results not totally unlike except for the inevitable modifications due to the insurmountable difference of territory and temparature, habits and life, environment and influences. It is, therefore, interesting to study the history of the origin and development of art and culture in every part of the globe. The story of the antiquity and evolution of the art of India is as pleasant as that of any other land and merits as careful a study. It is the purpose of this paper to deal with that fascinating account of the art of our land which has been such a force in the forming of the traits of our people and such an influence over the art of other nations of the east like China and Japan.

The earliest known actual record of painting in India is found in the caves of Ramgarh and these are supposed to be of the 2nd century after Christ. But the fact of earlier works being undiscovered does not prove in any way their absence. That painting and sculpture are agelong arts is easily ascertained by us through the all too numerous references to these branches of art in works dating long long before the Christian era.

Taking a peep into the dim remote past when the ṛṣis (mantradraṣṭāraḥ) chanted the Vedic mantras we find evidences of a very useful nature in all the four śākhās. In the Ṛg-veda we have the exceedingly charming concept of Uṣas, the lovely Goddess of Dawn, represented as very youthful, dressed gaily like a dancer, appearing in the east and unveiling her charms.

अधि पेशांसि वपते नृतूरिवापोर्णुते वक्षं उस्रेव बर्जहम् ।
ज्योतिर्विश्वस्मै भुवनाय कृण्वती गावो न व्रजं व्यु१षा आवर्तमः ॥

Ṛg. V. Sam. I, 92, 4.

[Sāyaṇa's com. नृतूरिव नृत्यन्ती योषिदिव । पेशांसि । रूपनामैतत् । सर्वैर्दर्शनीयानि रूपाण्युषा अधि वपते । स्वात्मन्यधिकं धारयति । एवं प्रथमतः अन्धकारं स्वकिरणैर्निरस्य वक्षः स्वकीयमुरःप्रदेशमपोर्णुते ।]

एषा प्रतीची दुहिता दिवो नॄन्योषेव भद्रा नि रिणीते अप्सः ।
व्यूर्ण्वती दाशुषे वार्याणि पुनर्ज्योतिर्युवतिः पूर्वथाकः ॥

Ṛg. V. Sam. V, 81, 6.

[Com. एषोषाः प्रतीच्यभिमुखा सती दिवो दुहिता नॄन् सर्वान् प्राणिनः प्रति भद्रा योषेव कल्याणवेषा योषिदिवाप्सो रूपं निरिणीते । प्रेरयति । .... युवतिर्नित्ययौवना सर्वत्र मिश्रयन्ती वा पुनरद्यापि पूर्वथा पूर्वमिव ज्येतिस्तेजोऽकः । करोति ।]

Such a delightfully happy conception reveals the truly artistic imagination that prevailed in the Vedic age. It is a glorious word-picture as thoroughly immortalised in the minds of imaginative listeners as the most powerful art treasure hanging on the walls of an art-gallery in the minds of appreciative spectators.

But the concept of Uṣas is after all a concept and a word-picture and does not go a great way in giving actual evidence of

the work of art that was going on in the Vedic period. We have, therefore, to look to indubious and marked evidences proving the actual working of men at painting, sculpture etc. The concept of Tvaṣṭā and Viśvakarmā in the Vedas, especially of the former, is our greatest help in this matter. Ideas of form, beauty, feminine grace etc. are quite common in the Vedas and the person who fashions that (form and beauty) like a modeller is Tvaṣṭā. In the lines.—

सुधृष्टमे वपुष्येऽ न रोदसी पिता यत्सीमभि रूपैरवासयत् ॥

Ṛg. V. Sam. I, 161, 2.

addressed to Dyāvā-Pṛthivī we have it said that the two worlds are like two very proud and fair women clothed by their father (creator Viśvakarmā) with beauty. The Yajur-veda gives us the charm of feminine beauty in the lines—

पुरन्धिर्योषेत्याह । योषित्येव रूपं दधाति । तस्माध्स्त्री युवतिः प्रिया भावुका ।

Tai. Brāh. III, viii, 13, 2.

In the Ṛg-veda there are passages like—

त्वष्टा रूपाणि हि प्रभुः पशून्विश्वान्त्समानजे । तेषां नः स्फातिमा यज ।

Ṛg. V. Sam. I, 188, 9.

[Sāyaṇa. समानजे । सम्यगनक्ति । व्यक्तीकरोति]

त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिंशतु । Ṛg. V. Sam. X, 185, 1.

[Com. पिंशतु अवयवीकरोतु]

describing Tvaṣṭā as the lord of form, fashioning form and beauty. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa we have again the line—

स्त्रीषु रूपमश्विनैतन्निधत्तम् । Tai. Brāh. II, vii, 17, 3.

Commenting on it Sāyaṇa says—

अश्विना हेऽश्विनैतद्रमणीयं रूपमेतदीयासु स्त्रीषु निधत्तं स्थापयतम् ।

In the lines of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa—

त्वष्टा पशूनां मिथुनानाँ रूपकृद्रूपपतिः । Tai. Brah. II, v, 7, 4.

त्वष्टा वै पशूनां मिथुनानाँ रूपकृत् । रूपमेव पशुषु दधाति ।

Tāi. Brāh. III, viii, 12, 2.

we have Tvaṣṭā referred to again as rūpakṛt, which word denotes a sculptor in Classical literature. The line मिथुनानां is further explained in the Atharva-veda, wherein is found—

त्वष्टा जायामजनयत् त्वष्टास्यै त्वां पतिम् ।

त्वष्टा सहस्रमायूँषि दीर्घमायुः कृणोतु वाम् ॥

Atharva. Saṁ. V1, 78, 3.

Sāyaṇa quotes from the Yajur-veda to explain it. In the Ṛg-veda Saṁhitā we have Tvaṣṭā compared to a wood-carver fashioning various forms in the lines—

अयं यथा न आभुवत्त्वष्टा रूपेव तक्ष्या । अस्य क्रत्वा यशस्वतः ।

Ṛg. V. Sam. VIII, 102, 8.

[Sāyaṇa अयमग्निर्नोऽस्मान् तक्ष्या विकर्तव्यानि रूपेव त्वष्टा रूपाणि वर्धकिरिव]

Tvaṣṭā is spoken of as fashioning the embryoes into different shapes even in the mother's womb. Thus the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka describes him as going into the womb to fashion the models in the line—

अन्तः प्रविष्टं कर्तारमेतम् । त्वष्टारँ रूपाणि विकुर्वन्तं विपश्चिम् ।

Tai. Āraṇ. III, II, 2.

Bhaṭṭabhāskara gives the following explanation—

रसाणि विकुर्वन्तं विविधं मानुषादिभेदेन कुर्वन्तं विपश्चि विपश्चितं मेधाविनम् ।

Tvaṣṭā is called a Vipaścit here; and we should remember that painting, sculpture etc. are strictly branches of Vijñāna and this is specially emphasised by Bāṇa when he refers to painters as vijñānins in his Harṣacarita—

.. विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विज्ञानिभिः । p. 97.

This function of Tvaṣṭā of creating forms, the number of new beings produced being proportionally equal to the number of embryos he takes it into his head to fashion into suitable forms, is given in the line of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā

यावच्छो वै रेतसः सिक्तस्य त्वष्टा रूपाणि विकरोति तावच्छो वै तत्प्र जायते । Tai. Saṁ. I, v, 9, 1.

Sāyaṇācārya, in explaining the following passage of the Atharva-vēda

त्वष्टा येषां रूपधेयानि वेदास्मिन् तान् गोष्ठे संविता नियच्छतु ।

Atharva, Saṁ. II, 26, 1.

remarks गर्भगतवत्सरूपाणि वेद कर्तुं जानाति । करोतीत्यर्थः and then quotes यावच्छो वै etc. from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

Exquisite jewels for ornamentation and powerful weapons of war were fashioned and we have evidences in the lines—

त्वष्टा यद्वज्रं सुकृतं हिरण्ययं सहस्रभृष्टिं स्वपा अवर्तयत् ।
धत्त इन्द्रो नर्यपांसि कर्तवेऽहन्वृत्रं निरपामौब्जदर्णवम् ॥

Ṛg. V. Saṁ. I, 85, 9.

त्वष्टा माया वेदपसामपस्तमो बिभ्रत्पात्रा देवपानानि शंतमा ।
शिशीते नूनं परशुं स्वायसं येन वृश्चादेतशो ब्रह्मणस्पतिः ॥

Ṛg. V. Saṁ. X, 53, 9.

त्वष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वर्यं ततक्ष । Ṛg. V. Saṃ. I, 32, 2.

describing Tvaṣṭā as fashioning the powerful Vajra weapon for Indra, the golden goblet etc. In the Rudrādhyāya of the Yajus-saṁhitā Bhagavān is spoken of as having the form of every living being in the world and he is addressed as Rathakāra *i. e.* chariot-maker, Takṣa *i. e.*, wood-carver, Kulāla *i. e.* potter, Karmāra, *i. e.*, metal-worker etc. in the lines—

नमस्तक्षभ्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः कुलालेभ्यः कर्मारेभ्यश्च वो नमः ।

Tai. Saṁ. IV, 5, 4.

These references point to active work in wood, clay and metal. The question regarding smelting ore and casting weapons, vessels etc. is a decided factor. About the fashioning of figures and images in the Vedic age we have to fish out evidences. On the question whether idols and images existed or not in the Vedic period there is a difference of opinion. But a careful examination of the evidences shows clearly that images ought to have been in existence and doubts are dispelled like magical charms by a powerful enchanter. The first clue in this direction is given by Bhagavatpāda Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in his Sūtrabhāṣya wherein he shows that descriptions of Īśvara as Hiraṇyaśmaśru and the like, given in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad etc. are quite correct since they represent the *upāsanāmūrti*.

यत्तूक्तं हिरण्यश्मश्रुत्वादिरूपवत्त्वश्रवणं परमेश्वरे नोपपद्यत इति, अत्र ब्रूमः—स्यात् परमेश्वरस्यापीच्छावशान्मायामयं रूपं साधकानुग्रहार्थम्,

..............अपि च, यत्र तु निरस्तसर्वविशेषं पारमेश्वरं रूपमुपदिश्यते, भवति तत्र शास्त्रम् "अशब्दमस्पर्शमरूपमव्ययम्" इत्यादि । सर्वकारणत्वात्तु विकारधर्मैरपि कैश्चिद्विशिष्टः परमेश्वर उपास्यत्वेन निर्दिश्यते—"सर्वकर्मा सर्वकामः सर्वरसः" इत्यादिना। तथा हिरण्यश्मश्रुत्वादिनिर्देशोऽपि भविष्यति ।

Sūtra-Bhāṣya on I-i-*20*.

If we proceed with this idea of Saguṇamūrti as advocated by the Vedas we can understand epithets like *hiraṇyapāṇiḥ* etc., in the lines—

> हिरण्यपाणिः सविता विचर्षणिः । Ṛg. V. Saṁ. I, 35, 9.
>
> हिरण्यहस्तो असुरः सुनीथः । Ṛg. V. Saṁ. I, 35, 10.

and the like, as hinting at lustrous images of the Sun in gold wherein the *pāṇi* etc. are absolutely and really pure gold. It is this sense of golden idols that Mr. B. C. Bhaṭṭācārya emphasises in his book 'Indian Images' and tries to prove the existence of idols in the Vedic period.

But that by itself will prove nothing unless and until we have positive evidences to substantiate the faint hints that gleam here and there through the Vedic texts. Mr. Hirananda Sastri has shown how the ṛk—

> क इमं दशभिर्ममेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः ।
>
> यदा वृत्राणि जङ्घनदथैनं मे पुनर्ददत् ॥ Ṛg. V. Saṁ. IV, 24, 10.

[Sāyaṇa. मम मदीयमिमं स्वभूतमिन्द्रं धेनुभिः प्रीणयित्रीभिर्दशसंख्याकाभिः स्तुतिभिः कः क्रीणाति । क्रयं करोति । तदानीं हे क्रेतारो युष्माकं मध्य एवमपि समयः क्रियते । यदायमिन्द्रो वृत्राणि त्वदीयान् शत्रून् जङ्घनत् हन्यात् अथानन्तरमेवैनमिन्द्रं मे मह्यं पुनर्ददत् । पुनर्दद्यात् ॥]

refers in unequivocal terms to a figure of Indra and not to the god of that name in the heavens[1]. The reference to a sort of bartering, selling and purchasing of Indra for milch cows etc. shows clearly that it is an *arcā* referred to. Sāyaṇa, however, explains the word '*dhenu*' as '*stuti*' *i. e.*, praise (hymn). There is also another ṛk which is similar in its import—

1. *See* the summary of his paper 'Image worship in India' in the Proceedings of the third Oriental Conference held at Madras.

महे चन त्वामद्रिवः परा शुल्काय देयाम् ।

न सहस्राय नायुताय वज्रिवो न शताय शतामघ ॥

Ṛg. V. Saṁ. VIII, 1-5.

[Sāyaṇa. हे अद्रिवो वज्रवन्निन्द्र त्वाम् ।....महे च महतेऽपि शुल्काय मूल्याय न परा देयाम् । न विक्रीणामि । हे वज्रिवो वज्रहस्तेन्द्र सहस्राय सहस्रसंख्याय च धनाय न परा देयाम् । अयुताय दशसहस्राय च शुल्काय न परा देयाम् । हे शतामघ बहुधनेन्द्र शताय । बहुनामैतत् । अपरिमिताय च धनाय न परा देयाम् । न विक्रीणामि । उक्तसंख्याद्धनादपि त्वं मम प्रियतमोऽसीत्यर्थः ॥]

In the ṛk

कासीत्प्रमा प्रतिमा किं निदानमाज्यं किमासीत्परिधिः क आसीत् ।

छन्दः किमासीत्प्रउगं किमुक्थं यद्देवा देवमयजन्त विश्वे ॥

Ṛg. V. Saṁ. X, 130, 3.

there is the specific use of the word *Pratimā* which is explained as an idol *devatā-pratimā* by Sāyaṇācārya

तथा प्रतिमा हविःप्रतियोगित्वेन मीयते निर्मीयते इति प्रतिमा देवता ।

The use of the word *Nirmīyate* is here significant. But, there are yet doubts in spite of Mr. Hirananda Sastri's interpretation of the ṛk

क इमं दशभिर्ममेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः ।

whether Indra had his form represented through idols. Such doubts can easily be dispelled since we have positive references to idols of Indra in classical literature also. The great logician Udayanācārya in his monumental work, the Nyāyakusumāñjali has a passage—

प्रतिमादयस्तु तेन तेन विधिना सन्निधापितरुद्रोपेन्द्रमहेन्द्राद्यभिमानिदेवताभेदाः, तत्र तत्राराधनीयतामासादयन्ति, दष्टमूर्च्छितं राजशरीरमिव, विषापनयनविधिनापादितचैतन्यम् । सन्निधानं च तत्र तेषामहङ्कारममकारौ चित्रादाविव स्वसादृश्यदर्शिनो राज्ञ इति नो दर्शनम् । Stabaka. I, p. 61.

wherein Indra, Viṣṇu and other devatās are spoken of as manifesting their power in the icons (of deities) after proper saṁskāras. If we are to make any real sense out of the two last quoted references from the Ṛg-veda and if we understand them with the

help and in the light of the passage from Udayanācārya given above we have to, without any qualms in the matter, accept the existence of idols in the Vedic period.

In the Sāma-veda Brāhmaṇa there are references to devatāyatanas etc. specifically pointing to deities kept in temples. The lines of the Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa—

देवतायतनानि कम्पन्ते देवताप्रतिमा हसन्ति रुदन्ति नृत्यन्ति स्फुटन्ति
स्विद्यन्त्युन्मीलन्ति निमीलन्ति । Ṣaḍ. Brāh. V. 10.

specifically refer to mūrtis in temples. These temples might be the same as the Devamāna mentioned in the Ṛg-veda which is the type of mansion desired by those who request the devatās to bless them with gifts etc. The Devamāna or the mansion of the gods mentioned in the lines—

इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते ।
इयमस्य धम्यते नाळीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ Ṛg. V. Saṁ. X, 135, 7.

[Sāyaṇa इदं यमस्य नियन्तुरादित्यस्य वैवस्वतस्य वा सदनं स्थानम् । ... । यत्सदनं देवमानं देवैर्निर्मितमित्युच्यते सर्वत्राभिधीयते]

is given as the exquisite type of a building to be desired by men for themselves—

भोजायाश्वं सं मृजन्त्याशुं भोजायास्ते कन्या ३ शुम्भमाना ।
भोजस्येदं पुष्करिणीव वेश्म परिष्कृतं देवमानेव चित्रम् ॥

Ṛg. V. Saṁ. X, 107, 10.

[Sāyaṇa तथा भोजस्य दातुरेव हृदयाह्लादकरं वेश्म गृहं भवति । कीदृशम्? पुष्करिणीव । पुष्कराणि पद्मानि यस्याः सन्तीति पुष्करिणी सरसी । सा यथा पद्महंसादिभिरलंकृता भवति तद्वत् परिष्कृतं वितानादिभिरलंकृतम् ।]

Incidentally it may be stated that the Indian temple can be traced back to the Vedic age and seen rather faintly in the ideas of the Devamāna and the elaborately constructed Yajñaśālās wherein the devatās are invited (devatāhvāna is done). Mūrtipūjā (idol worship) can be easily traced to be the practical outcome of the Saguṇa descriptions in passages like—

त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, चत्वारि श्रृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य, हिरण्यश्मश्रुः ।

and the series of तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka beginning with the line—

पुरुषस्य विद्म सहस्राक्षस्य महादेवस्य धीमहि । तन्नो रुद्रः प्रचोदयात् ॥

wherein the forms of various deities are given. Further in the line of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa—

हस्त्यश्वरथपदातीनां पिष्टमयीं प्रतिकृतिं कृत्वा पिष्टस्वेदं स्वेदयित्वा सर्षपतैलेनाभ्यज्य तासां क्षुरेणाङ्गान्यवदार्याग्नौ जुहुयात् 'अभि त्वा शूर नो नुमः' इति रहस्येन यत्र हीशब्दो यावतां जुहोति सर्वे न भवन्ति ।

Sāma. Vidhā. Brāh. III, vi-11.

we have the mention of dolls of elephants, horses, chariots, footmen etc. All these point to active work at modelling obtaining in the Vedic age itself.

But while making these statements we should remember that the meanings of various words have changed from time to time and the words Citra, Śilpa etc. as found in literature are slightly different in meaning from those in the Vedas. In the lines—

आग्नेयः कृष्णग्रीवः सारस्वती मेषी बभ्रुः सौम्यः पौष्णः श्यामः शितिपृष्ठो बार्हस्पत्यः शिल्पो वैश्वदेव ऐन्द्रोऽरुणो मारुतः कल्माष ऐन्द्राग्नः सँहितोऽधोरामः सावित्रो वारुणः पेत्वः । Tai. Sam. V, 5, 22, 1.

the word Śilpa is explained by Sāyaṇa as शिल्पो बहुरूपः । The Kauṣītakī-Brāhmaṇa shows that 'Śilpa' applies to dance, and vocal and instrumental music.

त्रिवृद्वै शिल्पं नृत्यं गीतं वादित्रमिति Kau. Brāh. XXIX, 5.

In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa we have the word Śilpa occuring in the lines—

अथ जघनेन कृष्णाजिने पश्यात् प्राङ् जान्वाक् उपविशति स यत्र शुक्लानां च कृष्णानां च सन्धिर्भवति तदेवमभिमृश्य जपत्यृक्सामयोः शिल्पे स्थ इति यद्वै प्रतिरूपं तच्छिल्पमृचां च साम्नां च प्रतिरूपे स्थ इत्येवैतदाह ॥

Śat. Pa. Brāh. III-ii-1, 5.

explained by Sāyaṇa as—

मन्त्रस्थं शिल्पपदं व्याचष्टे—"यद्वा" इति । 'प्रतिरूपं' प्रतिकृतिः । 'वै' शब्देन लोकप्रसिद्धिरुच्यते । लौकिका हि हरितुरगादिप्रतिरूपं शिल्पमित्याहुः । शुक्लकृष्णयोरेवक्सामप्रतिरूपत्वं तैत्तिरीयके उक्तम्—"एष वा ऋचो वर्णो यच्छुक्लं कृष्णाजिनस्यैष साम्नो यत् कृष्णम्"—इति ।

Hence Śilpa is taken to mean the art of modelling, painting etc. The word Pratirūpa, very common in later Sanskrit literature meaning a picture, is used here in that sense. The use of the word Pratirūpa in this context is as important as that of the word Pratimā in the same text (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa) in the lines—

अन्तरिक्षलोको वै प्रमान्तरिक्षलोको ह्यस्माल्लोकात्प्रमित इव प्रतिमा छन्द इत्यसौ वै लोकः प्रतिमैष ह्यन्तरिक्षलोके प्रतिमित इवास्तीवयच्छन्दः ॥

Śat, Brah. VIII. iii-3 (5).

The word Citra means variegated as found in चित्रश्रवस्तमं etc.; sometimes it also means wonderful. Abhinavagupta refers to this striking significance of the word, चित्रमिति । विस्मयकृत् p. 34, Locana on Dhvanyāloka. Variegation produces wonder; and the thing that is variegated and produces wonder is generally a picture; and hence it is so called. The psychology behind the change of meaning that these words have undergone is easily seen if only we try to see it earnestly.

The artistic insight of the Vedic seers is also to be seen in the picturesque constructions of Yajñaśālās and Vedis as in the Garuḍacayana etc. All these show the appearance of Garuḍa, Śyena etc. when seen from the air (in an aeriel view). The various forms of religious and secular architecture consisting of buildings of various shapes, daṇḍākāra, maṇḍalākāra, Padmākṛti etc. are all to be traced finally to these types of Yajñaśālās.

In the Rāmāyaṇa we have references to Devatāsadmas wherein Arcās or idols are worshipped—the same as those mentioned by Bhagavān Manu wherein Devalakas worship. Bharata sees ill omens or his way from the Kekayarājya back to Ayodhyā. In Ayodhyā he finds that everything wears a mournful attitude, that people are wan and worn out, the high road deserted, the temples neglected and so on.

अपेतमाल्यशोभान्यप्यसंमृष्टाजिराणि च ।
देवागाराणि शून्यानि न चाभान्ति यथापुरम् ॥
देवतार्चाः प्रविद्धाश्च यज्ञगोष्ठ्यस्तथाविधाः ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, II, 71, Śl. 40-41.

We have also specific references to devālayas in the Mahābhārata in plenty. All these go to show the work that was done by sculptors and architects.

Regarding painting we have the reference to the Citraśālā in the Rāmāyaṇa itself. In the beautiful and vivid description of the palace of Rāvaṇa which is one of the most masterly strokes of the poetic muse in the literature of the world—not of India alone—we have the mention made of Citraśālāgṛhas (*i. e.*, picture galleries) wherein paintings are hung or painted on the wall.

लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशालागृहाणि च ॥
क्रीडागृहाणि चान्यानि दारुपर्वतकानि च ।
कामस्य गृहकं रम्यं दिवागृहकमेव च ॥
ददर्श राक्षसेन्द्रस्य रावणस्य निवेशने । Rāmāyaṇa, V, 7, Śl. 36-38.

Cf. स तस्य मध्ये भवनस्य मारुतिर्लतागृहांश्चित्रगृहान्निशागृहान् ।
जगाम सीतां प्रति दर्शनोत्सुको न चैव तां पश्यति चारुदर्शनाम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 12, Śl. 1.

Cf. आपानशाला विचितास्तथा पुष्पगृहाणि च ।
चित्रशालाश्च विचिता भूयः क्रीडागृहाणि च ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V, 12, Śl. 13.

In the Uttarakāṇḍa the Puṣpakavimāna is described as full of ornamental or decorative pictures.

बह्वाश्चर्यं भक्तिचित्रं ब्रह्मणा परिनिर्मितम् ।
निर्मितं सर्वकामैस्तु मनोहरमनुत्तमम् ॥ Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 15, Śl. 42.

The word भक्ति is here used in the sense of 'decorative'. The description of Indra's chariot given by Rājaśekara in his Bālarāmāyaṇa as painted all over with pictures of the valiant deeds of Paraśurāma can easily be traced to this description in the Rāmāyaṇa.

दशरथः—तन्नमुचिसूदनसारथे ! कथय स भगवान् पौलोमीवल्लभो भृगुपतिचरितानि बहुमन्यते, न वा ?

मातलिः—किं नाम बहुमन्यते न वेति शृणु, श्रावयामि ।
आस्थानसद्मनि विलासगृहे विमाने जैत्रे रथे च सततं सुरचक्रवर्ती ।
रामस्य चित्रलिखितानि कुतूहलेन वीरो विलोकयति पूर्वविचेष्टितानि ॥

यदस्यैव पुरन्दरस्यन्दनस्य चतुर्दिशं मत्तवारणीयफलकेषु रामचित्रं लिखितम् । (अङ्गुल्या निर्दिशन्) तत्तावदितो दीयतां दृष्टिः ।

(Then comes an exhaustive list of choice pictures depicting the important incidents in Paraśurāma's life.) Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act IV. That the citrakāras were given a seat in the royal court is a piece of information first supplied to us by the Rāmāyaṇa;

अथ कर्मान्तरे राजा समाहूय महामुनीन् ।
पार्थिवांश्च नरव्याघ्रः पण्डितान्नैगमांस्तथा ॥
....
चित्रज्ञान् वृत्तसूत्रज्ञान् गीतनृत्तविशारदान् ॥
शास्त्रज्ञान्नीतिनिपुणान् वेदान्तार्थप्रबोधकान् ।
एतान् सर्वान् समानीय गातारौ समवेशयत् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 94. Śl. 4, 9-10

and Rājaśekhara confirms it in his Kāvyamīmāṁsā.

राजा कविः कविसमाजं विदधीत । राजनि कवौ सर्वो लोकः कविः स्यात् । स काव्यपरीक्षायै सभां कारयेत् । सा षोडशभिः स्तम्भैश्चतुर्भिर्द्वारैरष्टभिर्मत्तवारणाभिरुपेता स्यात् । तदनुलग्नं राज्ञः केलिगृहम् । मध्येसभं चतुःस्तम्भान्तरा हस्तमात्रोत्सेधसमणिभूमिका । तस्यां राजासनम् । तस्य चोत्तरतः संस्कृताः कवयो निविशेरन् । ....पश्चिमेनापभ्रंशिनः कवयः, ततः परं चित्रलेप्यकृतो माणिक्यबन्धकास्त्रैकटिका स्वर्णकारवर्धकिलोहकरा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । दक्षिणतो भूतभाषाकवयः, ततः परं भुजङ्गगणिकाः प्लवकशौभिकजम्भकमल्लाः शस्त्रोपजीविनोऽन्येऽपि तथाविधाः ।

Kāvyamīmāṁsā, I. Chap. X, p. 54, 55.

The Rāmāyaṇa also gives us some account of the two Śilpins, Daiva and Āsura—Viśvakarma and Maya, who are famous in Sanskrit literature. In the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa the monkeys are given to understand the history of these two Śilpins by Svayaṁprabhā who ansewers their queries regarding the beautiful golden palaces etc. in the cave that they so very much admired.

मयो नाम महातेजा मायावी दानवर्षभः ॥
तेनेदं निर्मितं सर्वं मायया काञ्चनं वनम् ।
पुरा दानवमुख्यानां विश्वकर्मा बभूव ह ॥
येनेदं काञ्चनं दिव्यं निर्मितं भवनोत्तमम् ।
स तु वर्षसहस्राणि तपस्तप्त्वा महावने ॥
पितामहाद्वरं लेभे सर्वमौशनसं धनम् ।
वनं विधाय बलवान् सर्वकामेश्वरस्तदा ॥
उवास सुखितः कालं कंचिदस्मिन् महामते ।

Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 51, Śl. 10-14.

Mansions built according to the various famous designs like Svastika, Padma, Sarvatobhadra etc. testify to a high sense of design shown by Śilpins as stated in the Rāmāyaṇa in the description of Laṅkā.

गृहमुख्यैः पुरी रम्या बभासे द्यौरिवाम्बुदैः ॥
प्रजज्वाल तदा लङ्का रक्षोगणगृहैः शुभैः ।
सिताभ्रसदृशैश्चित्रैः पद्मस्वस्तिकसंस्थितैः ॥
वर्धमानगृहैश्चापि सर्वतः सुविभूषिता ।
तां चित्रमाल्याभरणां कपिराजहितङ्करः ॥
राघवार्थं चरञ्श्रीमान् ददर्श च ननन्द च ।

Rāmāyaṇa, V, 5, Śl. 6-9.

The pages of this noble work show a very high and developed art amongst the people described therein who are shown to possess a very well developed æsthetic sense.

Coming to the Mahābhārata we find equally numerous references to painting and sculpture if not more. On the very high authority of Kṣemendra, who quotes the śloka—

अतथ्यान्यपि तथ्यानि दर्शयन्ति विचक्षणाः ।
समे निम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः ॥

in his Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa as a verse from the Mahābhārata proving the encyclopædic knowledge of Bhagavān Vyāsa which includes a mastery of the technique of painting as well, we can assert confidently than the Mahābhārata contains a lot of information on painting. And a study of the work justifies the statement of

Kṣemendra whose quotation, given herein above, is repeated by Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana.

The story of the clay model of Droṇa prepared and worshipped by Ekalavya given in the lines—

स तु द्रोणस्य शिरसा पादौ गृह्य परन्तपः ।
अरण्यमनुसंप्राप्य कृत्वा द्रोणं महीमयम् ॥
तस्मिन्नाचार्यवृत्तिं च परमामास्थितस्तदा ।
इष्वस्त्रे योगमातस्थे परं नियममास्थितः ॥

Ādi Parva, 134, Śl. 33-34.

is too well known. Equally well known is the iron image of Bhīma brought and placed before Dhṛtarāṣṭra after the Kurukṣetra war.

तस्य संकल्पमाज्ञाय भीमं प्रत्यशुभं हरिः ।
भीममाक्षिप्य पाणिभ्यां प्रददौ भीममायसम् ॥
प्रागेव तु महाबुद्धिर्बुद्ध्वा तस्येङ्गितं हरिः ।
संविधानं महाप्राज्ञस्तत्र चक्रे जनार्दनः ॥
तं गृहीत्वैव पाणिभ्यां भीमसेनमयोमयम् ।
बभञ्ज बलवान् राजा मन्यमानो वृकोदरम् ॥

Strī Parva, 12, Śl. 15-17.

Cf. आयसी प्रतिमा येन भीमसेनस्य सा पुरा ।
चूर्णीकृता बलवता सोऽबलामाश्रितः श्रियम् ॥

Āśrama Parva, 3, Śl. 63.

These references show that modelling and sculpture and image making was very popular. There is mention in the Epic of idols kept in devālayas regularly worshipped daily with special pūjās offered to them on special joyous occasions.

पताकाभिर्विचित्राभिर्ध्वजैश्च विविधैरपि ॥
वेश्मानि समलंचक्रुः पौराश्चापि जनेश्वर ।
देवतायतनानां च पूजाः सुविविधास्तथा ॥
संदिदेशाथ विदुरः पाण्डुपुत्रप्रियेप्सया ।

Aśvamedha Parva. 70, Śl. 15-17.

(Here the special joyous occasion is Parīkṣit's birth.)

But we have other references to painting etc. of a more important nature. The ślokas

उद्यानमभिपश्यन्तो भ्रातरः सर्व एव ते ॥
उपस्थानगृहैः शुभ्रैर्वलभीभिश्च शोभितम् ।
गवाक्षकैस्तथा जालैर्यन्त्रैः सञ्चारिकैरपि ॥
संमार्जितं सौधकारैश्चित्रकारैश्च चित्रितम् ।

Ādi Parva, 128. Śl. 39-41.

show how workers whitewash walls before painting them. Bhitti-citra (*i. e.*, adorning the wall with various paintings portraying graphically various striking situations from ancient anecdotes of heroes and gods) was but a regular feature in India and references to this are only too numerous in literature. Bāṇa[1], Kālidāsa[2], Śātavāhana[3], Śrī Harṣa[4] and a host of others have remarked about

---

1. प्रत्यग्रलिखितमङ्गल्यालेख्योज्ज्वलितभित्तिभागमनोहारिणि ।

Kādambarī, p. 136.

दिवसावसानेषु विश्लेषभीता मृणालसूत्रैश्चित्रभित्तिविलिखितानि चक्रवाकमिथुनानि संघटयति । *Ibid.*, p. 446.

सुप्तया वासभवने चित्रभित्तिचामरग्राहिण्योऽपि चामराणि चालयांचक्रुः ।

Harṣacarita, p. 127.

2. चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः ।
नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रहृतं वहन्ति ॥

Raghuvaṁśa, XVI, 16.

विद्युत्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः ।
....प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलम् ॥ Meghadūta, II, 1.

3. नववधूं प्रति सतीवृत्तशिक्षणार्थं कापि बन्धुवधूराह—
दिअरस्स असुद्धमणस्स कुलवहूणिअअकुड्डलिहिआइं ।
दअहं कहेइ रामाणुलग्गसोमित्ति चरिआइं ॥
[देवरस्याशुद्धमनसः कुलवधूर्निजककुड्यालिखितानि ।
दिवसं कथयति रामानुलग्नसौमित्रिचरितानि ॥]

Gāthāsaptaśatī, I, 35.

com: दिअरस्सेति । अयमाशयः—कुलस्त्रिया रामायणवृत्तान्तं गृहभित्तौ विलिख्य तत्र विमातृजेऽपि रामे सभार्येऽनुलग्नानि लक्ष्मणस्य चरित्राणि कथयित्वा दुष्टहृदयो देवरः प्रत्याख्येयः, न तु प्रकटम् । कुटुम्बविघटनादिभयादिति भावः ॥

4. भित्तिचित्रलिखिताखिलक्रमा यत्र तस्थुरितिहाससंकथाः ।

this special feature of the walls of Indian homes and mansions. Bhittikriyā is also emphasised in the Śilpa works and the importance that attaches itself to this process is made manifest by such passages as

भित्तौ हि चित्ररचना चतुरस्यापि जृम्भते ।

Sthavirāvalīcarita, II, 483.

from the work of Hemacandra and

किं च—अनुत्कृष्टधर्मयुक्तस्य वर्णनीयस्यालङ्करणमप्यसमुचितभित्तिभागोल्लिखितालेख्यवन्न शोभातिशयकारितामावहति । Unmeṣā, III, p. 135.

from the Vakroktijīvita of Rājānaka Kuntaka.

Now to go back to the Mahābhārata; we have the passage in the Sabhāparva wherein the Rākṣasī Jarā reveals her identity to Bṛhadratha, the king of Magadha, and tells him that her picture was drawn on the walls of the palace and worshipped since she was his gṛhadevatā and protected his family. She was the Gṛhadevatā of every house and expected her picture to be painted on the walls of every house whose inmates, she undertook to protect. She further informs the king that the joining of the two cast-away pieces of the body of the new born prince and bringing him to life was her work whereby she exhibited her goodwill to the king who worshipped her.

गृहे गृहे मनुष्याणां नित्यं तिष्ठामि राक्षसी ।
गृहदेवीति नाम्ना वै पुरा सृष्टा स्वयम्भुवा ॥
दानवानां विनाशाय स्थापिता दिव्यरूपिणी ।
यो मां भक्त्या लिखेत् कुड्ये सपुत्रां यौवनान्विताम् ॥
गृहे तस्य भवेद्वृद्धिरन्यथा क्षयमाप्नुयात् ।
त्वद्गृहे तिष्ठमाना तु पूजिताहं सदा विभो ॥
लिखिता चैव कुड्येऽहं पुत्रैर्बहुभिरावृता ।
गन्धपुष्पैस्तथा धूपैर्भक्ष्यैर्भोज्यैः सुपूजिता ॥

Sabhāparva, 18, Śl. 2-4.

पद्मनन्दनसुतारिरंसुतामन्दसाहसहसन्मनोभुवः ॥

Naiṣadha, XVIII, 20.

प्रियं प्रियां च त्रिजगज्जयिश्रियौ लिखाधिलीलागृहभित्ति कावपि ।
इति स्म सा कारुवरेण लेखितं नलस्य च स्वस्य च सख्यमीक्षते ॥

Ibid., I, 38.

So we know that such a habit of worshipping was common. This custom of painting the gods on the walls and worshipping them obtains even today in all Hindu households throughout India; and the famous examples in south India are the pictures of Varalakṣmī, Vaṭasāvitrī and Citragupta which form important features of the *vratas*.

In the Vanaparva we have the story of Satyavān wherein Nārada aswers the queries of king Aśvapati regarding the charming prince whom his daughter had chosen for her husband in spite of his poverty. The sage describing the prince gives out how the highly noble and truthful king Dyumatsena, having become blind and in that helpless state lost his kingdom through the machinations of his evil enemies, repaired to the forest with his young queen and baby boy Satyavān who was also called Citrāśva because of the inordinate passion he showed even as a child to painting and sculpture being overfond of drawing and painting the horse and modelling it in clay—the horse being a highly favourite animal with him.

बालस्याश्वाः प्रियाश्वास्य करोत्यश्वांश्च मृन्मयान् ।
चित्रेऽपि विलिखत्यश्वांश्चित्राश्च इति चोच्यते ॥

Vanaparva, 293, Śl. 13.

Here we are shown how natural instinct or Divine gifts work even in childhood and we learn that a true artist is born and not made, that the germ of genius is visible in the child. Such children can be singled out as in the case of Satyavān who was called Citrāśva because of his peculiar characteristic. It also shows how very common it was for even children to take to painting and modelling as hobbies and points out to a state of affairs in the land where such arts were properly practised and prepared an atmosphere that created an incentive in the minds of children and encouraged them to work at them.

In the Mahābhārata as in the Rāmāyaṇa we have some account given about Viśvakarmā and Maya the two famous architects of the gods and demons. In the Ādiparva we are told that Viśvakarmā is the son of Prabhāsa, the last of the eight Vasus. He is the Śilpaprajāpati, the foremost amongst the artists, the master of a thousand arts. He is the woodcarver of the gods and being the cleverest workman manufactures all their jewels. The numerous Vimānas, beautiful æriel cars and palatial mansions in heaven are all his handiwork. Human beings adopt his Śilpa

technique and the secrets of his science and prepare works of art and hence worship him as the Divine architect to whom they owe everything.

प्रभासस्य तु भार्याया वसूनामष्टमस्य ह ॥
विश्वकर्मा महाभागे जज्ञे शिल्पप्रजापतिः ।
कर्ता शिल्पसहस्राणां त्रिदशानां च वर्धकिः ॥
भूषणानां च सर्वेषां कर्ता शिल्पवतां वरः ।
यो दिव्यानि विमानानि त्रिदशानां चकार ह ॥
मनुष्याश्चोपजीवन्ति यस्य शिल्पं महात्मनः ।
पूजयन्ति च यं नित्यं विश्वकर्माणमव्ययम् ॥

Ādiparva, 66, Śl. 28-31.

This last line is echoed in the line कारवोऽपि यं विश्वकर्मेत्युपासते तस्मिन्.........भगवति भवे सन्देह एव कुतः of Udayanācārya in his Nyāyakusumāñjali (Stabaka I). The greatness of Viśvakarmā as a creative artist is best given out in the Ādiparva wherein the creation of Tilottamā is narrated. The plan conceived by Pitāmaha for doing away with the wicked demons Sunda and Upasunda is to create the most beautiful damsel ever human or divine eye beheld and Viśvakarmā is entrusted with this most arduous task. The most beautiful of everything in the world is taken as the material for the creation and Tilottamā, the loveliest of celestial damsels, is the result of such work—a beautiful and ravishing bait for the demons who annihilate themselves in a mad desire to possess her each for himself.

पितामहं नमस्कृत्य तद्वाक्यमभिनन्द्य च ।
निर्ममे योषितं दिव्यां चिन्तयित्वा पुनः पुनः ॥
त्रिषु लोकेषु यत्किञ्चिद्भूतं स्थावरजङ्गमम् ।
समानयद्दर्शनीयं तत्तदत्र च विश्ववित् ॥
कोटिशश्चैव रत्नानि तस्या गात्रे न्यवेशयत् ।
तां रत्नसङ्घातमयामसृजद्देवरूपिणीम् ॥
सा प्रयत्नेन महता निर्मिता विश्वकर्मणा ।
त्रिषु लोकेषु नारीणां रूपेणाप्रतिमाभवत् ॥

न तस्याः सूक्ष्ममप्यस्ति यद्गात्रे रूपसंपदा ।
नियुक्ता यत्र वा दृष्टिर्न सज्जति निरीक्षताम् ॥
सा विग्रहवतीव श्रीः कामरूपा वपुष्मती ।
जहार सर्वभूतानां चक्षूंषि च मनांसि च ॥
तिलं तिलं समानीय रत्नानां यद्विनिर्मिता ।
तिलोत्तमेति यत्तस्या नाम चक्रे पितामहः ॥

Ādiparva, 213, Śl. 12-18.

Maya is mentioned as the clever architect of the splendid city of Yudhiṣṭhira called Indraprastha. The best illustration of Maya's skill as an architect etc. is to be seen in the humourous description of Duryodhana's awkward predicament in the Sabhā of Yudhiṣṭhira where he mistakes *sthala* for *jala*, *jala* for *sthala*, open doors for closed gates and closed ones for open ones etc.

तस्यां दिव्यानभिप्रायान् ददर्श कुरुनन्दनः ।
न दृष्टपूर्वा ये तेन नगरे नागसाह्वये ॥
स कदाचित् सभामध्ये धार्तराष्ट्रो महीपतिः ।
स्फाटिकं स्थमलासाद्य जलमित्यभिशङ्कया ॥
स्ववस्त्रोत्कर्षणं राजा कृतवान् बुद्धिमोहतः ।
दुर्मना विमुखश्चैव परिचक्राम तां सभाम् ॥
ततः स्थले निपतितो दुर्मना व्रीडितो नृपः ।
निश्वसन् विमुखश्चापि परिचक्राम तां सभाम् ॥
ततः स्फाटिकतोयां वै स्फाटिकाम्बुजशोभिताम् ।
वापीं मत्वा स्थलमिव सवासाः प्रापतज्जले ॥
जले निपतितं दृष्ट्वा भीमसेनो महाबलः ।
जहास जहसुश्चैव किङ्कराश्च सुयोधनम् ॥
....
पुनर्वसनमुत्क्षिप्य प्रतरिष्यन्निव स्थलम् ॥
आरुरोह ततः सर्वे जहसुश्च पुनर्जनाः ।
द्वारं तु पिहिताकारं स्फाटिकं प्रेक्ष्य भूमिपः ॥
प्रविशन्नाहतो मूर्ध्नि व्याघूर्णित इव स्थितः ।
तादृशं चापरं द्वारं स्फाटिकोरुकपाटकम् ॥

विघट्टयन् कराभ्यां तु निष्क्रम्याग्रे पपात ह ।
द्वारं तु विततकारं समापेदे पुनश्च सः ॥
तद्वृत्तं चेति मन्वानो द्वारस्थानादुपारमत् ।

Sabhāparva, 47, Śl. 2-7, 11-13.

Apart from the references to art as such, there are other passages from which we see that the real impetus to art must have been very great in the age of the great Epic, since the king's recognition of the services of the Śilpins appears to have been very distinct, as we see in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa where a seat of honour is given to him in the royal court: in the Sabhāparva we have Nārada questioning Yudhiṣṭhira about the general welfare of the kingdom and also about his proper discharge of kingly duties; and one of these duties happens to be remuneration to the Śilpins by way of encouraging their work.

द्रव्योपकरणं किञ्चित् सर्वदा सर्वशिल्पिनाम् ।
चातुर्मास्यावरं सम्यङ्नियतं सम्प्रयच्छसि ॥ Sabhāparva, 5, Śl. 118.

The abundance of painting in the early centuries before Christ is evidenced by the references to pictures in works of almost a recondite nature. In the Mahābhāṣya, Patañjali, talking in a most unaffected way, brings in some references to paintings and pictures in quite a natural manner. In his own quaint way he puts the question चित्रेषु कथम् ? and answers it चित्रेष्वप्युद्गूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसकर्षण्यश्च (Mahābhāṣya. Keilhorn's Edn. Vol. II, p. 36. Bhāṣya on Pāṇini. III, i, 2 under Vārtika. 15). Under the sūtra स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् (IV, i, 54) we have in the Mahābhāṣya the kārikā referring to the *aṅga* (limb) of a doll through the injunction तेन चेत्तत्तथायुतम् and that shows the large production of dolls by carvers and the like to the extent of its influencing the ideas of men, usages in language and the record of it.

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत् स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।
अतत्स्थं तत्र दृष्टं च तेन चेत्तत्तथायुतम् ॥
दीर्घनासिक्यर्चा । तुङ्गनासिक्यर्चेति । Keilhorn, Vol. II, p. 222.

The *pratyaya* '*Kan*' used for denoting that the thing meant is a doll or image of a particular object is also indicatory of the tremendous output of images by potters, carvers etc. giving rise to peculiar special usages. Under the sūtra इवे प्रतिकृतौ (V, iii, 96)

we have the example given अश्व इवायमश्वप्रतिकृतिः अश्वकः. Images of distinguished personalities also appear to have been prepared largely as we see there are records of special usages in such cases too. गोत्रेऽलुगचि (IV, i, 89)...काश्यपप्रतिकृतयः काश्यपा इति (Keilhorn. p. 241). Well known and current things are generally used as examples for elucidating any principle. Explaining the sūtra जीविकार्थे चापण्ये (V, iii, 99) Patañjali gives the words Vāsudeva, Śiva, Skanda, Viṣṇu and Āditya used in the sense of images (arcās) of those gods.

अपण्य इत्युक्ते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति । Keilhorn, Vol. II, p. 429.

These rules have given rise to such grammatical conundrums and epigrammatical verses like

रामं सीतां लक्ष्मणं जीविकार्थे विक्रीणीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक् ।
अस्मिन् पद्ये योऽपशब्दं न वेत्ति व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पण्डितं तं च धिग्धिक् ॥

and अर्चासु पूजनार्थासु चित्रकर्मध्वजेषु च ।
इवे प्रतिकृतौ लोपः कनो देवपथादिषु ॥

Paintings were mostly done in the royal palaces (Rājaveśmas), the public art gallaries (Citraśālās), temples (Devaveśmas) and private houses. Of paintings executed in the royal palaces there are lots of instances. In the Uttararāmacarita we have the whole of Rāma's life described as painted on the walls of the royal Citraśālā.

लक्ष्मणः—जयतु जयत्वार्यः ! आर्य ! अर्जुनेन चित्रकरेणास्मदुपदिष्टमार्यस्य चरितमस्यां वीथ्यामभिलिखितम् । तत्पश्यत्वार्यः । U. R. C., Act, I.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara we are told that Vāsavadattā consoled herself in the palace of Padmāvatī by looking at the pictures of Sītā's life painted on the walls.

तत्र वासवदत्ता च प्रविष्टा चित्रभित्तिषु ।
पश्यन्ती रामचरिते सीतां सेहे निजव्यथाम् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb, III, Taraṅga ii, Śl. 27.

In the Navasāhasāṅkacarita there is again a description of the royal Citraśālās filled with beautiful pictures of various types.

कदाचिल्लोचनातिथ्यमाप्तेनालेख्यवेश्मनि ।
स मृगव्याविनोदेन पस्पृशे पार्थिवो हृदि ॥ I I. 1.
यदैव सा तर्जितचन्द्रकान्तिरजायतेन्दीवरपत्रनेत्रा ।
चित्रस्थितानां गृहदेवतानामिति स्फुरन्ति स्म तदैव वाचः ॥ IX. 36.

We have a similar description in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita

आक्रान्तरिपुचक्रेण चक्रकोटपतेः परम् ।
लिखिताश्चित्रशालासु तेनामुच्यन्त दन्तिनः ॥ IV. 30.

In the Mālavikāgnimitra, the Viddhasālabhañjikā and a number of other works we have art galleries in palaces elaboratey described. About the public galleries filled with pictures we have some information in the Kādambarī in the lines

सुरासुरसिद्धगन्धर्वविद्याधरोगाध्यासिताभिश्चित्रशालाभिरविरतोत्सवप्रमदावलोकनकुतूहलादम्बरतलादवतीर्णाभिर्दिव्यविमानपङ्क्तिभिरिवालंकृता । Kā. p. 99.

The elaborate description of the Citraśālā in the Nāradaśilpa is the most informative one on the public art house. About the pictures in temples we can learn a lot from the very frescoes themselves still lingering on the walls of some dilapidated or deserted old temples least frequented by people except for the stray cases of some piously-minded old fashioned people of the last century—as in Tanjore. In the Kathāsaritsāgara we are told of how the walls of Devakulas are painted; how there is a lot of frieze-work all over the walls, pillars, towers etc. The various painted personalities step out of the frames and back into them, so to say, as the story informs us.

कुतो मुरजशब्दोऽयमिति राजनि पृच्छति ।
वेतालः सोऽब्रवीद्देवकुलं देवात्र विद्यते ॥
दिव्यकौतूहलं तच्च निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ।
तत्रैष मुरजध्वानः संध्याप्रेक्षणके प्रभो ॥
इत्युक्तवान् स वेतालो राजा चाहं च कौतुकात् ।
तत्रागच्छाम संयम्य तुरगं प्रविशाम च ॥
अपश्यामार्चितं चात्र तार्क्ष्यरत्नमयं महत् ।
लिङ्गं तदग्रे चोदग्रदीपकं प्रेक्षणीयकम् ॥
अनृत्यन् सुचिरं तत्र दिव्यरूपा वरास्त्रियः ।
चतुर्विधेन वाद्येन गानगान्धर्वयोगिना ॥

प्रेक्ष्यान्ते दृष्टमस्माभिस्तत्राश्चर्यं प्रविश्य यत् ।
स्तम्भस्थपुत्रिकास्वन्तर्नर्तक्यो लयमागताः ॥
गायना वादकाद्याश्च चित्रस्थपुरुषेष्वपि ।

K. S. S., Lamb. XVIII, Taraṅga iv, Śl. 128-134.

Paintings and carvings in relief of Pārvatī were done generally on the pillars of temples.

अथागाच्चित्रकृत्तेन पथा रूपकृता सह ॥
स स्तम्भं वीक्ष्य सुश्लक्ष्णं तत्र गौरीं समालिखत् ।
रूपकारोऽपि शस्त्रेण क्रीडयैवोल्लिलेख ताम् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. VII. Taraṅga iii, Śl. 8-9.

In the Upamitibhāvaprapañcakathā we are given to understand that even Jain temples were filled with pictures—all on walls.

विचित्रचित्रविन्यासैर्भ्राजते देवमन्दिरैः ।
आक्षिप्तबालहृदयैर्निश्चलीकृतलोचनैः ॥ Prastāva I. 15. p. 12.

Regarding paintings in private houses we have lots of references in literature. The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa describes the mansions in Alakā as '*Sacitrāḥ*'. Paintings on walls described in the verse of the Haravijaya

सिन्दूरराजिषु घनं स्फुरदन्यवर्णभेदेष्वलक्ष्यमधिमन्दिरभित्ति चित्रम् ।
भाति स्म निर्जितजरच्छुकघोणशोणरागोल्बणच्छवि रवेः करचक्रवालम् ॥

XIX. 17.

appear to be those in private mansions. All rich people as a rule, and most of the poorer classes that could afford it, got their walls painted. In the Naiṣadha we are told that the citizens got Damayantī's life painted on their walls.

ते तत्र भैम्याश्चरितानि चित्रे चित्राणि पौरैः पुरि लेखितानि ।
निरीक्ष्य निन्युर्दिवसं निशां च तत्स्वप्नसंभोगकलाविलासैः ॥ X. 35.

The house of Cārudatta, as described in the Mṛcchakaṭika, contains faded pictures on the walls painted probably in the days of his prosperity but grown dim by the wear and tear of time.

स्तम्भेषु प्रचलितवेदिसंचयान्तं शीर्णत्वात् कथमपि धार्यते वितानम् ।
एषा च स्फुटितसुधाद्रवानुलेपात् संक्लिन्ना सलिलभरेण चित्रभित्तिः ॥

Act. V, Śl. 50.

In the Gāthāsaptaśatī we find an excellent utility of pictures painted on household walls recorded.

नववधूं प्रति सतीवृत्तशिक्षार्थं कापि बन्धुवधूराह—
दिअरस्स असुद्धमणस्स कुलवहू णिअअकुड्डलिहिआइम् ।
दिअहं कहेइ रामाणुलग्गसोमित्तिचरिआइम् ॥ I. 35.

Such a great impetus was given to painting by filling practically all the walls of every home with pictures that art reigned as a fair queen over a sunny land breathing the fragrance of an aesthetic zephyr. That the kings were great patrons of art need not be repeated. As we see it in the questions of Nārada in the Mahābhārata (quoted elsewhere in this article) so also we see it plainly given in the passage from the Arthaśāstra that the ruler had to support the Śilpins and Śilpācāryas. In the Kāthāsaritsāgara we have a lot of information regarding painters, painting masters, and all the rest of that class of workmen. The different arts being learnt as a hobby by all the elite of the land, the noblemen and other gentlemen specialising in every branch of study, especially the fine arts, we have lots of cases of Citrācāryas like Nāṭyācāryas and the like in royal households and also in private houses. The Kathāsaritsāgara tells us of how Naravāhanadatta specialised in all arts including painting.

नरवाहनदत्तः स ह्रेपयन् वरचारणान् ।
तस्यां प्रियायां नृत्यन्त्यां सर्वातोद्यान्यवादयत् ॥
जिगाय चागतान् दिग्भ्यो विविधान् पण्डितांस्तथा ।
गजाश्वरथशस्त्रास्त्रचित्रपुस्तादिकोविदः ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. VI, Taraṅga viii, Śl. 171, 172.

A painting master named Roladeva is engaged by princess Madanasundarī, an adept in painting, to make an exquisite picture from a rough sketch of a prince done by her.

उपाध्यायेद्दगालिख्य चित्रे मे देहि रूपकम् ।
इत्युक्त्वा वेपमानेन पाणिना धृतवर्तिना ॥
शनैरालिख्य सा भूमौ दर्शयन्ती नृपात्मजा ।
अलेखयन्मया कंचिद्युवानं रूपवत्तरम् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. IX, Taraṅga v, Śl. 68-69.

(To be continued.)

FOREIGN TRADE UNDER THE KĀKATĪYAS.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.,

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

The kingdom of Mutfili "was formerly under the rule of a king, and since his death, some forty years past, it has been under his queen, a lady of much discretion, who for the great love she bore him never would marry another husband. And I can assure you that all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as ever her husband did, or better; and as she was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before. The people are idolators, and are tributary to nobody. They live on flesh, and rice, and milk. It is in this kingdom that diamonds are got. * * * In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams, and those of highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web ! There is no king nor queen in the world but might be glad to wear them. The people have also the largest sheep in the world, and great abundance of all the necessaries of life."

Such is the description left by the observant Venetian traveller Marco Polo who visited the Kākatīya kingdom towards the end of the reign of Rudramahādēvī and of the thirteenth century A.D. Marco Polo calls Rudramahādēvī the queen of Gaṇapatidēva, and there is also a manuscript[1] in the Mackenzie collection which retails the story that Gaṇapati made war against Dēvagiri, conquered its king, and took his daughter, named Rudramā-dēvī to be his wife. The manuscript adds that after Gaṇapati's death in Śaka 1180, his widow Rudramā-dēvī ruled Wārangal with celebrity till she transferred the crown in Śaka 1216 to Pratāpa-Vīra-rudra, a son of her daughter Umaka by Vīra-bhadra-rāja. By the more trustworthy testimony of the inscriptions and of the *Pratāparudra-yaśōbhūṣaṇa*, Rudrāmbā

1. Taylor, III, p. 483.

was the only daughter of Gaṇapatidēva, whom he brought up like a son, giving her the education and training befitting the future ruler of the country. In some of her inscriptions Rudrāmbā is even called Rudradēva-mahārāja.

The reigns of Gaṇapati and his gifted daughter form the most glorious period of Kākatīya history. Some local chieftains indeed tried to make trouble for Rudrāmbā at the death of her father, but they were soon overpowered by the tact of the queen and the energy of her more loyal subordinates, and the long reign of this noble daughter of Gaṇapati well deserves the encomium of Marco Polo. "She was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace; she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before."

It was under Gaṇapati, however, that the sway of the Kākatīyas, first attained its widest expansion, and their armies carried the limits of the empire, though only for a time, as far south as Kāñcīpuram and beyond.[1] Gaṇapati was not merely a great soldier, but a far-sighted statesman and a wise patron of the arts and letters. The manner in which he set about solving the problem of succession to his throne, by himself training his only daughter in kingship; gives proof of the breadth of his vision and the strength of his indomitable will.

Marco Polo calls Gaṇapati's country the kingdom of Mutfili. Mutfili is doubtless the same as Mōṭupaḷḷi, now an obscure fishing village on the coast in the Bāpaṭla Taluq of the Guṇṭūr district. There are two ancient temples at Mōṭupaḷḷi and about a dozen inscriptions bearing witness to the antiquity and celebrity of the place. Till the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mōṭupaḷḷi was the centre of a considerable coasting trade and coasting vessels could come in closer to shore here than at other ports on that coast. The dates of the inscriptions at Mōṭupaḷḷi imply that the importance of Mōṭupaḷḷi as a port-town did not begin much earlier than the beginning of Gaṇapati's reign, if at all. The earliest inscription in Mōṭupaḷḷi seems to be one[2] dated Ś. 1153 recording the gift of a lamp for the merit of Gaṇapati by his feudatory Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara Siddhayadēva-mahārāja. It must have been an important emporium of Kākatīya kingdom when Marco Polo landed there and spent some time, about thirty years

---

1. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 136 and 168.
2. 606 of 1909.

after the death of Gaṇapati; and this was evidently the reason why he designated the kingdom by the name of Mutfili.

The most important of the Mōṭupaḷḷi inscriptions gives us an excellent idea of the steps taken by Gaṇapati to develop the port. This inscription[1] dated in Ś. 1166, is a unique charter of protection to foreign merchants and an invitation to them to come and trade without fear of hostility or oppression on the part of his officials. This charter is another proof of the eminence of Gaṇapati as a ruler who fostered the economic advancement of his subjects.

In his wise policy of developing the overseas trade of his kingdom, Gaṇapati was only following the best traditions of ancient times. Almost from pre-historic days there was a regular overflow of population and culture from Dekkan and South India to Burma, and the Malay peninsula and the Archipelago. The author of the *Periplus* and the ancient geographer Ptolemy, Fa Hian, Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing—let alone the less known Chinese travellers and chroniclers—Sulyman, Abu Zayd and other Arab writers furnish evidence that throughout the first ten centuries of the Christian era, the maritime trade of South India with the East and the West had a continuous and on the whole flourishing history. Then came the Cōḷa empire which united the Telugu and Tamil countries for nearly three centuries and was as powerful on sea as on land. The Cōḷa emperors sent embassies to China and naval expeditions to Malaya and Sumatra. They encouraged foreigners to come and settle in their country and one of the most celebrated of such foreign colonies on Indian soil was the settlement at Negapatam where the rulers of Sumatra built and maintained a large Vihāra for the use of their countrymen. Indians were not slow to go out to foreign lands, and a Tamil inscription at Sumatra of the year Śaka 1010 attests the presence in that island of the representatives of perhaps the most powerful merchant-guild of South India at the time.

In course of time the empire of the Cōḷas weakened, and as is the rule when great empires fall, many small powers set up a precarious independence, and a period of confusion supervened. In this period the trade of the country must have suffered an enormous contraction, and foreigners must have become less will-

---

1. 600 of 1909, E. I. XII, 188 ff.

ing to risk their wares and persons in a country where there was no security, and no settled government that could be trusted to pursue a sane economic policy. In all countries and times, trade is sensitive to changes in political conditions. When there was confusion in China in the ninth century A.D., Indian and Arab traders who used to go for trade to China withdrew to the Malay peninsula, and the Chinese had to go to the Southern seas carrying their own merchandise in their own vessels, and this was the beginning of the Chinese navigation of the high seas. The foreigners did not return to Chinese soil until the tenth century when settled conditions were restored, and the Imperial government took special measures to invite the foreigners to come and trade as before.

The Mōṭupaḷḷi inscription of Gaṇapati seems to imply that conditions were unfavourable to the advent of foreign traders on the coast of the Telugu country at the time of the inscription. The local rulers exacted from them all kinds of extortionate dues under one pretext or another, and were only too ready to turn their misfortunes to account by forcibly seizing whatever they salvaged from a wreck. Gaṇapati put an end to all this and guaranteed fair treatment and a hearty welcome to the foreign traders who came to Mōṭupaḷḷi. He averred his sympathy for the enterprise of merchants who valued wealth more than they feared death, and fixed a definite schedule of dues to be collected on the various articles of trade. Marco Polo mentions precious stones and fine cotton goods as the chief articles of export from Mōṭupaḷḷi. Gaṇapati's inscription gives a long list and the rate of customs duties on each article in the list. The text of the inscription is as follows;

तेनानेन श्रीगणपतिदेवमहाराजेन सकलद्वीपान्तरीपदेशान्तरपट्टनेषु गतागतं कुर्वाणेभ्यः सांयात्रिकेभ्य एवमभयशासनं दत्तम् । पूर्वं राजानः पोतपात्रेष्वन्यदेशाद्देशान्तरप्रवृत्तेषु दुर्वातेन समापतितेषु भग्नेष्वतीर्थसंगतेषु च संभृतानि कनककरितुरगरत्नादीनि वस्तूनि सकलानि बलादपहरन्ति । वयमपि प्राणेभ्योऽपि गरीयो धनमिति समुद्रयानकृतमहासाहसेभ्यस्तेभ्यः क्लृप्तशुल्कादृते कृपया कीर्त्यै धर्माय च सर्वं वितराम इति । तत् शुल्कपरिमाणम्—

1. एक्कुमटि डिगुमटिनि मुप्पयिंटनु ओक्कटि ।
2. श्रीगंधमु तुलामु ओकटिकि ग १०— ।

3. कर्पूरमुनकु चीनिकर्पूरानकू मुत्यालकू वेळ ग १ कि०—।।।≡

4. पंनीरु दंतमु जवादि कर्पूरतैळमु रागि तगरमु[1] रिसेय (?) सीसमु पट्टुनूळु पवडमू गंधद्रव्यालकून वेळ ग १ कि ०—१ ।—

5. मिरियाल वेळ ग १ कि ०—।।।—

6. पट्टु एळुवानिकिन्नि स्वरूपमु ओकटिकिनि ०—५ ।।

7. पोंकळु लक्ष ओक्कटिकिनि ग १०—३

Translation.

"By this glorious Mahārāja Gaṇapatidēva the following edict (assuring) safety has been granted to traders by sea starting for and arriving from all continents, islands, foreign countries, and cities.

Formerly kings used to take away by force the whole cargo, *viz.* gold, elephants, horses, gems, etc., carried by ships and vessels which, after they had started from one country for another, were attacked by storms, wrecked, and thrown on shore.

But We, out of mercy, for the sake of glory and merit, are granting everything besides the fixed duty to those who have incurred the great risk of a sea-voyage with the thought that wealth is more valuable than even life.

The rate of this duty (is) one in thirty on (all) exports and imports.

On one *tulām*[2] of sandal, 1 pagoda $\frac{1}{4}$ *faṇam.*

On 1 pagoda's value of (country) camphor, Chinese camphor, and pearls, $\frac{3}{4}$ and 3/8 *faṇam.*

On 1 pagoda's value of rose-water, ivory, civet, camphor-oil, copper, zinc, riseya (?), lead, silk-threads, corals, and perfumes, $1\frac{1}{4}$ and 1/8 *faṇam.*

On all silks, $5\frac{1}{2}$ *faṇams* per bale (? *svarūpa*).

On every lakh of areca-nuts, 1 pagoda $3\frac{1}{4}$ *faṇams.*

---

1. Zinc (Hultzsch). Tin?

2. Hultzsch takes *tulāmu* to be the same as *tulamu*, a rupee-weight. But if he is right in interpreting the symbols that follow to mean 1 pagoda and $\frac{1}{4}$ *faṇam* (ग=gadyana, ०—=ruka, ।=$\frac{1}{4}$ and—=1/8 in this inscription according to Hultzsch), the तुलामु must have been a much higher denomination. In Tamil *tulām* is 100 *palam*, each *palam* being of the weight of six rupees.

[In the Śaka year eleven hundred and sixty-six, named Krōdhin, at the great Dēśyūyakkoṇḍapaṭṭaṇa (also) named Mōṭupaḷḷi, Gaṇapatidēva set up for the sake of glory (this) edict-pillar which resembles a staff for the support of the eternal (law of) justice (dharma) which is stumbling in the mire of the Kali age."]

As this inscription calls sea-going a *mahāsāhasa*, we may draw the inference that the overseas trade of the country had passed more or less completely into the hands of foreigners, and that the indigenous population had already lost their maritime instincts and developed the new dread of the sea that has been so general in modern India. The edict of Gaṇapati was renewed more than a century later, in Śaka 1280, by the Reḍḍi king Annapota Reḍḍi.[1] A new schedule of taxes on imports which came into force under the Vijayanagar kings is recorded in an inscription of Dēvarāya Uḍaiyār in Śaka 1312.

1. 601 and 602 of 1909.

BAHURŪPAMIŚRA'S COMMENTARY ON THE DAŚARŪPAKA.

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, B.A. (HONS.),

Madras.

In the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, there are two commentaries on the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya, one by Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṁha who has commented on Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa also and another by Mahāmahopādhyāya Bahurūpamiśra. The former is not as noteworthy as the latter. It can be said that Bahurūpamiśra's commentary is the best we have on the standard dramaturgic text of Dhanañjaya, barring of course the Avaloka of Dhanika. Since the Sāhasāṅkīya Ṭīkā and the Ṭīkā of Devapāṇi on the Daśarūpaka quoted by Raṅganātha Dīkṣita in his commentary on the Vikramorvaśīya have not yet come to light, we cannot say anything about their worth.

The commentary of Bahurūpamiśra is contained in two MSS.,—i. R. 3670 which breaks off in the middle of chapter two and ii. R. 4188 which begins from where R. 3570 stops and runs up to the end. The work is, therefore, completely available to us, except for a small portion at its very end. Part of the commentary on the last verse of the Daśarūpaka which says that Lakṣaṇas like Bhūṣaṇa, etc., and Sandhyantaras like Sāma, etc., are not dealt with since they are included in one or the other Bhāva or Alaṁkāra, is lost to us.

Bahurūpamiśra quotes Śāradātanaya and hence must be later than him. Bahurūpa considers Śāradātanaya as a great authority and quotes Śāradātanaya's definition of Toṭaka with the words "इत्याचार्याः" (R. 4188, P. 37).

I

One of the important features of Bahurūpa's Daśarūpavyākhyā is that it is one of the few works that give us copious references to and quotations from Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Śṛ. Pra.), a work whose very hugeness stood in the way of its

circulation. Bahurūpa follows and borrows from Śāradātanaya who is himself a student of the Śṛ. Pra., some of the special opinions of which, he has recorded in his Bhāvaprakāśa. But it is not through the second hand source of Śāradātanaya that Bahurūpa is acquianted with Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. He has carefully gone through Bhoja's big work.

In his commentary on chapter I, Bahurūpa quotes often from Bhoja, mentioning the names, Bhoja and Śṛ. Pra. The quotations here are from two chapters, XI and XII, of the Śṛ. Pra., the former containing the description of the several varieties of dramatic composition and the latter dealing exclusively with the construction of drama. These quotations number about fourteen and all of them are found in the Śṛ. Pra. In one case, however, Bahurūpa makes a slight mistake and that is in his first quotation. (R. 3670, P. 4.)

"भोजराजेन नाटिकायाः प्रकरणनाटकयोः अन्तर्भावः, सट्टकस्य नाटिकान्तर्भाव उक्तः ।"

On p. 421, chap. xi, Vol. I, (Mad. MS.) of the Śṛ. Pra. Bhoja describes these two dramas, Nāṭikā and Saṭṭaka and he does not "include" the Nāṭikā in the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka, and the Saṭṭaka in the Nāṭikā. What exactly is said of them by Bhoja is that the Nāṭikā is *derived* from the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka—प्रकरणनाटकभेदः—and that the Saṭṭaka *is like* the Nāṭikā—नाटिकाप्रतिमः ।

There is one more noteworthy point in Bahurūpa's quotations from the Śṛ. Pra. here. The chapter on the construction of drama, the twelfth, in Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. is quoted by Bahurūpa by the name 'Nāṭakaprakāśa.' Though the name is not very inappropriate, the name itself is not found in the MS. of the Śṛ. Pra. The colophon to chapter twelve calls the chapter 'प्रबन्धाङ्गचतुष्षष्टिचतुष्टयप्रकाशः.'

The other citations from the Śṛ. Pra. in the first part of the work in R. 3670 are three. The total number of quotations from and references to Bhoja and his Śṛ. Pra. in the second part of the work in R. 4188 is thirteen.

i. The last three citations in the first MS. and the first two in the second are Bhoja's definitions of the four Rītis, as given by Bhoja in the chapter on Anubhāvas, the xvii, (Vol. III, Mad. MS.), in the Śṛ. Pra. These definitions are based not only

upon the definite Guṇas of Daṇḍin but upon such concepts as Upacāra, Yaugika-prayoga, Rūḍhi-prayoga, etc., a kind of Rīti-definition we are first acquainted with by Rājaśekhara (Kāvyamīmāṁsā, I, pp. 8—9) and which the Agnipurāṇa also borrows from Bhoja.[1] Rājaśekhara speaks of only three Rītis and Bhoja adds the Lāṭī.

ii. Bhoja's definitions of Narmasphoṭa (an Aṅga of the Kaiśikī vṛtti), of Utthāpaka (an Aṅga of the Sāttvatī vṛtti), of the Śuddha-viṣkambha in a Prakaraṇa, Bhoja's explanation of the name Vyāyoga—these are some of the other references to the Śṛ. Pra. in the second MS.

iii. A noteworthy reference is to Bhoja's fifth Vṛtti called 'Vimiśrā'. Bahurūpa refers to Bhoja's new Miśra vṛtti and quotes Bhoja's verse on it from chapter twelve of the Śṛ. Pra. Few writers had noted this Miśra vṛtti of Bhoja. Prakāśavarṣa, as has been pointed out in my article on him and his Rasārṇavālaṁkāra in the last number of this journal, notes this new Vṛtti but calls it Sādhāraṇī and attributes it to a Mahā Bhāmaha ! Bhoja's Miśravṛtti is criticised by Śiṅgabhūpāla. *Vide* J. O. R., VII, ii, pp. 102-3.

The other important topics upon which Bahurūpa quotes Bhoja are Sāhitya, Guṇa, Alaṁkāra and Rasa.

iv. Bhoja considers poetry as the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha and analyses this Sāhitya as comprising twelve aspects, falling into three departments of four. The first two sets of four go together and are the grammatical and logical relations; the last four stand above them as literary or poetical. The first eight are Vṛtti (Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī), Vivakṣā, Tātparya (and Dhvani) and Pravibhāga, four Kevala śabda-sambandha śaktis and Vyapekṣā, Sāmarthya, Anvaya and Ekārthībhāva, four Sāpekṣa śabda sambandha śaktis. The last four are Doṣahāna, Guṇādāna, Alaṁkārayoga and Rasāviyoga. This Sāhitya gives the scheme of Bhoja's huge treatise also. It is clearly summarised by Śāradātanaya in his Bhāvaprakāśa (Ch. vi, pp. 145—152) and by Bahurūpa on pp. 73—80 of R. 4188. Even the illustrative verses given by Bhoja are reproduced. Bahurūpa follows Śāradātanaya's text closely in summarising

1. I have explained this subject in an article on "Rīti and Guṇa in the Agnipurāṇa" which will be shortly appearing in the Indian Historical Quarterly.

Bhoja. The mention of Rasa as Vākyārtha brings in the subject. Bahurūpa holds the last, Rasāviyoga, as the end whose realisation the other eleven Sāhityas help.

v. The greatest contribution of Bhoja, even according to Bhoja himself, is his new Ahaṁkāra theory of Rasa. Bahurūpa knows it but he follows Dhanañjaya's view on Rasa. Therefore, Bahurūpa does not follow Bhoja on Rasa. He accepts only eight Rasas, dismissing even Śānta, but Bhoja considers all Bhāvas as capable of becoming Rasas. But, under the first Rasa of Śṛṅgāra, Bahurūpa refers to the view of Bhoja: (p. 95.)

"केचित्तु—अभिमानाहङ्कारादिपर्यायोपासनासहायः चित्तवृत्तिविशेषः शृङ्गारः ; स च तत्तत्सामग्रीविशेषसमासादितवैलक्षण्यः सलिलमिव बुद्बुद-तरङ्गफेनमुक्तादिभावं वीराद्भुतादिभावं भजत इति ।"

This is one of the few instances where Bhoja is referred to without the mention of his name. Bahurūpa says that Bhoja synthesised, so to say, all the other *seven* Rasas in the first, *viz.*, Śṛṅgāra, which is like water. Of it, Vīra and the others are manifestations even as bubble, wave, foam, etc., are several forms of the same water. This is not a correct statement of Bhoja's new Rasa theory. Many writers, ancient and modern, know that Bhoja glorified Śṛṅgāra and at once they jump to the conclusion that Bhoja was one who sought to merge all Rasas in Love, the Śṛṅgāra developing from the Ratisthāyibhāva. The fact is that Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra is different. It is the basic psychological factor of Ego called by the three names Ahaṁkāra, Abhimāna and Śṛṅgāra and it is of this that other Rasas are held as several manifestations. Even sexual love, the first Rasa of Śṛṅgāra developing from Rati, is its modification as much as Vīra, Adbhuta, etc. The primary significance of the word Rasa itself pertains only to this Prakṛti of Ahaṁkāra-Abhimāna-Śṛṅgāra and the developed (Prakṛṣṭa or Puṣṭa) states of Rati, etc., are only its Vikṛtis and are called Rasas only secondarily.

vi. Bahurūpa treats of Guṇas, Alaṁkāras, etc., in the suitable places, though they are not dealt with in the Daśarūpaka. He follows Bhoja completely on Guṇas and considers them as Alaṁkāras, as the Alaṁkāra called Svabhāvokti. Bahurūpa gives three sets of Guṇas, Śabdaguṇas, Arthaguṇas and Vaiśeṣika-guṇas, the last being the Doṣas which become Guṇas according to the Aucitya of the situation. He gives the twenty-four Guṇas,

all as given by Bhoja in his Śr. Pra. and the Sarāsvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.

vii. Alaṁkāras: (*a*) To state briefly, to Bhoja, as to Daṇḍin, everything contributing to the beauty of poetry—Kāvyaśobhākaradharma—is Alaṁkāra. Guṇas and Alaṁkāras and Rasas are all Alaṁkāras. Poetry is 'Alaṁkṛta Vākya'. This Alaṁkāra is of three kinds, Guṇa-pradhāna (Svabhāvokti), Alaṁkāra-pradhāna (Vakrokti) and Rasa-pradhāna (Rasokti). This threefold classification of poetic expression and the related ideas of Bhoja are given by Bahurūpa on pp. 107—108. (R. 4188.)

This means, poetry is distinguished by Alaṁkāra, which is Ukti of three kinds. Ukti is beautiful mode of speech and poetry is thus Uktipradhāna or Abhidhāpradhāna or Kavivyāpārapradhāna. Bahurūpa develops Bhoja in this manner and points out how Bhoja's position leads to Bhāmaha's characterisation of poetry as Vakrokti and to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's distinction of poetry from Śāstra and Ākhyāna on the basis of the shifting of emphasis from word and idea, Śabda and Artha, to the manner of expression. It is a pity that there are gaps in the lines in the MS. in this section which forms almost the end of the commentary.

"केचित् शोभाकरत्व-अविशेषात् रसगुणयोरलङ्कारत्वं मन्यन्ते । तन्मते त्रिविधा सूक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, वक्रोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, उपमारूपक(ाद्यलङ्कारप्राधन्ये वक्रोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिः) ।

अतः शब्देन अर्थप्रतिपादनं भूषयितुं यत् कविना उपादी(यते, तत् सर्वम् अलङ्कारः) । अत एव भट्टनायकेन अभिधाव्यापारः (काव्ये प्रधानमित्युक्तम्)—

"(शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।
(अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु) वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।
द्वयोर्गुणत्वे (व्यापारप्राधान्ये) काव्यमेव तत् ॥"

भामहेनापि—

"सैषा सर्वैव (वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो) विभाव्यते ।"

(R. 4188. pp. 107-8.)

(*b*) Secondly, Bahurūpa accepts Alaṁkāras (the Vakrokti class) as dealt with by Bhoja. Its three classes, Alaṁkāras of

Śabda, of Artha and of both, their exact number and nature—all these given by Bhoja both in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and the Śṛ. Pra. are accepted by Bahurūpa (p. 106).

(*c*) Thirdly, Bahurūpa also accepts Bhoja's magnification of Saṁsṛṣṭi as the greatest Alaṁkāra. Since Bhoja considers everything as Alaṁkāra, there was to him Alaṁkāra everywhere in poetic expression and, according to him, in a given place, there was a Saṁsṛṣṭi of many Alaṁkāras. Saṁsṛṣṭi thus gained great importance in Bhoja who considered it as the only means of achieving Rasa-aviyoga, the non-divorce of Rasa, from a verse or poem. This idea is accepted by Bahurūpa who says:

अयं च रसो गुणालङ्कारवशात् संसृष्टिवशादेव कवीनां पोषणीयः ।

(R. 4188. p. 104.)

Says Bhoja:

"यद्यपि प्रसङ्गतः तन्त्रयुक्त्या तत्र तत्र उपवर्णितः (रसः), तथापि गुणालङ्कारसन्निवेशविशेषजन्यत्वात् नानालङ्कारसंसृष्टावेव प्रकृष्टत्वं लभते । * * * संसृष्टिरेव प्रकृष्टं भूषणम् अवधार्यते ।"

Śṛ. Pra. Mad. Ms., Vol. II. p. 356.

II

The next notable writer whom Bahurūpa follows is Śāradātanaya whom, as has been pointed out already, he considers as Ācārya. Many of the examples given by Bahurūpa for the various types of drama are reproduced from the Bhāva Prakāśa.

One instance of these borrowings from Śāradātanaya can be specially pointed out here. Śāradātanaya refers to a dramaturgist named Subandhu who classified Nāṭaka into five kinds, Pūrṇa, Praśānta, Lalita, Bhāsvara and Samagra. Bahurūpa borrows all this information from the Bhāvaprakāśa.

Śāradātanaya's illustrations of these five types are also reproduced by Bahurūpa. In this connection, it has to be pointed out that the fifth type called Samagra is illustrated by Śāradātanaya by a drama called Nṛttacārā.

सर्वेषां यत्र रूपाणि दृश्यन्ते विविधानि च ।
नाटकं नृत्तचाराख्यं तत्समग्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Bhā. Pra., VIII, p. 241. Gaek. Edn.

The other reading given in the footnote is Nṛttavāra. Bahurūpa

refers to it and his reading is Nṛtyacāraka. (p. 37). "समग्रं यथा नृत्यचारकादि ।"

In an article entitled Nṛttapāra in Vol. I, No. 3 of the now defunct "Tirumalai Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa", Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi quietly takes Śāradātanaya as giving here a drama called *Nṛttapāra*. He says that Bahurūpa also gives it as Nṛttapāra. The MS. in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, as noted above, gives it as *Nṛtyacāraka* and not as *Nṛttapāra*. The Gaek. Edn. of the Bhāvaprakāśa refers to a Nṛttacāra or Nṛttavāra but not to any *Nṛttapāra*. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi quotes also the farce Bhagavadajjuka as giving in its prologue the same dramatic type as Nṛttapāra. The published text of the farce does not give Nṛttapāra but gives 'Vāra', (without the addition of Nṛtta), the variant in the Bhā. Pra. If we can suggest on the basis of the new kind of drama of Subandhu named Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī on the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter, Cāra or Vāra may be a mistake for Dhārā. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi considers the reading *Nāṭyadhārā* in the Abhinavabhāratī as a clerical error for Pāra. He must have understood the context in which Abhinava quotes it. Abhinava cites the Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā as an example of Nāṭyāyita which is explained by Abhinava as a long succession or a series (Dhārā) of play within play and this demands that the correct reading must be Dhārā. Pāra makes no sense here. It is not likely that the Nāṭyadhārā of Abhinava which is a chain of Garbha-nāṭakas is the same as the Samagra Nāṭaka called by Śāradātanaya Nṛttacāra or Nṛttavāra and Nṛtyacāraka by Bahurūpa.

III

Among the many lost dramas mentioned and quoted by Bahurūpa, some of the names are those given by Dhanika, Bhoja and Śāradātanaya. We meet with in Bahurūpa's commentary the following dramas:

Daśagrīvanigraha and Nāyakānanda (Acts of the Anargharāghava), Pāṇḍavānanda, Mālatikā (Vīthī), Rāmābhyudaya (of Yaśovarman), Nalavijaya, Devīpariṇaya, Menakānahuṣa, Madalekhā, Stambhitarambha, Taraṅgadatta (Prakaraṇa), Padmāvatīpariṇaya (Prakaraṇa), Puṣpadūṣitaka (Prakaraṇa), *Mādhavī* (Naṭikā), *Lalitanāgara* (Bhāṇa), *Śaśikalā* (Prahasana), *Bhagavadajjuka* (Prahasana), Tārakoddharaṇa and Vṛtroddharaṇa

(two Ḍimas), *Bhīmavikrama* (Vyāyoga), Amṛtamathana and *Śakrānanda* (two Samavakāras), Indulekhā, Vakulavīthī and *Kāmadattā* (three Vīthīs), *Nāgavijaya* (Utsṛṣṭikāṅka), Kuśumaśekharavijaya and *Ūrvaśīmadana* (two Īhāmṛgas) and Udāttarāghava (of Māyurāja).

Those names that are in Italics in the above list are given by Bahurūpa himself and are not known to us from other writers. Of these, the Bhagavadajjuka has come to light and has been published.

The verse "का भूषा बलिनां etc." from the Pāṇḍavānanda quoted by Bahurūpa is quoted by Dhanika, and Abhinava. The author of the Pāṇḍavānanda is not known.

The Mālatikā Vīthī is first quoted by Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. in Chap. XII. Bahurūpa quotes a longer passage which is of some importance. On p. 82, Dhanika quotes the passage wrongly as from the Vikramorvaśīya where it does not occur. Śāradātanaya copies Dhanika's mistake on p. 230, lines 15-16.

Two of Bahurūpa's references to the Rāmābhyudaya are valuable in that they shed light on some parts of the contents of the drama which we do not know from other sources. On p. 32 (R. 4188), he refers to the Rāmābhyudaya as having avoided the way in which the Anargharāghava twisted the episode of the killing of Vālin. On p. 33., he says that the Rāmābhyudaya gives us briefly in a Viṣkambhaka the defacing of Śūrpaṇakhā which is the seed of the enmity that is to grow between Rāvaṇa and Rāma.

The names Nalavijaya to Padmāvatīpariṇaya are borrowed from Śāradātanaya, and Puṣpadūṣita is a Prakaraṇa quoted by Abhinava and Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa.

The Mādhavī must be noted. It is not mentioned by Śāradātanaya or anybody else. Bahurūpa gives it as a Nāṭika in four Acts. (p. 41.)

Lalitanāgara Bhāṇa and Śaśikalā Śuddha prahasana (p. 44) are two more names we know from Bahurūpa for the first time. The Śakrānanda Samavakāra is perhaps on the theme of the Indradhvajotsava, Indra's flag-festival. The Kamadattā Vīthī is not mentioned by Bhoja or Śāradātanaya or by anybody else and so also the Nāgavijaya Utsṛṣṭikāṅka and Ūrvaśīmadana Īhāmṛga.

Tārakoddharaṇa and Vṛtroddharaṇa Ḍimas, Amṛtamathana Samavakāra, Indulekhā and Vakula Vīthīs and Kusumaśekhara Īhāmṛga are taken from the Bhāvaprakāśa.

Some interest attaches to the Bhīmavikramavyāyoga referred to by Bahurūpa himself.

He says on p. 45 in illustration of Vyāyoga:

'यथा सिन्धुराजभीमविक्रमादयः' ..

We are not able to decide whether Sindhurāja is the name of the author of the Bhīmavikrama or is the name of a Vyāyoga itself.

Bahurūpa quotes the Udāttarāghava of Māyurāja thrice. The first two quotations on pp. 58 and 67 are the same as found on pp. 102-3 and 110-111 of the Avaloka of Dhanika. It can only be inferred from the Avaloka that Citramāya who alarms Sītā and Rāma with report of danger to Lakṣmaṇa's life is really a Rākṣasa in the guise of a hermit. Bahurūpa clearly says that he is a demon in the guise of a hermit—"मृग(मुनि)रूपधारिणा उक्ते" p. 67. On 112, the Avaloka quotes two verses "किं लोभेन विलङ्घितः etc." and "कः समुचिताभिषेकात् etc." without mentioning their source. In the third quotation on p. 67, Bahurūpa tells us that the passage comprising these two verses are from the Udāttarāghava.

IV

(*a*) On p. 46. (R. 3670), Bahurūpa says:—

"'सूत्रणं सकलाङ्कानां ज्ञेयमङ्कमुखंबुधैः' इति षट्सहस्रीकारः।"

We know that Ṣaṭsahasrīkāra refers to Bharata, author of the Nāṭya śāstra. The Daśarūpakāvaloka and the Abhinavabhāratī point to the fact that the Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra had the other name 'Ṣaṭsahasrī'. But Bahurūpa's quotation is not traceable in the Kāvyamālā edn. or the Kāsī edn. of the Nāṭyā śāstra which give the definition of Aṅkamukha differently. (Chapter XXI, Śl. 116, Kāsī edn., Chap. XIX, Śl. 111, K. M. edn.)

(*b*) Bahurūpa refers to a text in 12,000 Granthas, the Dvādaśa sahasrī. He quotes the definition of Aṅkāvatara from it.

"समाप्यमान एतस्मिन्नितराङ्कार्थ[स्य]सूचनम्।
समासतो हि नाट्यज्ञैरङ्कावतर इष्यते ॥'

(R. 3670. P. 47.)

इति द्वादशसहस्रीकारः ।

Śāradātanaya simply refers to a text in 12,000 Ślokas in chapter XII, line 9, p. 287. (Bhā. Pra. Gaek. edn.)

(*c*) Bahurūpa quotes also from Kohala. Quotations from Kohala are available everywhere but no work of his has as yet come to light.

(*d*) *Bādarāyaṇa.*

On p. 21, (R. 4188), Bahurūpa says:—

"यथोक्तं बादरायणेन—

'यद्यप्यङ्गानि भूयांसि पूर्वरङ्गस्य नाटके ।
तथाप्यवश्यं कर्तव्या नान्दी विघ्नोपशान्तये ॥'"

This is a very frequently quoted verse and it is found on p. 197, Chap. VII, (lines 4-5) of Śāradātanaya's Bhā. Pra., which seems to be the source for later writers who quote it anonymously. But it is not ascertainable on what authority Bahurūpa quotes this as a verse from some dramaturgic text attributed to Bādarāyaṇa (Vyāsa). Pūrṇasarasvatī, in his commentary on the Mālatīmādhava (p. 6, Mad. MS. R. 3071), quotes this as Bādarāyaṇa's.

Numerous Devas and Ṛṣis are found in the pantheon of Nāṭyācāryas, but Vyāsa is found mentioned as one of them by only one writer, Śāradātanaya. The Bhāvaprakāśa refers to Vyāsa on pp. 55 and 251. On p. 55, one account of the origin of Rasa is begun as given by Vyāsa but it is strangely closed on p. 58 (lines 13-14) as given by Nārada to Bharata! On p. 251, Vyāsa is cited as holding in agreement with Āñjaneya, another writer on Saṁgīta and Nāṭya, that the Utsṛṣṭikāṅka has three acts!

व्यासाञ्जनेयगुरवः प्राहुरङ्कत्रयं यदा ।

Bharata is said to give it as an one-act piece and Kohala, as a two-act piece. Utsṛṣṭika-aṅka itself means obviously an one-act piece. But Bharata does not speak at all of the number of acts in this type. The Daśarūpaka also is silent upon this point. Bhoja only reproduces Bharata.

(*e*) It was pointed out in my articles on the Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī and the Vṛttis in the J. O. R. (Vol. VI, p. 168 and Vol. VII, pp. 91-101) how Udbhaṭa held a strange view on the subject of the Vṛttis. It was also pointed out how the Daśarūpaka refers to and criticises Udbhaṭa on Vṛttis but makes a mistake in stating Udbhaṭa's view. Dhanika does not

throw any light on the passage. Bahurūpamiśra comments on the verses but his remark also is mistaken.

भारत्याः शब्दवृत्तित्वेन अर्थवृत्तित्वं निराकुर्वन् आरभटीमुपसंहरति—

'एभिरङ्गैश्चतुर्धेयं नार्थवृत्तिरतः परा ।'

भारती तु तृतीयेऽभिधास्यत इत्याह—

'चतुर्थी भारती सा तु वाच्या नाटकलक्षणे ।'

एवं स्वमतेन अर्थवृत्तित्रयं शब्दवृत्तिं चैकामभिधाय अधुना उद्भटमतानुसरिणां भारतीमप्यर्थवृत्तिमाचक्षमाणानां पुनः शब्दवृत्त्यङ्गीकारेण वृत्तिपञ्चकप्रतिज्ञानं भवेदित्याह—

'भारतीं सात्त्वतीं चार्थवृत्तिमारभटीमिति ।

पठन्तः पञ्चमीं वृत्तिमौद्भटाः प्रतिजानते ॥'

एतच्च प्रतिज्ञामात्रमेव, नोपपत्तियुक्तम्, भारत्याः शब्दवृत्तित्वेन अर्थवृत्तित्वाभावात् इत्युक्तं प्रतिजानत इति । P. 14. R. 4188.

Udbhaṭa did not hold Vṛttis to be five; he did not hold two Bhāratīs, one of Śabda and one of Artha; his Artha-Vṛtti is different. (*See* J. O. R., Vol. VII, p. 91-101).

(*f*) Of the distribution of the Rasas over the four Vṛttis, I have spoken in a special section in my paper on the Vṛttis in the J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 45-49. On this subject of the 'Rasa-Niyama' of the Vṛttis, Bahurūpamiśra quotes Udbhaṭa as assigning Raudra, Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa to the Ārabhaṭī, Vīra, Raudra and Śānta to the Sāttvatī and Śṛṅgāra, Hāsya and Karuṇa to the Kaiśikī.

आरभट्यनुवृत्तौ तु उद्भटः—

रौद्रे भयानके चैव बीभत्से च विचक्षणैः ।

काव्यशोभाकरी वृत्तिरियमित्थं प्रयुज्यते ॥

तथा सात्त्वत्यनुवृत्तौ स एव—

वीर(रे)रौद्रेऽद्भुते शान्ते वृत्तिरेषा बुधैर्मता ।

तथा कैशिक्यनुवृत्तौ स एव—

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा(ण)रसातिशयसिद्धये ।

एषा वृत्तिः प्रयत्नेन प्रयोज्या विबुधैर्ध्रुवम् ॥ P. 15. R. 4188.

It is not known from which work of Udbhaṭa these Anuṣṭubhs are quoted by Bahurūpa.

(*g*) Of the relation between Vṛttis and Rītis, I have spoken in my Vṛtti paper in two sections. (J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 51 and 108-111.) Generally speaking, Vṛtti comprehends both Pravṛtti and Rīti; but, as Rājaśekhara says, Vṛtti is 'Ceṣṭā-vinyāsa-krama', Pravṛtti is 'Veṣa-vinyāsa-krama' and Rīti is 'Vacana-vinyāsa-krama'.

"तत्र वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमः वृत्तिः, वचनविन्यासक्रमः रीतिः ।" K. M. I. 3.

Bahurūpamiśra has two interesting quotations is this connection. He quotes an unknown writer who goes to the extent of defining Vṛtti as Rīti, a mode of speech, "Vāṇī". He quotes the writer on the Kaiśikī and the Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis.

"अन्यैस्तु रीतिनियमगर्भं च कैशिकीलक्षणमुक्तम् । यथा—
या नृत्तगीतप्रमदोपभोगदेशा....संकीर्तनचारुबन्धा ।
माधुर्ययुक्ताल्पसमासरम्या वाणी स्मृतासाविह कैशिकीति ॥"

P. 6. R. 4188.

"अन्यैस्तु रीतिनियमगर्भं आरभटीलक्षणमुक्तम् । यथा—
या चित्रयुद्धश्रमशस्त्रपातैर्मायेन्द्रजालद्रुतलङ्घनाढ्या ।
ओजस्विगुर्वक्षरबन्धगाढा ज्ञेया बुधैः सारभटीति वृत्तिः ।"

P. 12. R. 4188.

The first halves of the verses define Vṛtti as 'Ceṣṭā' but the verses end by defining Vṛtti as 'Vacana'. This writer would equate Kaiśikī Vṛtti with Vaidarbhī Rīti and Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti with Gauḍī Rīti.

VI

Besides the noteworthy points above surveyed, there are two more that deserve notice.

i. While discussing Rasa, Bahurūpa says that there are some writers who consider Rasa as pertaining primarily to the character in the drama and who hold consequently that the Rasa realised by the spectator is only a semblance of that Rasa of the character, Rasa-ābhāsa. Bahurūpa refutes this view.

"केचित्तु रामादिगत एव रसः काव्यप्रतिपाद्यः, सामाजिकगतस्तु रसाभास इति प्रतिजानते । तत्तु वयं न मृष्यामहे ।" p. 83. R. 4188.

Though the ancients like Daṇḍin and Lollaṭa (Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. I., Gaek. edn., p. 274) held Rasa as residing in the character and the actor, it is not said anywhere by any writer that the Rasa of the Sāmājika is only Rasa-ābhāsa, though this seems to be the logically inevitable end of that view.

ii. Nāṭakālaṁkāras and Lakṣaṇas.

Bharata deals with a concept called Lakṣaṇa in Chapter XVII and its meaning, history etc. were examined by the present writer in an article on Lakṣaṇa in the J. O. R., Vol. VI, pp. 54-82. The Lakṣaṇas are thirty-six in number. Bharata's text contains two recensions, a list of thirty-six lakṣaṇas in Anuṣṭubh verses and another of the same number in Upajāti verses. A few are found in both lists. The Lakṣaṇas came to be called in later literature Nāṭyālaṁkāra and Bhūṣaṇa also. Some of them resemble Sandhyaṅgas, some Bhāvas and some Alaṁkāras, a fact which explains their disappearance in later times. One of the few writers who still deal with it in later times in Bahurūpamiśra.

The Daśarūpaka refers to Lakṣaṇa in two places. It says in Ch. III, 32-33:

रसं वा न तिरोदध्याद्वस्त्वलङ्कारलक्षणैः ।

Dhanika says here : लक्षणैः भूषणादिभिः । Dhanika takes Alaṁkāra as Upamā etc., but Bahurūpa takes it in two senses, Upamā, etc., and Nāṭakālaṁkāras like Atiśaya etc.

"उपमादयोऽलङ्काराः । अतिशयादयो नाटकालङ्काराः । शोभोदाहरणसंशयदृष्टान्तक्षमागुणवाद(गुणानुवाद)आनन्द(आक्रन्द)कपटादीनि लक्षणानीति ।"

p. 35, R. 41८8

The Daśarūpaka says in the last verse—

षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणादीनि * * * ।
लक्ष्मसन्ध्यन्तराङ्गानि सालङ्कारेषु तेषु च ॥

Commenting on this also, Bahurūpa gives two concepts called Nāṭakālaṁkāra and Lakṣaṇa. As far as we can see now, Mātṛgupta, as quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala, is the earliest writer to mention the concept Nāṭyālaṁkāra, besides Lakṣaṇa. Śāradātanaya gives the Lakṣaṇas themselves as Bhūṣaṇas and Nāṭyālaṁkāras. His list contains more than thirty-six, probably sixty-four which is Bhoja's number. Bahurūpa gives his two sets of Nāṭakālaṁkāras

and Lakṣaṇas in the last page of the MS. There are gaps in the enumeration and the text is lost after the enumeration. So we are not able to have Bahurūpa's explanation of what these two exactly mean and how they differ. He must, of course, have agreed with the Daśarūpaka that they are included in Bhāvas and Alaṁkāras. From what we can see from the enumeration, we can say that Bahurūpa borrows from Śāradātanaya whose single list he divides into two under the two heads of Nāṭakālaṁkāras and Lakṣaṇas. Bahurūpa's position corresponds to that of Viśvanātha but there is no evidence to find out who is the later of the two and whether one borrowed from the other.

FIVE STAGES OF PRE-VEDIC DETERMINATIVE-COMPOUND-ACCENTUATION AS SURMISED BY THE HISTORIC SURVIVALS OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN SANSKRIT.

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, B.A. (HONS.),

Research Student in Sanskrit,
University of Madras.

It was shown in my previous paper that even in the Sanskrit of the later Vedic period there survived some determinative compounds which faithfully preserved the logical accent on the first member and it was also seen that probably on account of false perception (from our stand-point), later on the final member of the determinative compounds might have come to be accented. An attempt too, was made to show how determinatives might have served as basis for the evolution of a new class of compounds—the epithetised class—which might have been formed from out of the existing stock of old determinative compounds, for, as Brugmann says, side by side with forms like rāja-putra-s (king's son) we have forms like rāja-putra-s (having kings for sons).[1]

This view is further supported by the following dictum current among the followers of the Mahābhāṣya—

"न कर्मधारयान्मत्वर्थीयेन भवितव्यम्"

which is however not an actual quotation from the Mahābhāṣya, but a Nyāya deduced from what Patañjali says in a number of places with regard to this topic. Nāgeśa is of the same opinion for says he in his Uddyota under Pāṇini's sūtra—

"वर्णो वर्णेन" (P. II, 1, 69.)

अयमेवार्थतः पठ्यते "न कर्मधारयान्मत्वर्थीयः" इति भाष्ये ।

---

1. Grundriss, Vol. II, Page 36.

Patañjali says under the same sūtra the following, commenting upon the Vārtikas—

समानाधिकरणसमासाद्बहुव्रीहिः and कदाचित् कर्मधारयः सर्वधनाद्यर्थः इष्टिरियं पठिता । समानाधिकरणसमासाद्बहुव्रीहिरिष्टिः, कदाचित् कर्मधारयः, सर्वधनाद्यर्थ इति ।

The object of this paper is, as it had been already foreshadowed, to mark the various stages of determinative compound accentuation in the primitive Indo-European. The first stage is represented by the historic survivals of such non-epithetised compounds as a-kumāra-s (no boy any longer)[1]—where the accent of the first member is preserved intact in the compound. Ṛg Vedic compounds like

bhaga bhaktasya (Ṛv. I, 24, 5).

vipra jūtaḥ (Ṛv. I, 3, 5).

a-stṛtam (Ṛv. I, 15, 5).

an-ādhṛṣṭāsaḥ (Ṛv. I, 19, 4).

a gohyam (Ṛv. X, 64, 3).

pu-ramdhim (Ṛv. II, 38, 10; I, 116, 7).

puram-dhiḥ (Ṛv. I, 116, 13).

may all be taken to represent this stage in the pre-Vedic language.

Pāṇini brings a number of historic survivals of this stage of determinative compound accentuation, in the Sanskrit of the later Vedic period within the scope of some special sūtras he framed for them.

We shall see them, one by one.

"तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः"

(P. VI, 2, 2.)

a-brāhmaṇaḥ, ku-brāhmaṇa-s,

ku-vṛṣala-s, niṣ-kauśāmbi-s,

nir-vāraṇasi-s, tulya-lohita-s,

sadṛśa-śvetaḥ, sadṛśa-mahān,

śaṁkulā-khaṇḍa-s,

---

1. Brugmann. Grundriss, Vol. II, Page 93.

kiri-kāṇa-s, akṣa-śauṇḍa-s,
pāna-śauṇḍa-s, śastri-śyāmā
kumuda-śyenī, nyagrodha-
parimaṇḍalā, muhūrta-sukham,
haraṇīya-cūrṇam, ati-khaṭva-s,
ati-māla-s
nāsatyābhyām (Ṛv. I, 116, 1).
patayan maṁdayat-sakham[1] (Ṛv. I, 4, 7).

[The true characteristic of tatpuruṣa compounds was not lost sight of in compounds like ati-khaṭva-s and ati-māla-s not only through the preservation of the logical accent on the first member, but in another way also as Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita records in his Siddhānta Kaumudī which is as follows:—

'उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः' इत्यपि प्राचां प्रवादः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः....... अतिमालादौ तत्पुरुषे चाभावात्[2] ॥

Further, the importance of the first member in tatpuruṣa was recognised as is seen in the following passage in the commentary Bālamanoramā under the sūtra—

"परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः" (II, 4, 26.)

'अर्धपिप्पली' इति । अस्य एकदेशिसमासस्य पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानतया पूर्वपदलिङ्गे प्राप्ते उत्तरपदलिङ्गार्थं विधिः ॥]

Kātyāyana restricts the scope of the operation of this sūtra (VI, 2, 2.) when it comes to the question of accentuation of such tatpuruṣas whose prior member is अव्यय, in the following manner.

"अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानाम्"

Hence ayajñasācaḥ (Ṛv. VI, 67, 9).

This shows that the logical accent of determinatives when the first member is an avyaya other than नञ्कु etc. should have long ago shifted forward the accent in the pre-Ṛgvedic language.

1. *cf.* Sāyaṇa on this मन्दयतीन्द्रे सखा । सप्तमीति योगविभागात् समासः ।
2. page 417 Bālamanoramā edition.

Other sūtras of Pāṇini representing this stage are :—

"वर्णो वर्णेष्वनेते" (P. VI, 2, 3).

kṛṣṇasāraṅgaḥ, lohitakalmāṣaḥ

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे (P. VI, 2, 4).

aritra-gādham udakam "Water as low or fordable as an Aritra *i.e.* of the depth of a pestle."

go-lavaṇam "so much salt as may be given to a cow."

दायाद्यं दायादे (P. VI, 2, 5).

dhanadāyādaḥ

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः (P. VI, 2, 6).

gamana ciram, vyāharaṇakṛcchram

पदेऽपदेशे (P. VI, 2, 7).

mūtrapadena prasthitaḥ, uccārapadena prasthitaḥ

निवाते वातत्राणे (P. VI, 2, 8).

kuṭīnivātam

शारदेऽनार्तवे (P. VI. 2. 9).

rajjuśāradam udakam "fresh drawn water."

अध्वर्युकषाययोर्जातौ (P. VI, 2, 10).

pracyādhvaryuḥ| kaṭhādhvaryuḥ| kalāpādhvaryuḥ| sarppirmaṇḍa-kaṣāyam| umāpuṣpa-kaṣāyam| dauvārika-kaṣāyam

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये (P. V, 2,11.)

pitṛsadṛśaḥ

द्विगौ प्रमाणे (P. VI, 2, 12).

prācya-saptasama-s

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे (P. VI, 2, 13).

---

1. This and some of the following sūtras, for instance from VI, 2, 24 upto VI, 2, 31 are significant, for the compounds brought under their scope are समानाधिकरणसमासs.

madrá-vāṇijaḥ| gó-vāṇijaḥ

मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके (P. VI, 2, 14.)

bhikṣā́-mātram (a genitive compound)

pā́ṇinyupajñam

íkṣucchāyam

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते (P. VI, 2, 15.)

gámana-sukham| gámana-priyam

प्रीतौ च (P. VI, 2, 16.)

brāhmaṇá-sukham pāyasam

chātrá-priyaḥ anadhyāyaḥ

स्वं स्वामिनि (P. VI, 2, 17.)

gó-svāmī

पत्यावैश्वर्ये (P. VI, 2, 18.)

damū́nā gṛ́hapatirdame (Ṛv. I, 60, 4.)

[According to the following sūtra the original accent on the first member is retained optionally in some determinative compounds. Probably in these, the true reason for accenting the prior member might have been forgotten long before. Hence is the option for the retention of the original logical accentuation in these determinative compounds.]

वा भुवनम् (P. VI, 2, 20.)

bhúvana-patiḥ

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने (P. VI, 2, 21.)

gámanā-śaṅkam| gámanā-bādham| gámana-nediyaḥ

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे (P. VI, 2, 22.)

āḍhyápūrvaḥ

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये (P. VI, 2, 23.)

madrásavidham madrásaveśam| madrásadeśam

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु (P. VI, 2, 24.)

vispaṣṭakaṭukam

श्रज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये (P. VI, 2, 25.)

gamana-śreṣṭham| gamana-śreyas| vacana-jyeṣṭham| vacana-jyāya-s| gamanā-vamam| gamana-kaniṣṭham| gamana-pāpiṣṭham| gamana-pāpīyaḥ

कुमारश्च (P. VI, 2, 26.)

kumāra-śramaṇā| kumāra-kulaṭā| kumāra-tāpasī

[The different ways of accenting the karmadhāraya compounds in which the word kumāra is the prior member during the historical period, is as interesting as the different ways of accenting the compounds formed with pati as the second member. According to the next sūtra P. VI, 2, 27 कुमारः प्रत्येनासि, in the compound kumāra-pratyenāḥ, the accent is on the first syllable. (Probably this was the earlier accentuation of the compound). Then by the following sūtra, the first syllable of kumāra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting, 'the name of a horde'.]

पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् (P. VI, 2, 28.)

kumāra-cātakāḥ| kumāra-lohadhvajāḥ| kumāra-balāhakāḥ| kumāra-jīmūtāḥ

This rule being optional, we have forms like kumāra-cātakāḥ etc. also by the sūtra VI, 2, 26. But we have also forms like kumāra-cātakāḥ, representing the last stage of determinative compound accentuation. Fortunately for us, some compounds formed with—pati in a similar manner suggest the different stages of determinative compound accentuation that strengthens our position.[1]

1. vasu-patim (Ṛv. I. 9, 9.)
   medhapati [Kāṭh. 16, 21. (244, 10.) T. S. 3, 3, 6, 1.]
   bhuvana-patiḥ
   pavitra-patiḥ (Śatapatha brāhmaṇa III, 1, 3, 23.)
   haviṣpatiḥ (Ṛv. I, 12, 8.)

The next sūtra (VI, 2, 29) I have already noticed in my previous paper. (J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, part II.)

By the following sūtra

बह्वन्यतरस्याम् (VI, 2, 30.)

the accent on the first member is optionally preserved in compounds formed with bahu as the first member.

bahu-māsyaḥ| bahu-kapālaḥ| bahu-bhagālaḥ

Otherwise the accent is shifted to the last syllable of the compounds.[1]

Similarly the next sūtra

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च (P. VI, 2. 31.)

pañca-disṭiḥ| pañca-vitastiḥ

The next sūtra (P. VI, 2, 32.) speaks of the accentuation in some सप्तमीतत्पुरुष compounds.

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात् (P. VI, 2, 33.)

sāṁkāśya-siddhaḥ| kāmpilya-siddhaḥ

or by Phiṭ sūtra III, 16.

सांकाश्यकाम्पिल्यनासिक्यदार्वाघाटानाम्

the accent in these compounds is on the second syllable of the first word as

sāṁkāśya-siddhaḥ| kāmpilya-siddhaḥ| bhrāṣṭra-pakvaḥ| cakra-bandhaḥ

The following three sūtras of Pāṇini relate to a particular kind of karmadhāraya compounds in regard to our first stage of determinative compound accentuation.

---

gṛha-patiḥ (Ṛv. I, 60, 4; 12, 6.)

prajā-patiḥ (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III, 1, 3, 22.)

viś-patim (Ṛv. I, 12, 2.)

cit-patiḥ (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III, 1, 3, 22.)

1. This was because, as we have already seen, during the historical period the true reason for accenting the prior member of the determinatives was forgotten.

महान्व्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीष्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु
(P. VI, 2, 38.)

mahā-vrīhiḥ| mahā-parāhṇaḥ

mahā-gṛṣṭiḥ| maheṣvāsaḥ| mahājābālaḥ| mahā-bhāraḥ| mahā-bhārataḥ| mahā-hailihilaḥ| mahā-rauravaḥ| mahā-pravṛddhaḥ

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे (P. VI, 2, 39.)

mahā-vaiśvadevam| kṣullaka-vaiśvadevam M. S. 2, 11, 5 (P. 143, 5) Kāṭh. 18, 11 (P. 273, 3.)

उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्ययोः (P. VI, 2, 40.)

uṣṭrasādi| uṣṭravāmi

The following sūtras again speak of some other determinative compounds which retain the original accent of the first member.

गौः सादसादिसारथिषु (P. VI, 2, 41.)

go-sādaḥ| go-sādiḥ| go-sārathiḥ|

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपापारेवडवातैत्तिलकद्रूः
पण्यकम्बलोदासीभाराणां च (P. VI, 2. 42.)

kuru-gārhapatam| rikta-guruḥ or rikta-guruḥ[1]| asūta-jaratī| aślīla-dṛḍharūpā| pāre-va-ḍavā[2]| taittilakadrūḥ| paṇya-kambalaḥ[3]| dāsī-bhāraḥ| rāye sa puraṁdhyām (Rv. I, 5, 3.)[4]

---

1. For rikta has acute either on the first or the second syllable by Pāṇini's sūtra रिक्ते विभाषा. (VI, 1, 208.)

2. This is a samāsa with the force of इव, and there is irregularly no elision of the case-ending. This closely resembles the dvandva compound dvā-daśa.

3. The vārtikakāra says that this compound has acute on the first syllable, only when it is a name संज्ञायामिति वक्तव्यम्.

4. The case-ending of पुर is retained here as a vedic anomaly.

cf. Sāyaṇas comments on the compound puraṁ-dhyām :—

पुरंध्याम् । पुरंधिः पुरुधीः । पृषोदरादित्वात् (Pāṇini VI, 3, 109) उकारस्यामादेशः, ईकारस्य ह्रस्वश्च । आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्

चतुर्थी तदर्थे (P. VI, 2, 43).

yūpa-dāru

अर्थे (P. VI, 2, 44).

devatārtham

क्ते च (P. VI, 2, 45).

go-hitam[1]

The following sūtra too speaks of the retention of the original accent of the first member in karmadhāraya compounds whose last member is a past participle in 'kta'. कर्मधारयेऽनिष्ठा (P. VI, 2, 46.)

śreṇi-kṛtāḥ| ūka-kṛtāḥ| pūga-kṛtāḥ| nidhana-kṛtāḥ|

The next two sūtras bring within their scope the dvitīyā and tṛtīyā tatpuruṣa compounds respectively whose second member is a past participle.

अहीने द्वितीया (P. VI, 2, 47.)

kaṣṭa-śritaḥ| grāma-gataḥ|

तृतीया कर्मणि (P. VI, 2, 48.)

rudra-hataḥ| tvo-tāsaḥ| māhārāja-hataḥ| manurhitaḥ[2]| indra-tvotāḥ. Ṛv. I, 132, 1; VIII, 19, 16.

(Pāṇini VI, 2, 199. vārtika. 1.) इत्याद्युदात्तत्वम् । अथवा पुरं शरीरं धीयते अस्यामिति कर्मण्यधिकरणे च (Pāṇini III, 3, 93) इति किप्रत्ययः । अलुक् छान्दसः। नब्विषयस्यानिसन्तस्येति पुरशब्द आद्युदात्तः । दासीभारादित्वात् (VI, 2, 42.)

1. It should be noted that in compounds of this type, the second member is a past participle. Hence they resemble closely compounds like su-kṛtam. (Ṛv. I, 85, 9a.)

2. Ṛv. I, 13, 4.

Skandasvāmin is inclined to take it also as a locative compound. He says here;--मनुना प्रजापतिना निहितः स्थापितः मनु(ष्याय ? ष्यपर्या) यो वा मनुशब्दः मनुष्येषु निहितः उपकारक इत्यर्थः *cf.* page 93 of Ṛksaṁhitā with Skandasvāmin's bhāṣya. T. S. S.

In Ṛv. I, 14, 11. he takes it to be an ablative compound also. *Vide* page 104. *ibid.*

Now Pāṇini proceeds to enumerate some other determinative compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class which quite logically accent the first member (though optionally).

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने (P. VI, 2, 55.)

dvisuvarṇa-dhanam

प्रथमोऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ (P. VI, 2, 56.)

prathama-vaiyākaraṇaḥ[1]

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारेय (P. VI. 2. 57.)

katara-kaṭhaḥ| katama-kaṭhaḥ

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः (P. VI, 2, 58.)

āryabrāhmaṇaḥ| āryakumāraḥ

राजा च (P. VI, 2, 59.)

rājabrahmaṇaḥ| rājakumaraḥ[2]

"ग्रामः शिल्पिनि (P. VI, 2, 62.)

grāma-nāpitaḥ| grāma-kulālaḥ

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् (P. VI, 2, 63.)

rāja-nāpitaḥ| rāja-kulālaḥ[3]

---

1. But if the compound does not mean a novice and on the other hand means 'the first grammarian or a grammarian of the first rank', it has accent on the final. Here the device of denoting a different meaning through shift of accent must certainly be a later one.

2. The next sūtra takes into account the षष्ठीतत्पुरुष. षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि (P. VI, 2, 60.)

rāja-pratyenāḥ.

And the next sūtra speaks of the accusative compounds in which the second member is a past participle in 'kta' क्ते नित्यार्थे (P. VI, 2, 61.)

nitya-prahasitaḥ

3. These may be kārmadhāraya or genitive compounds. Here also a device was invented by which through shifting the accent to the last syllable of the compound, the idea of praise was lost.

Pāṇini then proceeds to describe the accent of certain compounds of the non-epithetised class under the अधिकारसूत्र

आदिरुदात्तः[1] (P. VI, 2. 64.)

सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे (P. VI, 2, 65.)

múkuṭe-kārṣāpaṇam| hále-dvipadikā

yájñikāśvaḥ 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'.

vaíyākaraṇa-hastī

युक्ते च (P. VI, 2, 66.)

gó-vallavaḥ

विभाषाध्यक्षे (P. VI, 2, 67.)

gávādhyakṣaḥ 'a superintendent of cows'.

(this accent being optional, we have the form gavādhyakṣáḥ too.)

पापं च शिल्पिनि (P. VI, 2, 68.)

pápa-nāpitaḥ

(when it is appositional compound, but when it is a genitive compound, it is pāpa-nāpitáḥ.)

---

1. It is significant that Pāṇini says here आदिरुदात्तः—the initial syllable of the first member of some determinative compounds gets the acute. He does not say now as before that the original accent of the first member (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वर) is preserved in these unepithetised compounds.

Originally this farthest retraction of the accent to the first syllable of the determinative compounds might have been due to a desire to bring out in an impressive manner the importance of the first member, being the accentuation of greatest dignity and force.

Vide. Bopp's "Comparative accentuation of the Greek and Sanskrit languages" (Vergleichendes Accentuation system, nebst einer gedrängten darstellung der grammatischen Uebereinstimmungen, des Sanskrit und Griechischen) Page 16-17. quoted by W. D. Whitney in the bibliographical notice. Volume 5 of the Journal of the American Oriental Society (1856). Page 205.

But later on this reason might have been forgotten and more mechanically the first syllable of the first member of the determinative compounds might have come to be accented.

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे (P. VI, 2, 69.)

jaṅghā-vātsyaḥ| bhāryā-sauśrutaḥ| vaśābrāhmakṛteyaḥ| kumārī-dākṣaḥ| kambala-cārāyaṇeyaḥ| ghṛta-rauḍhīyaḥ| odana-paṇinīyaḥ| bhikṣā-māṇavaḥ| vṛṣalī-brāhmaṇaḥ| bhaya-brāhmaṇaḥ

अङ्गानि मैरेये (P. VI, 2, 70.)

madhu-maireyaḥ "the maireya prepared from honey".

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु (P. VI, 2, 71.)

bhikṣā-kaṃsaḥ| bhājī-kaṃsaḥ

गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने (P. VI, 2, 72.)

dhānya-gavaḥ| go-biḍālaḥ| tṛṇa-siṃhaḥ| saktu-saindhavaḥ

अके जीविकार्थे (P. VI, 2, 73.)

danta-lekhakaḥ

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् (P. VI, 2, 74.)

uddālaka-puṣpabhañjikā

अणि नियुक्ते (P. VI, 2. 75.)

chattra-dhāraḥ

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः (P. VI, 2, 76).

tantu-vāyaḥ

संज्ञायां च (P. VI, 2, 77.)

tantu-vāyaḥ "a kind of insect, spider".

गोतन्तियवं पाले (P. VI, 2, 78.)

go-pālaḥ| tanti-pālaḥ| yava-pālaḥ

णिनि (P. VI, 2, 79.)

puṣpa-hārī

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव (P. VI, 2, 80).

uṣṭra-krośī| dhvāṅkṣa-rāvī

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च (P. VI, 2, 81.)

yuktā-rohī| āgata-yodhī| āgata-nardī| āgata-prahārī| kṣīra-hōtā| bhaginī-bhartā| aśva-trirātraḥ| garga-trirātraḥ| samapādaḥ

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे (P. VI, 2, 82.)

kuṭījaḥ| kāśajaḥ| tuṣajaḥ| bhrāṣṭrajaḥ| vaṭajaḥ

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः (P. VI; 2, 84.)

malla-grāmaḥ

घोषादिषु च (P. VI, 2, 85.)

dākṣi-ghōṣaḥ| dākṣi-kaṭaḥ| dākṣi-piṅgalaḥ| kunda-tṛṇam| āśrama-muniḥ

छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् (P. VI, 2, 86.)

chātri-śālā| aili-śālā| bhāṇḍi-śālā

प्रस्थेऽवृद्धमकर्क्यादीनाम् (P. VI, 2, 87.)

indra-prasthaḥ

मालादीनां च (P. VI, 2, 88.)

mālā-prasthaḥ| śoṇā-prasthaḥ

अमहन्नवं नगरेऽनुदीचाम् (P. VI, 2, 89.)

brahma-nagaram

अर्मे चावर्णं द्व्यच् त्र्यच् (P. VI, 2, 90.)

guptārmam| kukkuṭārmam[1]

---

1. In their origin, the accentuation of these compounds at least, on the initial syllable of the first member might have been due to analogy with those determinative compounds which logically preserved the original word accent of the first member that was on the initial syllable. This guess is tenable, for, as Brugmann records (*see* section 672 of Vol. I of the Comparative Grammar) we have a number of such changes in accentuation due doubtless to analogy.

Examples—"For * ganvas I. du. 'we come' (from * gn̥-uas) came ganvas after the singular form like ganti; the formal similarity with the forms, accented on the root, which had arisen phonetically, occasioned this innovation, *cf.* alongside these ga-thas ga-tas etc. Presents with original a in the root syllable, as

आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् (P. VI, 2, 125.)

cihaṇa-kantham | madura-kantham

In all probability the determinative compound-accentuation passed through these two stages in the stress-dominating period of the primative Indo-European tongue.

When pitch came to preponderate, replacing the original stress, the accent on the initial syllable of the determinative compounds must have slowly been displaced by a rhythmical accent and the next definite stage we can mark in determinative compound-accentuation definitely is the one where the last syllable of the first member comes to bear the accent.

Historic survivals of these may be brought under such sūtras of Pāṇini as have to be read together with the अधिकारसूत्र—

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 92.)

These sūtras are the following:—

सर्वं गुणकार्त्स्न्ये (P. VI, 2, 93.)

sarva-śvetaḥ | sarva-mahān

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः (P. VI, 2, 94.)

añjanā-giriḥ

कुमार्यां वयसि (P. VI, 2, 95.)

vṛddha-kumārī | jarat-kumārī

उदकेऽकेवले (P. VI, 2, 96.)

guḍodakam

द्विगौ क्रतौ (P. VI, 2, 97.)

garga-trirātraḥ | kusuravinda-saptarātra-s | caraka-trirātra-s

One of the earliest compounds representing this stage of determinative compound-accentuation is probably the compound viśva-śambhuvam (Ṛv. I, 23, 20.).

---

bharāmi, caused the accent in those verbs whose root syallable had unaccented '*a*' to pass over to the root syllable; gacchāmi 'I come' from *gm̥-skhō (*cf.* icchāmi ṛcchāmi etc.).

Sāyaṇa, in spite of his pronounced predilection to take the compounds in which the word Viśva occurs as the first member, as epithetised compounds generally[1] is forced, however, unwillingly, though at least for a time, to interpret this compound as a dependent Tatpuruṣa. Says he:—सर्वस्य जगतः सुखकरम् एतन्नामकं चाग्निम् । It is of great interest to note how Sāyaṇa struggles to explain the accentuation of this compound. Says he:— व्यत्ययेन पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् ।

This passage may present to any one considerable difficulty and is likely to confuse. I despaired and was about to give up the attempt to successfully interpret this small bit in Sāyaṇa as lost, when my most revered professor Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Śāstrigal kindly gave me the correct interpretation of the passage in question and that is the following:

"By the सामर्थ्य of the word व्यत्यय in the passage, two meanings have to be got. We first arrive at the sense that the original accent of the first word is retained anomalously in the compound Viśvaśambhuvam though the compound is Tatpuruṣa. But this is not enough, for the original accent of the word Viśva is on the first syllable (Viśvaśabda being kvanpratyayānta) by the sūtra "ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् (Pāṇini, VI, 1, 197).

So by व्यत्ययेन we have to take again that this original accent (being on the first syllable) of विश्वशब्द in the compound, is further anomalously shifted to the end of the first word by the Vārtika under the sūtra of Pāṇini 'परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्' (P. VI, 2, 199.)[2]

Sāyaṇa had already quoted this sūtra in a previous passage.[3] Hence he does not quote it here again. (on Ṛv. I, 23, 20)".

(This interpretation of the passage व्यत्ययेन पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं in Sāyaṇa is justified also in the light of his comments on the

---

1. *See* in support of this remark Sāyaṇa's comments on Ṛv. I, 35, 4a; I, 160, 1a; 4b; I, 9, 7 etc.

2. Though this sūtra and Vārtika under it are obviously intended to explain the irregularlity in the matter of epithetised compound accentuation alone, see below towards the end of this paper.

3. In his comments on Ṛv. I, 9, 7.

accent of the determinative compound viś-patim (Ṛv. I, 12, 2.) where also he drags the sūtra परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् (P. VI, 2, 199.) which is in all likelihood intended by Pāṇini to explain the anomaly in accentuation of some epithetised compounds only.

Sāyaṇa says here:

"पत्यावैश्वर्ये" इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरे प्राप्ते "परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्" इत्युत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वम् ।

As any one can easily see, Sāyaṇa must have been quite naturally dissatisfied with his own explanation of the accentuation of the compound Viśva-śambhuvam when it is taken to be Tatpuruṣa. So he suggests another alternative by which the compound is taken as Bahuvrīhi when the anomalous accentuation can be easily explained by the following sūtra of Pāṇini.

"बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम्" (P. VI, 2, 106.)

However, it is remarkable that Sāyaṇa was very much inclined to regard the compound Viśva-śambhuvam as a Tatpuruṣa, though for satisfactorily explaining its accent according to his own light, he rather reluctantly took it as Bahuvrīhi, falling in line with his usual practice of regarding generally the compounds in which the word Viśva occurs as the first member, as epithetised compounds.[1]

सभायां नपुंसके (P. VI, 2, 98.)

gopāla-sabham| strī-sabham

पुरे प्राचाम् (P. VI, 2, 99.)

devadatta-puram| kārṇi-puram| nāndi-puram

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च (P. VI, 2, 100.)

ariṣṭa-puram| gauḍa-puram

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले (P. VI, 2, 102.)

kusūla-bilam| kūpa-bilam| kumbha-bilam| śālā-bilam

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु (P. VI, 2, 103.)

1. To this same stage of determinative compound accentuation belongs also the compound—

devedyam (Rv. X, 64, 3.)

pūrveṣukamaśamī| apara-kṛṣṇamṛttikā| pūrva-pañcālāḥ[1]| pūrva-yāyātam| pūrva-cānarāṭam|

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि (P. VI, 2, 104.)

pūrva-pāṇinīyaḥ

(compare VI, 2, 36 of Pāṇini, quoted below.)

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च (P. VI, 2, 105.)

sarva-pāñcālakaḥ| apara-pāñcālakaḥ|[2]

(*To be continued.*)

1. Karmadhāraya compound formed by Pāṇini's sūtra II, 1, 58.

2. It should be noted that Pāṇini proceeds to enumerate those Bahuvrīhi compounds which accent the final syllable of the first member in the next five sūtras from P. VI, 2, 106 to P. VI, 2, 110.

SOME TERMS OF KAUṬALĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA IN THE LIGHT OF COMMENTARIES.

BY

G. HARIHARA SASTRI,

Trivandrum.

(1) *Parihāra.*

Dr. Shama Śāstri's translation of the verse,

Paracakrāṭavīgrastaṁ vyādhidurbhikṣapīḍitam|
Deśaṁ pariharedrājā vyayakrīḍāśca vārayet||

in (Book II, chapter 1, in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya runs thus:—The king shall avoid taking possession of any country which is liable to the inroads of enemies and wild tribes and which is harassed by frequent visitations of famine and pestilence. He shall also keep away from expensive sports." This rendering may be said to be untenable for the reasons that it is not in the nature of Kauṭalya to ask the *vijigīṣu* to desert the country which is harassed by enemies and wild tribes and that there is no point in saying, in one and the same śloka, that a king should leave the disturbed country alone and also keep away from expensive sports. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's interpretation viz., *deśam . . . . , paracakrādibhyo dūrīkuryāt*[1] (the king shall protect the country from the inroads of enemies, etc.) is strained. Both the scholars take the verb '*pariharet*' in the verse in its ordinary sense 'shall avoid', while the Malayalam commentary[2] and the Cāṇakyaṭīkā[3] explain it to mean 'shall make remission of

---

1. Tri. Skt. Series, No. 79, p. 115.

2. Manuscripts of the commentary are available in the Oriental Mss. Library, Trivandrum and Madras. It extends from the beginning to the end of the 7th Adhikaraṇa, and paraphrses in ancient Malayalam the commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin and leaving the faulty readings it is as good as its Sanskrit original in reconstructing the text.

3. This is another ancient commentary in sanskrit on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya. A copy of this work running up to the end of Book III, chapter I, is found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras. From the colophon at the close of Book II, chapter 3, it can be seen that it was named Cāṇakyaṭīkā and

taxes'. This interpretation is not only appropriate to the context but also in consonance with the statement made by the author in the chapter on 'Remedies against national calamities' (IV. 3) that the king should support the people when they are afflicted from any kind of calamities as a father his sons.[1] The noun form *parihāra* is commonly found to convey the sense 'remission of taxes, and it appears that the author takes the verbal form also in that sense. In the light of these remarks, I would propose— the following rendering of the verse:—The king shall avoid levying taxes in the country which is troubled by enemies and wild tribes, or affected by disease and famine, prohibiting the people therein from expensive amusements.

(2) *Varca.*

The Malayalam[2] commentary which invariably quotes the metrical portion of the text reads *varcānām* instead of *varjānām* in the closing verse of Book II, chapter 8, Koṣṭhakāṅgaṇa-varjānām agnikuṭṭanaśālayoḥ| Vivṛtānām ca sarveṣām sāmānyo bhoga iṣyate|| and explains it to mean 'latrine'. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri who closely followed this commentary for his edition of the work has noted this reading in his Sanskrit commentary but not allowed it to go into his text probably because the word *varca* ending in *a* is not common in Sanskrit. He takes *varjānām* in the sense of 'latrine' for which, however, no authority is given.[3] I think that *varcānām* can be taken as an archaic usage of Kauṭalya and *varjānām* a corrupt reading ; and it can be explained as 'latrine' as done by the Malayalam commentary. Again, commenting on the passage, *Sarveṣāṁ śālā-khātodapāna-vacca snāna-gṛha* in Book II, chapter 5, the same commentary says that the *śālās* of the treasure house etc, should be provided with ditches, wells, latrines, bathrooms etc. The Cāṇakyaṭīkā on the Arthaśātra has the following note on the passage, *Sarveṣāmiti kośa-gṛhādīnām, śālāḥ khātādibhiryuktāḥ, udapānaṁ śarīrasthityartham, varcogṛham ucchvāsabhūmiḥ.*

---

written by Bhikṣuprabhāmati. Quotations of Sarvānanda in his commentary on Amarakośa (Tri. Skt. Series, No. 38) under the name of Cāṇakyaṭīkā are traceable in this work.

1. सर्वत्र चोपहतान् पितेवानुगृह्णीयात् (IV, 3).

2. Tri. Skt. Series, No. 80, p. 50.

3. The word 'avaskara' also is used in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of 'latrine'. Compare Kāśikā on Pāṇini, VI, 1, 148.

In the light of these notes, the passage can be reconstructed thus:—*Sarveṣāṁ śālāḥ khātodapāna-varca-snānagṛha,* etc., where evidently *varca* stands for 'latrine'. The passage restored above throws light on the meaning of the word *vaca* of Aśoka inscription (R. E. VI). It is rendered 'secret retreat' by Senart, 'latrine' by Buhler and 'closet' by Smith. Jayaswal (I. A. 1918, pp. 53-55) objects to this rendering saying that "no king in his senses would ask officers to announce the business of suitors in his latrine". According to him, *vaca* stands for *vraja* which is used in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of 'herd of cattle, whether of horses, or camels and so forth'. Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya (I. A. 1910, p. 55) also takes *vaca* as equivalent to *vraja,* but explains it as road', on the ground that *vaca* itself cannot mean 'latrine' and *vacakuṭi* is used in Pāli in that sense. As *varca* is found to occur in the Arthaśāstra[1] in the sense of 'latrine' and as *vaca* is more allied to *varca* than *vraja,* the rendering of the word as 'latrine' by Western scholars may be taken as correct. In explaining an ancient text, evidence of usage seems to be a better authority than our common sense.

If *varcagṛha* or *varcabhūmi* (*vacabhūmi*) can be accepted as 'latrine', the word *vaca-bhūmikās* of Aśoka inscription (R. E. XII), I think, may tentatively be rendered as officers in charge of sanitation.

(3) *Daśabandha* and *Pañcabandha.*

Doctors Shama Śāstri and Gaṇapati Śāstri take the word *daśabandha* to mean '10 times' in the passage, *Yathākālam anāgatānām apustanīvikānām vā deyadaśabandho daṇḍaḥ* (Book II, chaper 7). According to them, the passage would show that the adhyakṣas who fail to present themselves at the proper time for remittance or bring with them the cash book or the amount shall pay a fine of ten times the amount due from them. In other words, if the annual revenue to be remitted into the royal exchequer by an adhyakṣa be a lac of rupees, any delay in remittance on his part or failure to produce the cash book, will bring on him a penalty of no less than 10 lacs of rupees. It is incredible that Kauṭalya whose rule regarding punishment is that it should be just and reasonable and in proportion to the gravity of the offences, should have prescribed such an abnormally high penalty for a minor fault. The rendering also contradicts the subsequent passage, *Akṛtāhorūpaharaṁ māsam ākāṅkṣeta-māsād ūrdhvaṁ māsadviśatottaraṁ daṇḍaṁ dadyāt,* where an adhyakṣa

who did not prepare the daily accounts is allowed a month for its preparation, and fine is imposed on him only after the lapse of one month. Again, *pañcabandha* is understood by both these scholars to mean '5 times' in the passage, *Nīvīm . . . bhakṣayato'-ṣṭaguṇaḥ Nāśayataḥ pañcabandhaḥ pratidānaṁ ca* in the same chapter which is explained as the accountant who eats up the revenue shall be fined 96 paṇas, and he who destroys it shall not only pay a fine equal to 5 times the amount lost but also make good the loss. Here also it is apparent that the rendering into '5 times' brings in great disparity between the penalties for offences of more or less the same nature. *Daśabandha* occurs in four more places and *pañcabandha* on six other occasions in the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra and it can be seen that the interpretation put on the words by the above scholars does not fit in, in the passages that contain the words. A clue to the correct in erpretation of the words is, however, found in a passage in the Arthaśāstra itself. With regard to non-payment of wages to servants by masters, the author says *Vetanādāne daśabandho daṇḍaḥ ṣaṭpaṇo vā. Apavyayamāne dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ pañcabandho vā* (Book III, chapter 13), that is the master who fails to pay wages to servants shall be fined *daśabandha* or 6 paṇas and the servant who, after receiving payment, denies it shall be fined *pañacabandha* or 12 paṇas. As *daśabandha* and *pañcabandha* are mentioned here as equivalents in value to 6 and 12, it is clear that the proportion between the numbers denoted by the words should be 1: 2, which is possible only if they are taken in the sense of one tenth and one fifth. The commentaries,[1] both Sanskrit and Malayāḷam, explain the words as *daśamabhāga* (1/10) and *pañcamabhāga* (1/5). The terms also occur in Manu and Yājñavalkya and the commentators,[2] one and all, are found to take them in the sense of 1/10 and 1/5. It is, therefore, certain that *daśabandha* means one tenth and *pañcabandha* one fifth.[3]

---

1. तत्रेति—प्रतिबन्धे प्रतिबन्धद्रव्यदशबन्धो **दशभागो** दण्डः । (Bhaṭṭasvāmī, II, 8.) and **देयदशबन्ध** इति—आयस्य यद् विशुद्धा नीवी देया तस्य **दशभागः** सप्तसहस्रेषु सप्तशतानि विनाशयतो रक्षाशैथिल्याद् अनादृतस्य **पञ्चबन्धो** नष्टपञ्च**मो भागः**... । (Cāṇakyaṭīkā, II, 7.)

2. दशबन्धो दशमभागः । (Medhātithi on Manu, VIII, 107.) सदशबन्धकं दशांशस्याधिकमित्यर्थः । (Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya, II, 75.) पञ्चबन्धः पञ्चमो भागः (*Ibid*. II, 175.)

3. The interpretation of *daśabandha* as *daśaguṇa* by

Dr. Shama Śāstri says that the interpretation of *pañcabandha* as one-fifth by Vijñāneśvara cannot be accepted, in as much as *pañcabandha* is less than *daśabandha* as shown by the contrast that Kauṭalya draws between those words in the passage, *Parasparābhiyoge caiṣām uttamāḥ paroktā daśabandhaṃ dadyuḥ, avarāḥ pañcabandham* (Book III, chapter 11). The author has, of course, drawn a contrast between the words in the above passage but not in the sense in which the learned translator has taken them. He has misinterpreted the passage thus:—"If the above persons (masters and servants, etc.) sue each other, they shall be punished with the highest amercement. Creditors guilty of *parokta* shall pay a fine of 10 times the amount; but if incapable to pay so much, they shall, at least, pay five times the amount sued for." Dr. Shama Śāstri takes '*uttamāḥ*' in the sense of *uttama-sāhasa-daṇḍa* (the highest fine). The use of the word in the plural in that sense is found nowhere else in the Arthaśāstra. Again, to say that Kauṭalya imposes the highest fine on a master who sues against his servant, is, to say the least, doing injustice to that ancient author. *Uttamāḥ* means 'the first' or 'the former' (in the pairs, masters and servants etc., in the previous passage), as in *Prayojyānām uttamāḥ kāmbhojaka-saindhavāraṭṭaja-vānāyujāḥ . . . . śeṣāḥ pratyavarāḥ* (Book II, chapter 30). Again, *avīrāḥ* in the passage as found in the Mysore edition, is a palpable error for *avarāḥ* which means 'the latter' or 'the inferior' (servants etc. in the pairs). The word *Parokta* does not mean 'an offence' as taken by Dr. Shama Śāstri. It is not found in the extant smṛti literature, nor even in the lexicons, but the commentaries explain it as 'defeat' or 'defeated party in lawsuits'; and parallel passages in Smṛtis also use the words '*parājaya*' and '*hīna*' in the place of *parokta*.[2]

Dr. Ganapati Śāstri seems to be based on a faulty reading of the Malayāḷam commentary.

1. परोक्तदण्डः पराजयदण्डः पञ्चबन्धः । (Cāṇakyaṭikā, IV, 1.)

2. Compare 'साक्षिणः सन्ति मेत्युक्त्वा दिशेत्युक्तो दिशेन्न यः ।
धर्मस्थः कारणैरेतैर्हीनं तमपि निर्दिशेत् ॥'
(Manu, VIII, 57.)
with 'प्रतिज्ञाय देशं निर्दिशेत्युक्ते न निर्दिशति.................... इति परोक्तहेतवः ।' (Arthaśāstra, III, 1.) and also 'स चेत् त्रिपक्षात् प्रब्रूयाद् धर्मं प्रति पराजितः' (Manu, VIII, 58.) with 'त्रिपक्षाद् ऊर्ध्वम् अप्रतिब्रुवतः परोक्तदण्डं कृत्वा' । (Arthaśāstra, III, 1.)

In the light of these remarks, I would render the passage thus:— In a lawsuit between these persons (masters and servants etc.), if the former (masters etc.) fail, they shall pay a fine of one-tenth of the amount sued for; if the latter (servants etc.) fail, they shall pay a fine of one-fifth of the amount. The rule *Paroktadaṇḍaḥ pañcabandhaḥ* (Book III, chapter 1) lays down that a fine of one fifth of the amount sued for is leviable from all defeated parties in law suits, while a distinction is made in the case of masters etc., and the fine is reduced to one-tenth, when they get defeated in a suit against servants etc.

In commenting on this passage, Dr. Ganapati Śāstri says that the defeated master should pay *daśabandha* to the servant and the defeated servant *pañcabandha* to the master.[1] This comment amounts to saying that the successful party shall recover not only the amount sued for but also one tenth or one fifth more from the defeated party which seems to be unreasonable.[2] *Daśabandha* or *pañcabandha* being a *daṇḍa* (penalty paid in cash) it is appropriately the king's share; and it goes under *durga*, one of the principal sources of income (*āyaśarīra*) of the state. This point is not clear in Manu (VIII, 107) and Yājñavalkya (II, 75), but the commentators explicitly state that the fine denoted by the words is payable to king.

(To be continued)

---

1. Tri. Skt. Series, No. 80, p. 68.

2. The Malayāḷam commentary has the note on the passage, 'the defeated master etc., should pay *daśabandha* to *svāmī*', where *svāmī* means 'king'; while the Trivandrum commentary has taken it to denote 'master'.

SŪKTAŚLOKĀḤ.

BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL.,

Reader in Sanskrit,
University of Madras.

This small work containing only nine stanzas, is attributed to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the famous poet, philosopher, scholar and bhakta of Malabar, the author of Prakriyāsarvasva, a work on grammar,[1] Mānameyodaya, a work on Mīmāṁsā,[2] Nārāyaṇīya, a devotional work[3] and many short Kāvyas. He is also famous as a vedic statistician ; and this work shows his command of vedic statistics.

The Ṛgveda consists of over ten thousand stanzas divided into 1017 sūktas. These sūktas are grouped into ten Maṇḍalas. Parallel to this, there is another division of the Ṛgveda into eight Aṣṭakas. Each Aṣṭaka is divided into eight Adhyāyas. And the Adhyāyas are subdivided into Vargas. In this division, it will be noticed that the end of every sūkta marks also the end of a Varga. Thus some sūktas may have only one Varga, some may have two and some more. A sūkta never ends in the middle of a Varga.

In the following stanzas, the author gives the number of Vargas in each of the Sūktas in the Ṛgveda. Of the nine stanzas, the first is only introductory ; in this he gives the directions for finding out the number of Vargas in a given sūkta. Then in the remaining eight stanzas, he gives the number of Vargas contained in the Sūktas of the eight Aṣṭakas.

---

1. A commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras, published as No. 106 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Pandit K. Sambasiva Sastrigal.

2. Edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as No. 19 by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastriar, also edited with translation and notes by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri in the T. P. H. Oriental Series, Adyar, Madras.

3. Edited as No. 18 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastriar.

In each of these eight stanzas, there are eight places where the letter त appears, and this marks the end of an Adhyāya. I have noted the places by putting the corresponding numbers above the syllables. Every consonant has a value. The system of notation is what is current in South India. The letters क to झ represent the numbers 1 to 9. Similarly the letters ट to ध also represent the numbers 1 to 9. The letters प to म represent the numbers 1 to 5. And the letters य to ह represent the numbers 1 to 8. There are two distinct *l* sounds in the South Indian languages, which can be written as ल and ळ. The first has the value of 3; the second is usually placed in the alphabets of South Indian languages after ह; and as such it is given the value of 9. The letters ञ and न usually represent 0. But here the letter न stands for 10. The letter क्ष is taken in the alphabets of the South Indian languages as a distinct letter and usually it has the value of 6, ष having the value of 6. But here the author gives it the value of 12. The syllable प्र means here a pair of sūktas each having two Vargas. If there is a conjunct consonant, the first consonant indicates the number of Sūktas having the same number of Vargas and the second consonant indicates the number of Vargas in each of those Sūktas. These are the general directions which the author gives in the first stanza.

Notes on Stanza.

1. Every consonant stands for a certain number. The scheme of notation is what is current in South India.

2. The letter त shows that an Adhyāya ends. All the places where the letter occurs are marked by the number of the Adhyāya whose end it indicates.

3. The first letter in a conjunct consonant indicates the number of Sūktas having the same number of Adhyāyas (which number is indicated by the second member of the conjunct consonant). Thus in द्रे which is the second syllable in stanza 2, द shows the number of Sūktas having the same number of Vargas, namely 8, and र shows the number of Vargas in each of these eight Sūktas, namely 2.

4. The letter क्ष indicates the number 12.

5. The letter प्र shows that there are 2 Sūktas each having 2 Vargas. Thus the first syllable in stanza 2, which is प्रो, shows that the first 2 Sūktas have 2 Vargas each.

6. The letter न indicates the number 10.

नत्वा विघ्नेश्वरादीन् कथमपि च मया कथ्यते व्यञ्जनोक्त्यौ
सूक्तानां वर्गसंख्या स्फुटमिह तु तकारोक्तिरध्यायपूर्तौ[2] ।
युक्ताद्यं तुल्यसूक्तान्युपदिशतु[3] भवेद्द्वादशोक्तौ क्षकारः[4]
प्रेति स्याद्द्विद्विकोक्तौ[5] भवतु च दशसंख्याभिधायी नकारः[6] ॥ १ ॥

प्रोद्रेकाद्रीतरूपे विमलवरगिरा पूर्वगीते[2] गुरूरो
भार्गश्रीगौरिगुप्ताखिलपुरगगुरुप्रेर्यखेर्यागर्ता गाः ।
खेलेष्टाभ्राढ्यरागोत्तरपटुभिरुरुख्याप्रमैवाखिलाप्तैः[6]
प्रेड्या विप्रप्रवर्यैरुरुरयमतिभी रूपिणी मेऽग्रगा स्तात् ॥ २ ॥

लोलोलार्याभ्रकल्पा रुपितपकरगीप्राज्यरूपिण्यतुल्या
गाढालीना बतागेखररिपुपटलीरेककल्याग्रयातौ ।
पृष्ठालोलेग्रपर्यायितपटुभगगीस्फोटकाभातुलार्या
गौरी पौरार्यलीलालुपितकररयोवीर्यभोगौ व्रतास्तु ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीरूपाढ्याद्यरागाकलितविभुबलिष्ठोत्तरा प्रेर्यपुण्यः
प्राणौघाभाति[3] यापि प्रयकुलभुवि लोलातुला प्रेड्यकायाम् ।
पाटीराभाभिरक्तस्फुटपटुकमलोढोत्तरोरूरुरेखां
रेख्यप्रख्येयकायः पटुरतिरकृपापूरकायाद्रियेताम् ॥ ४ ॥

पुष्पाढ्यप्रायिकोल्लोखितरुररिकृपाकौटरी वल्लरीका
तुर्योक्तौ योगलीलागुरुरुरुकटका भारती याद्यपारा ।
प्रेर्यप्रख्यः प्रकारापररतिरखरान्यावनान्तर्गरुद्रा
कान्तं[6] स्याद्याशुचीडाचितविबलबलप्रेड्यखेलागतिः[8] स्तात् ॥ ५ ॥

प्रख्योऽग्रेष्ठावमातौ[7] भ्रुकुटिपटपटुख्यापिगौरी कुमारी
तारप्राज्योरुमल्लातुररयपटुपूज्येष्टवाटीपरीतौ ।
रम्याभाः प्रेक्ष्यते[5] या प्रकटिपटपटार्याः पुरारे कुटीरे
पापापङ्क्तिः[6] कृपारामसदमभृति[10] हेळासु मोघीकरोतु ॥ ६ ॥

षट्सर्गे रागवासाशितविविषचणेशाभिपौर्यागतो षे
वेलावर्याभ्रकासेचिदतुषभगभावेऽभ्रगे भूर्तवर्गे ।
गोवल्लिश्रीरतीव्रा पटपटुककुचा सुप्रभालिर्ष्टरूपा
रागाभोगोग्ररुद्रोत्तररयपटुयास्यन्यका पुण्यकीर्तिः[8] ॥ ७ ॥

न्यस्यर्चैर्चै[1]संचर्चैं स्फुटितैं[2]पटुकपुण्यैरिरैनैरीड्यते[3] या
व्यामोक्षप्रेरिते[4]डैरपकुटिलमृगप्रायका रम्यपूर्तिः[5] ।
कोटीरायाडुरेखाकुलगडुललर्तां[6]कारखेला कुटीरे
रामारं रोगरेफा तुँरगबलरयो लीलयाग्रे रर्तास्ते ॥ ८ ॥

रेखाप्रायारिपूरे पुरटपरिररामातं[1]रं लोललीला
श्रासं[2]प्रेयोऽग्ररूपे कटपटकळितां[3]भे शिवे गण्डितां[4]घैः ।
गूढोग्राग्रैरखातौ रुररिपरिरखश्रीप्रति[6]ष्ठे कुटीरे
पाल्येयाळ्यासँकेळ्या पटुकटकपुटिळ्यार्यकाळ्या कृपाळ्या ॥ ९ ॥

Of these nine stanzas, the first is introductory and the remaining eight stanzas give the number of Vargas in the various Sūktas of the eight Aṣṭakas. I give below a chart showing the number according to the stanzas. Each column in the chart represents the Adhyāyas in the Aṣṭakas. Against each of the syllables in the stanzas, I give the corresponding number. When a number is given as 2×2, it means that the 2 Sūktas have 2 Vargas each. If one number alone is given, it represents the number of Vargas in that one Sūkta. For easiness of reference I give, before the syllables, the number of the Sūkta according to the Maṇḍala division. I have also given the number of Sūktas and the number of Vargas in each of the Adhyāyas, at the foot of the column. On the top, I have given the number of Sūktas and the number of Vargas in the various Aṣṭakas. The total number of Sūktas is 1017 and the total number of Vargas is 2006.

AṢṬAKA I.

Maṇḍala I. 1 to Maṇḍala I. 121.

No. of Sūktas 121. No. of Vargas 365.

1, 2	प्रो	1×2	20	रू	2	33	गु	3	47	खि	2	62	गा:	3	81	र	2	95,96	प्रे	2×2	113	मी	4
3-10	द्रे	8×2	21	पे	1	34	रू	2	48	ल	3	63	खे	2	82	प	1	97-99	ज्या	3×1	114	रू	2
11	का	1	22	वि	4	35	रो	2	49	पु	1	64	ले	3	83	द्र	1	100	वि	6	115	पि	1
12-19	द्री	8×2	23	म	5	36	भा	4	50	र	2	65-70	ह्या	6×1	84	भि	4	101,102	प्र	2×2	116	णी	5
	(त)		24	ल	3	37,38	गं	2×3	51	ग	3	71-74	भ्रा	4×2	85	रु	2	103,104	प्र	2×2	117	मे	5
			25	व	4	39-43	श्री	5×2	52	गु	3	75-78	ढ्य	4×1	86	रु	2	105	व	4	118-120	ग्र	3×2
			26	र	2	44	गौ	3	53	रु	2	79	रा	2	87,88	ख्या	2×1	106,107	यैं	2×1	121	गा	3
			27	गि	3	45	रि	2	54,55	प्रे	2×2	80	गो	3	89,90	प्र	2×2	108	रु	2		(स्तात्)	
			28	रा	2	46	गु	3	56,57	यं	2×1		(त्त)		91	मै	5	109	रु	2			
			29	पू	1		(प्ता)		58	खे	2				92	वा	4	110	र	2			
			30,31	वे	2×4				59,60	यां	2×1				93	खि	2	111	य	1			
			32	गी	3				61	ग	3				94	ला	3	112	भ	5			
				(ते)						(ता)						(प्तैः)			(ति)				
19		37	13		38	14		35	15		29	19		31	14		32	18		37	9		26

AṢṬAKA II.

Maṇḍala I. 122 to Maṇḍala III. 6.

No. of Sūktas. 119. No. of Vargas. 221.

122	लो	3	137	प	1	158-160	ल्या	3×1	166	गे	3
123	लो	3	138	क	1	161	गा	3	167	ख	2
124	ला	3	139	र	2	162	दा	4	168	र	2
125,126	याँ	2×1	140	गी	3	163	लो	3	169	रि	2
127-130	भ्र	4×1	141,142	प्रा	2×2	164	ना	10	170	पु	1
131	क	1	143-150	ज्य	8×1	165	ब	3	171	प	1
132-134	ल्पा	3×2	151	रू	2		(ता)		172	ट	1
135	रु	2	152	पि	1				173	ली	3
136	पि	1	153-157	ण्य	5×1				174	रे	2
	(त)			(तु)					175	क	1
									176	क	1
									177-179	ल्या	3×1
									180-182	भ्र	3×2
									183	या	1
										(ता)	
15		26	21		27	8		26	18		29

184-185	पृ	1	9	प	1	24	ला	3	37	क	1
190	ष्ठा	6×2	10	ड	1	25,26	याँ	2×1	38	र	2
191	लो	3	11	भ	4	27	गौ	3	39	र	2
═			12	ग	3	28	री	2	40	यो	1
1	लो	3	13	गी	3	29	पौ	1	41	वी	4
2-4	भ्र	3×2	14-20	स्फो	7×2	30	रा	2	42,43	यं	2×1
5	प	1	21	ट	1	31,32	यं	2×1	═		
6,7	याँ	2×1	22	का	1	33	ली	3	1	भो	4
8	यि	1	23	भा	4	34	ला	3	2	गौ	3
	(त)			(तु)		35	लु	3	3-6	व्र	4×2
						36	पि	1		(तास्तु)	
							(त)				
16		29	15		32	13		25	13		27

AṢṬAKA III.

Maṇḍala III. 7 to Maṇḍala V. 8.

No. of Sūktas. 122. No. of Vargas 225.

7-11	श्री	5×2	30	वि	4	40	रा	2	56	या	1	5	ला	3	19-25	स्फु	7×2	33	रो	2	51	र	2
12	रू	2	31	भु	4	41,42	प्रे	2×2	57	पि	1	6,7	प्रे	2×2	26	ट	1	34	रू	2	52	कृ	1
13	पा	1	32	व	3	43,44	यं	2×1	58,59	प्र	2×2	8-10	ज्य	3×1	27	प	1	35	रु	2	53	पा	1
14-17	ढ्या	4×1	33	लि	3	45	पु	3	60	य	1	11	का	1	28	ड	1	36	रे	2	54	पू	1
18-25	घ	8×1	34-39	छो	6×2	46-50	ण्य:	5×1	61	कु	1	12	याम्	1	29	क	1	37	खां	2	55	र	2
26	रा	2		(त)		51,52	प्रा	2×2	62	ल	3	13	पा	1	30	म	5	38	रे	2	56	का	1
27	गा	3				53	णौ	5	══			14	टी	1	31	लो	3	39,40	ख्य	2×1	57	या	1
28	क	1				54	घा	4	1	भु	4	15	रा	2	32	ढो	4	41,42	प्र	2×2	58 ══ 1-7	द्रि	8×2
29	लि	3				55	भा	4	2	वि	4	16	भा	4		(त)		43,44	ख्ये	2×1	8	ये	1
	(त)						(ति)		3	लो	3	17	भि	4				45	य	1		(ताम्)	
									4	ला	3	18	र	2				46	का	1			
										(तु)			(क्त)					47	य:	1			
																		48	प	1			
																		49	ड	1			
																		50	र	2			
																			(ति)				
23		34	10		26	16		31	11		25	14		26	14		30	18		27	16		26

AṢṬAKA IV.

Maṇḍala V. 9 to Maṇḍala VI. 61.

No. of Sūktas. 140. No. of Vargas 250.

9	पु	1	33	रु	2	47,48	यों	2×1	63	या	1
10–15	ष्पा	6×1	34	र	2	49	कौ	1	64–71	ह्य	8×1
16–24	व्य	9×1	35	रि	2	50	यो	1	72	पा	1
25,26	प्रा	2×2	36	क्र	1	51	ग	3	73	रा	2
27	यि	1	37	पा	1	52	ली	3	74,75	प्रे	2×2
28	को	1	38	कौ	1	53	ला	3	76,77	यं	2×1
29–31	ल्के	3×3	39	ट	1	54	गु	3	78,79	प्र	2×2
32	खि	2	40	री	2	55	रु	2	80,81	स्व्य:	2×1
	(त)		41	व	4	56	रु	2	82,83	प्र	2×2
			42–44	ल्ल	3×3	57	रु	2	84	का	1
			45	री	2	58	क	1	85	रा	2
			46	का	1	59	ट	1	86	प	1
				(तु)		60	का	1	87	र	2
						61	भा	4	=		
						62	र	2	1	र	2
							(ती)			(ति)	

2	र	2	17,18	गे	2×3	29–35	स्या	7×1	48	वि	4
3	ख	2	19	रु	2	36–43	द्या	8×1	49	ब	3
4	रा	2	20–27	द्रा	8×2	44	शु	5	50	ल	3
5–14	न्या	10×1	28	का	1	45	ची	6	51	ब	3
15	व	4		(न्तं)		46	डा	3	52	ल	3
16	ना	10				47	चि	6	53,54	प्रे	2×2
	(न्त)						(त)		55–58	ह्व	4×1
									59	खे	2
									60	ला	3
									61	ग	3
										(तिस्तात्)	

24   33 | 14   28 | 16   31 | 26   36 | 15   30 | 12   25 | 19   35 | 14   32

AṢṬAKA V.

Maṇḍala VI. 62 to Maṇḍala VIII. 11.
No. of Sūktas. 129. No. of Vargas 238.

62,63	प्र	2×2	2–5	भ्रु	4×2	20	र	2	36	र	2	60	र	2	81	या	1	101	क्रु	1	5	हे	8
64,65	ख्यो	2×1	6	कु	1	21,22	प्रा	2×2	37	र	2	61–65	म्या	5×1	82,83	प्र	2×2	102	पा	1	6	ळा	9
66–68	ग्रे	3×2	7	टि	1	23–30	ज्यो	8×1	38	य	1	66	भा:	4	84	क	1	103	रा	2	7	सु	7
69–74	द्या	6×1	8	प	1	31	रु	2	39	प	1	67,68	प्रे	2×2	85	टि	1	104	म	5	8	मो	5
75	व	4	9	ट	1	32	म	5	40	ड	1	69–80	क्ष्य	12×1	86	प	1	1	स	7	9	धी	4
1	मा	5	10	प	1	33–35	ह्ला	3×3	41	पू	1		(ते)		87	ट	1	2	द	8	10	क	1
	(तौ)		11	ड	1		(तु)		42–49	ज्ये	8×1				88	प	1	3	म	5	11	रो	2
			12,13	ख्या	2×1				50–55	ष्ट	6×1				89	टा	1	4	भृ	4		(तु)	
			14	पि	1				56	वा	4				90,91	र्या:	2×1		(ति)				
			15	गौ	3				57	टी	1				92	पु	1						
			16	री	2				58	प	1				93	रा	2						
			17	कु	1				59	री	2				94	रे	2						
			18	मा	5					(ता)					95	कु	1						
			19	री	2										96	टी	1						
				(ता)											97	रे	2						
															98	पा	1						
															99	पा	1						
															100	प	1						
																(ड्क्तिः)							
15		27	18		30	16		30	24		30	21		27	20		25	8		33	7		36

AṢṬAKA VI.

Maṇḍala VIII. 12 to Maṇḍala. IX. 43.

No. of Sūktas 124. No. of Vargas 313.

12	षट्	6	21	वि	4	32	षे	6	46	ष	6	57	व	4	71–74	त्रा	4×2	87	रू	2	13	र	2
13	स	7	22	वि	4	33	वे	4	47	भ	4	58,59	गें	2×3	75	प	1	88	पा	1	14	र	2
14,15	गें	2×3	23	ष	6	34	ला	3	48	ग	3	60	गो	3	76	ट	1	89	रा	2	15	य	1
16	रा	2	24	च	6	35	व	4	49	भा	4	61	व	4	77	प	1	90	गा	3	16	प	1
17	ग	3	25	णे	5	36,37	र्यां	2×1	50	वे	4	62–64	ह्लि	3×3	78	ड	1	91	भो	4	17	ड	1
18	वा	4	26	शा	5	38–41	भ्र	4×2	51–54	भ्र	4×2	65–69	श्री	5×2	79	क	1	92	गो	3	18	या	1
19	सा	7	27	भि	4	42	का	1	55	गे	3	70	र	2	80	कु	1	=			19–25	स्य	7×1
20	शि	5	28	पौ	1	43	से	7	56	भू	4		(ती)		81	चा	6	1–3	ग्र	3×2	26–35	न्य	10×1
	(त)		29,30	र्यां	2×1	44	चि	6		(त)					82	सु	7	4	रु	2	36	का	1
			31	ग	3	45	द	8							83,84	प्र	2×2	5–12	द्रो	8×2	37	पु	1
				(तो)			(तु)								85	भा	4		(त्त)		38–42	ण्य	5×1
															86	लि	3				43	की	1
																(प्त)						(तिं:)	
9		40	11		40	14		49	11		36	14		38	16		38	18		39	31		33

ASṬAKA VII.

Maṇḍala IX. 44 to Maṇḍala X. 45.

No. of Sūktas 116. No. Vargas 248.

44-53	न्य	10×1	65	च	6	76	प	1	91	या	1	101	है	3	6	को	1	19	का	1	33	र	2
54-60	स्य	7×1	66,67	नैं	2×6	77	ड	1	92-95	न्या	4×1	102	र	2	7	टी	1	20	र	2	34	ग	3
61,62	चे	2×6	68-74	स्फु	7×2	78	क	1	96	मो	5	103	प	1	8	रा	2	21	खे	2	35	ब	3
63,64	चें	2×6	75	टि	1	79	पु	1	97	क्ष	12	104	कु	1	9	या	1	22	ला	3	36	ल	3
	(स)			(त)		80-84	ण्यै	5×1	98,99	प्रे	2×2	105	टि	1	10	डु	3	23	कु	1	37	र	2
						85	रि	2	100	रि	2	106	ल	3	11	रे	2	24	टा	1	38	यो	1
						86	नै	10		(ते)		107	मृ	5	12	खा	2	25	रे	2	39	ली	3
						87	री	2				108	ग	3	13	कु	1	26	रा	2	40	ल	3
						88-90	ड्य	3×1				109,110	प्रा	2×2	14	ल	3	27	मा	5	41	या	1
							(ते)					111	य	1	15	ग	3	28	रं	2	42-44	ग्रे	3×2
												112	का	1	16	डु	3	29	रो	2	45	र	2
												113	र	2	17	ल	3	30	ग	3		(तास्ते)	
												114	} म्य	5×1	18	ल	3	31	रे	2			
												1-4				(ता)		32	फा	2			
												5	पू	1					(डु)				
													(तिं:)										
21		41	11		33	15		26	10		28	19		33	13		28	14		30	13		29

AṢṬAKA VIII.

Maṇḍala X. 46 to Maṇḍala X. 191.

No. of Sūktas. 146. No. of Vargas. 246.

46	रे	2	62	रं	2	72,73	प्रे	2×2	86	भे	4	95	धै:	4	106	रु	2	120-125	छे	6×2	143	के	1
47	खा	2	63	लो	3	74	यो	1	87	शि	5	96	गू	3	107	र	2	126	कु	1	144-152	ल्या	9×1
48,49	प्रा	2×2	64	ल	3	75-77	ग्र	3×2	88	वे	4	97	ढो	4	108	रि	2	127	टी	1	153	प	1
50	या	1	65	ली	3	78	रू	2	89	ग	3	98-100	ग्रा	3×2	109	प	1	128	रे	2	154	ड	1
51	रि	2	66	ला	3	79	पे	1	90-94	ण्ड	5×3	101-103	ग्रे	3×2	110	रि	2	129	पा	1	155	क	1
52	पू	1	67-71	श्रा	5×2	80	क	1		(ता)		104	र	2	111	र	2	130-132	ल्ये	3×1	156	ट	1
53	रे	2		(प्र)		81	ट	1				105	खा	2	112	ख	2	133	या	1	157	क	1
54	पु	1				82	प	1					(ता)		113-117	श्री	5×2	134-142	ल्या	9×1	158	पु	1
55	र	2				83	ट	1							118,119	प्र	2×2		(प्र)		159	टि	1
56	ट	1				84	क	1								(ति)					160-168	ल्या	9×1
57	प	1				85	ळि	9													169,170	यं	2×1
58	रि	2					(ता)														171	का	1
59	र	2																			172-180	ल्या	9×1
60	रा	2																			181	कृ	1
61	मा	5																			182	पा	1
	(त)																				183-191	ल्या	9×1
16		30	10		24	14		28	9		31	11		27	14		27	23		30	49		49

To make this article complete, I am giving below three more stanzas which too comprise vedic statistics. These stanzas are also attributed to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.

1. जानन्नपि द्विषा मोदं सयज्ञः पातना नरः ।
रसं भिन्नाय मांसादो नरस्तस्य जलाधिपः ॥

No.	of	aṣṭakas ..	जानन्	8
,,	,,	maṇḍalas	अपि	10
,,	,,	adhyāyas	द्विषा	64
,,	,,	anuvākas	मोदं	85
,,	,,	sūktas	सयज्ञःपा	1017
,,	,,	vargas	तनानरः	2006
,,	,,	Ṛks	रसंभिन्नाय	10472
,,	,,	ardharcas	मांसादोनरः	20875
,,	,,	words	तस्य जलाधिपः	193816

2. स्यान्नः श्रीर्या मधुरानाथस्यात्मा पयोऽब्धिकन्याभूत् ।
चलगात्री दिव्येड्या सा विष्णोः कामिनी पुष्ट्यै ॥

No. of Vargas having:

2	ardharcas:	स्या	1
3	,,	न्नः	0
4	,,	श्री	2
5	,,	र्या	1
6	,,	मधु	95
7	,,	रा	2
8	,,	नायास्या	170
9	,,	त्माप	15
10	,,	योब्धिकन्या	1191
11	,,	भूत्	4
12	,,	चलगा	336
13	ardharcas:	त्री	2
14	,,	दिव्येड्या	118
15	,,	सा	7
16	,,	विष्णोः	54
17	,,	का	1
18	,,	मि	5
19	,,	नी	0
20	,,	पु	1
21	,,	ष्ट्यै	1
		Total	2006

3. कीदृग्द्विजेन्द्रैकपदाद्यृचां च संख्याविभागो नृपतिश्च कीदृक् ।
षट्ज्ञः समीड्योऽस्त्रनिधिः प्रकृत्या नासाधुकृत्प्राज्ञहितोऽधेकज्ञः ॥

No.	of	Ṛks	of	1	pada:	षट्ज्ञः	6
,,	,,	,,	,,	2	,,	समीड्यो	157
,,	,,	,,	,,	3	,,	स्त्रनिधिःप्र	2902
,,	,,	,,	,,	4	,,	कृल्यानाप्ता	7011
,,	,,	,,	,,	5	,,	धुक्रन्प्रा	219
,,	,,	,,	,,	6	,,	ज्ञहि	80
,,	,,	,,	,,	7	,,	तोधि	96
,,	,,	,,	,,	8	,,	कज्ञः	1
							10472

SUBHŪTICANDRA'S COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA.

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., P.H.D.,
Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

Subhūti-Candra, the Buddhist is a comparatively old commentator on the Amarakośa. Till recently the work was known only through references to it in the commentaries of Mukuṭa, (1431 A.D.) Bhānuji (1600 A.D.) and others and through a partially preserved translation of the work in Tibetan. The peripatetic search party of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras recovered a big fragment of the commentary extending from almost the beginning to the end of the first varga in the second Kāṇḍa. The manuscript is numbered R. 2933 (I-35-44) and consists of 205 pages. The work bristles with innumerable references to several ancient works and authors, many of whom are unknown or little known to us to-day. The following is a complete list of the authors and works mentioned in the commentary.

1. Abhidharmakośaṭīkā.
2. Āgama.
3. Ajaya.
4. Āmaradatta.
5. Amaramālā.
6. Anekārthakośa.
7. Āścaryamañjarī.
8. Bhāgavṛtti.
9. Bhāguri.
10. Bhānumatī.
11. Bharata.
12. Bhārata.
13. Bhāṣāvṛtti.
14. Bhāravi.
15. Bhāṣyakāra.
16. Bhāṣyaṭīkā.
17. Bhaṭṭi.
18. Bhojarāja.
19. Bhūpālacarita.
20. Bopālita.
21. Bṛhatkathā.
22. Budhaśataka.
23. Candragomin.
24. Citralekhā.
25. Cittapa.
26. Damayantīkathā.
27. Daṇḍiyamaka.
28. Daṇḍyalaṅakāra.
29. Dhanañjaya.
30. Dattila.
31. Dharaṇi.
32. Dharmadāsa.
33. Dhātupradīpaṭīkā.
34. Girivilāsa.
35. Gomin.
36. Gomin Dhātupāṭha.
37. Gopālita.
38. Govardhana.

39. Govardhana Vṛtti.
40. Govrdhana Uṇādi Vṛtti
41. Halāyudha.
42. Hārāvalī.
43. Hariprabodha.
44. Harṣacarita.
45. Jānakīharaṇa.
46. Jānakīrāghava.
47. Jātakamālā.
48. Jayāditya.
49. Jinedra.
50. Jñāpakasamuccaya.
51. Kādambarī.
52. Kālidāsa.
53. Kāmandakīya.
54. Kappaṇābhyudaya.
55. Kāśikā.
56. Kātantraviśeṣa.
57. Kātantravyākaraṇa.
58. Kātya.
59. Kātyāyana.
60. Kāvyādarśa of Vāmana.
61. Kīcakavadha.
62. Kumārasambhava.
63. Mādhava's Paryāyaratnamālā.
64. Mādhavīkāma.
65. Māgha.
66. Mahārṇava.
67. Mālatīmādhava.
68. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
69. Murāri.
70. Nalodaya.
71. Nāmamālā.
72. Nārada.
73. Nāṭakaprakriyā.
74. Nāṭakaratnakośa.
75. Nyāsakāra.
76. Pālakāpya.
77. Pāṇinīyadhātupārāyaṇa.
78. Prākṛtānuśāsana of Candragomin.
79. Pūrṇacandra.
80. Pūrṇacandradhātupārāyaṇa.
81. Puruṣottama's Uṇādi Vṛtti.
82. Puruṣottama's Durghaṭa.
83. Puruṣottama's Vṛtti.
84. Rabhasa.
85. Raghu.
86. Raghukāra.
87. Raghuṭīkā.
88. Rakṣita.
89. Rakṣitadhātupradīpa.
90. Rāmadāsa.
91. Rāmāyaṇa.
92. Ratnakośa.
93. Ratnamati.
94. Rudra.
95. Rudra's Rūpamañjarī.
96. Rudradāsa.
97. Śabdārṇava.
98. Śākaṭāyana.
99. Śālihotra.
100. Sāmbapurāṇa.
101. Sārasaṅgraha.
102. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.
103. Śāśvata.
104. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.
105. Sūryaśataka.
106. Sūryasiddhānta.
107. Tārapāla.
108. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa.
109. Uddyotakara.
110. Uṇādi Vṛtti.
111. Ūṣmabheda.
112. Vallabha.
113. Vallabha's Māgha Vyākhyā.
114. Vāmana.
115. Vāmana's Liṅgānuśāsana.
116. Vararuci.
117. Vararuci's Prākṛtasūtra.

118. Varṇadeśanā.
119. Vāsavadattā.
120. Vāyupurāṇa.
121. Veṇīsaṁhāra.
122. Vibhākaravarman.
123. Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana.
124. Viśākhadeva.
125. Vopālita.
126. Vṛndāvanayamaka.
127. Vṛttikṛt.
128. Vyāḍi.
129. Yaśomiśra.

A short account of some of the most important of these works and authors is given below:—

ABHIDHARMAKOŚAṬĪKĀ.

This is by Yaśomiśra. It is referred to in the following words:—

शृङ्गारप्रकाशे विरूपे एकशेषो यदुदाहृतः तस्य च सिद्धिः अभिधर्मकोशटीकायां संस्कृता धर्मा इत्यत्र गुणो यङ्लुकोः इति ज्ञापकात् यशोमिश्रेणोक्ता[1] ।

The Abhidharmakośa is one of the Buddhist Canonical works by Vasubandhu and Yaśomiśra is a commentator on the work. The text of Vasubandhu was recently edited by Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana.

ANEKĀRTHAKOŚA.

This is a lexicon of unknown authorship, referred to in the following words:[2]

षण्डः स्याद्विट्चरेऽब्जादिकदम्बे षण्डमस्त्रियाम् ।

ĀŚCARYAMAÑJARĪ.

This is a *gadyakāvya* by the famous Kulaśekhara, the author of the Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa, and other works of popular fame. In the prastāvanā[3] of the Taptīsaṁvaraṇa we find the following reference to the Āścaryamañjarī—

यस्य परमहंसपादपङ्केरुहपांसुपटलपवित्रीकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधधनायान्धकारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलाद्गलत् आश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रव ।

No copy of this interesting work has so far come to light.

BHĀNUMATĪ.

Bhānumatī is a Khaṇḍakathā, referred to in works like the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa etc. Subhūti refers to it thus:

1. P. 1.
2. P. 185-6.
3. Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa, p. 4—5 T. S. S.

............खण्डकथा भानुमत्यादि । यत्राश्रित्यकथान्तरमिति[मति]-

प्रसिद्धं निबध्यते कविभिः ॥[1]

Bhānumatī is the name of Duryodhana's wife and it is not known whether she was the central character in this work. No manuscript copy of this work is known to exist in any manuscripts' Library.

19. BHŪPĀLACARITA.

An extract from the Bhūpālacarita, a work of one Cittapa is cited as follows:

विना शरीरं यः कर्ता विषयेभ्यो विना सुखी ।

विनाक्षैः सर्ववित्सेहा ? मुत्प्रज्ञाभिः पिपर्तु वः ॥

इति भूपालचरितं चित्तपस्य[2] ।

A Cittapa is known to have been the contemporary of Bhojadeva and Bilhaṇa. In the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhaṇa, the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, the Śārṅgadharapaddhati, the Saduktikarṇāmṛta etc. we find a number of verses attributed to Cittapa. Many of the verses attributed to Cittapa are found cited in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa also, but without the name of the author. Among the verses attributed to Cittapa in the anthologies referred to above, the verse

अच्छिन्नमेखलमलब्धदृढोपगूढ-

मप्राप्तचुम्बनमवीक्षितवक्त्रकान्ति ।

कान्ताविमिश्रवपुषः कृतविप्रलम्भ-

संभोगसख्यमिव पातु वपुः स्मरारेः ॥

is found in Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta and this happens to be the opening verse of the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja. This raises an important issue as to the authorship of the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. Either Śrīdharadāsa is wrong, or Cittapa had something to do with at least a portion of the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. One fact is certain, that Cittapa was a contemporary of Bhojadeva, for one of the verses attributed to him reads as follows:—

वाल्मीकेः कतमोऽसि कस्त्वमथवा व्यासस्य येनैष भोः

श्लाघ्यः स्यात्तव भोजभूपतिभुजस्तम्भस्तुतावुद्यमः ।

पङ्गुः पर्वतमारुरुक्षसि विधुस्पर्शं करेणेहसे

दोर्भ्यां सागरमुत्तितीर्षसि यदि ब्रूमः किमत्रोत्तरम् ॥

1. P. 95.

2. P. 156.

In other verses attributed to him we find a Kuntaleśvara referred to. The Bhūpālacarita here referred to might have been a biography of either Bhoja or the Kuntaleśvara, who ever he might have been.

The Gaṇaratnamahodadhi quotes two verses of Cittapa.

The name Cittapa is variously spelt as Cittapa, Chittapa, Chittipa, Chinnama, Chitrama etc.

BUDHAŚATAKA.

The Budhaśataka should have been a kavya full of Anuprāsas and Yamakas. One reference to that work is found here. It reads:

अनुभुवनगुरोरहं सांहोङ्घ्रिरंहः[1] ।

The name of the author of the Śataka is not known.

CITRALEKHĀ.

The Citralekhā represents one of the varieties of Kathā, known as Upakathā. The work is found referred to in works like Śṛṅgāraprakāśa etc. In the work under notice it is referred to thus:—

चरितं विचित्रमन्यत् सोपकथाचित्रलेखादिः[2] ।

DAMAYANTĪKATHA.

This is a kāvya of the type of the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu. This work is referred to thus:

साख्यायिकेव साङ्का सोच्छ्वासापि गद्यपद्यमयी ।
दमयन्तीवासवदत्तादिरिहोच्यते....... ॥[3]

GIRIVILĀSĀ.

This is a kāvya apparently on Śiva. The only quotation found so far justifies this surmise. The quotation is as follows:—

यो बिभर्ति जटाजूटगाढखण्डोरगोज्झिताम् ।
आशीमिव कलामिन्दोर्गङ्गानिर्णयनीमिव ॥[4]

GOVARDHANA.

Apart from an Uṇādi-Vṛtti, Govardhana seems to have commented upon the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. The reference is as follows:—

---

1. P. 10. 2. P. 95. 3. P. 95. 4. P. 149-150.

तथा च श्रविष्ठादिसूत्रे [पा. ४. ३. ३४] गोवर्धनः—षड्-दधातीति षड्दन षड्दा संज्ञायां षष आ धस्य च टुत्वं अषाढः असोढो नासाढः (?) वारविरत्रेति षत्वम् एत आत्वं निपातनात् इति ॥[1]

His Uṇādi-Vṛtti is referred to twice.

JANAKĪRAGHAVA.

This is evidently a kāvya on the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The only quotation from the work runs as follows:—

लङ्कासमृद्धमापन्नः क्रीडारण्येषु पुष्पकः ।
सीते लोहितपत्रस्त्वाम् अशोकोऽसौ हरिष्यते ॥[2]

KĀTANTRAVYĀKARAṆA.

The Kātantra-Vyākaraṇa is usually attributed to Śarvavarman. The Kṛt portion is said to have been written by Katyāyana and Subhūti records the same tradition. He says:—

पदरुजविशस्पृशोचां हि घञ् इति कातन्त्रव्याकरणे कात्यायनसूत्रम्[3]

KAVYĀDARŚA.

The Kāvyālaṅkāraśūtravṛtti of Vāmana is referred to herein as Kāvyādarśa. The passage runs thus:—

तदुक्तं काव्यादर्शे वामनेन "दुर्गन्धिमदादिपदे इत्समासान्तो दुर्लभः सुन् [उत्पू] इत्यादिसूत्रे दुःशब्दस्य पाठात्"[4] ।

It is worth noting that Sarvānanda too refers to this passage of from the Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti (p. 183, Vani Vilas Edn.) as from Kāvyādarśa.

MĀDHAVĪKAMA.

The Mādhavīkāma seems to have been a work like the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa. It is instanced along with the Harṣacarita as a typical Ākhyāyikā in the following words:—

कन्यापहारसङ्गरसमागमाभ्युदयभूषितं तस्याम् ।
नायकचरितं ब्रूते नायक एवास्य वानुचरः ॥
वक्त्रापरवक्त्रवती सोच्छ्वासा संस्कृतेन गद्येन ।
साख्यायिकेति कथिता माधविकाहर्षचरितादि ॥[5]

---

1. P. 58-9. 2. P. 16-7.
3. P. 172-3. 4. P. 82. 5. P. 94,

NĀṬAKAPRAKRIYĀ.

The following quotation from a work called Nāṭakaprakriyā is found on page 116 of the manuscript. The citation runs as follows:—

प्रेष्ये हञ्जेति वाच्या तु गणिकाचाज्जुकेति च ।
समानश्च वयस्येति हण्डेत्यरेति चाधमे ॥

The Nāṭakaprakriyā is a work otherwise unknown.

NĀṬAKARATNAKOŚA.

There are three references to a work called Nāṭakaratnakośa. The following extracts are cited from that work.

समापनं सम्यगर्थानां प्रस्तुतानां महौजसाम् ।
नानाभावोत्तराणां च भवेन्निर्वहणं तु तत् ॥[1]
महादेवी परिष्कारसमाह्वाने समुत्सुका ।
हञ्जे चेटीं प्रति प्राह हलायां च सखीं प्रति ॥
हण्डे नीचस्तु नीचेषु सौम्येति प्रियकारिणि ॥[2]
लीलाविलासो विच्छित्तिः विभ्रमः किलिकिञ्चितम् ।
मोट्टायितं कुट्टमितं बिम्बोको ललितं तथा ॥
विकृतं चेति विज्ञेयाः स्त्रीणां चेष्टाः स्वभावजाः ।
भावश्च हेलाविक्षेपमौग्ध्यमदपतनाद्यपि ॥[3]

The author of this work is different from Kumbhakarṇa who wrote several Ratnakośas, of which the Nāṭakaratnakośa too was one. The present work should be much older. The other works wherein references to this work or found are the commentaries on the Amara by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji.

PURUṢOTTAMA.

Puruṣottama is credited with several works in this commentary. The are:—

1. The Uṇadisūtra-Vṛtti.
2. The Durghaṭa.
3. The Durghaṭa-Vṛtti.
4. Raghuṭīkā.

The Uṇādi-Vṛtti is referred to as follows:—

तन्द्रीवल्लरिगोलिश्शष्कुलिहल्यावलिधूलिः इति गोवर्धनपुरुषोत्तमोणादिवृत्तौ[4] ।

1. P. 115. 2. P. 116. 3. P. 132. 4. P. 144.

Ujjvaladatta refers to Puruṣottama's commentary on the Uṇādi.

Puruṣottama seems to have composed a work called Lakṣyalakṣaṇa Durghaṭa, a work known through a single reference, which reads as follows:—

उक्तं च लक्ष्यलक्षणदुर्घटे पुरुषोत्तमेनैव[1] ।

The Vṛtti is the Bhaṣavṛtti, available in print.

The Raghuṭikā, a commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa by Puruṣottama is mentioned in the following words:—

त्रिकाण्डशेषे तु पुरुषोत्तमेन............तेनैव रघुटीकायम् "गेये केन विनीतौ वाम्" इत्यत्र व्याख्यातम् ; वामिति युवामित्यर्थः ; युशब्दस्तु वृत्तभङ्गाल्लुप्तनिर्दिष्टः यथा दिङ्नाग इत्यर्थे[2] ॥

RATNAMATI.

Ratnamati, the grammarian, is older than Vardhamāna, the author of the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi. Rāyamukuṭa cites extracts from this author in several places. Two citations from the work of Ratnamati are found in this work and they suggest that the author should have composed some sort of a commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Ratnamati, as the name suggests was a Jain. The following are the references to Ratnamati:—

"ध्रु स्थैर्ये" इति क्षिपकादिसूत्रे रत्नमतिः ॥[3]

एतच्च "मूर्तौ घनः" इत्यत्र रत्नमतिनाप्युक्तम् ॥[4]

VALLABHA.

Vallabhadeva, the commentator on the Māghakāvya is one of the earliest commentators on Māgha. He was the grandfather of Kayyaṭa, the famous grammarian, and author of a commentary on the Devīśataka of Ānandavardhana. The latter work was written about 976 A. D. and his grandfather should have been older by at least fifty years. The Māghavyākhyā should have been written about the beginning of the tenth century, A. D. Vallabha's teacher was Prakāśavarṣa and he should be distinguished from the author of the Rasārṇavālaṅkāra. This Vallabhadeva is different from the compiler of the Subhāṣitāvali.

114. VĀMANA.

Vāmana's Kāśikāvṛtti is referred to several times. Three of the reference are to the Liṅgānuśāsana[5] of Vāmana published in the Gaekwad Series.

---

1. P. 105.
2. P. 23.
3. P. 30.
4. P. 156.
5. Pages 55, 168, 198.

VOPĀLITA.

Vopālita is a lexicographer of some antiquity. The name of this writer is variously spelt as Vopālita, Bopālita, or Gopālita. There are six[1] extracts from the lost lexicon of Vopālita. The first, second and fourth of these extracts are from the *puṁskāṇḍa*[2] of the lexicon of Vopālita. The work of Vopālita should have contained at least three kāṇḍas, puṁskāṇḍa, strīkāṇḍa and klībakāṇḍa. The last of the extracts makes possible another conjecture (*i.e.*) that the lexicon should have been one of synonymous and that in the arrangement, the author should have followed Śāśvata who gave the first place to synonyms which could be arranged in full verses, then to ardhas, and then to pādas. Vopālita is older than 1100, A. D.

VYĀḌI.

Two references to Vyāḍi are seen here. Both are from the lost lexicon of Vyāḍi. The extracts are:—

शुच्युज्ज्वलास्तु श्रृङ्गारो वीर उत्साहवर्धनः ।[3]
कुवलयमुत्पलं स्यात् नीलमिन्दीवरं हि तत् ॥[4]

1. P. 56, 85, 141, 173,, 194, 200.
2. P. 120.
3. P. 182.
4. "विषुवत् समरात्रिवासराः" इति पुंस्काण्डे बोपालितः । p. 56.
"कल्माषश्चित्रकिम्मीरौ धूसरौ स्निग्धपाण्डुरौ" प्रति पुंस्काण्डे बोपालितः । p. 85
"शम्बूको जलशुक्तिस्तु" इति पुंस्काण्डे बोपालितः । p. 173.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY SERIES NO. 6. CITRAPRABHA, A COMMENTARY ON HARIDIKSITA'S LAGHUSABDARATNA—BY BHAGAVATA HARI SASTRI, PANDIT, VIZIANAGARAM SAMASTHANAM, EDITED WITH NOTES BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA TATA SUBBARAYA SASTRI, HEAD PANDIT, MAHARAJA'S SANSKRIT COLLEGE, VIZIANAGARAM—PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY, WALTAIR, pp. 450. Rs. 4. 1932.

The Citraprabhā is a commentary on the Laghuśabaratna, which is itself in turn, a commentary on the Prauḍhamanoramā of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. It is known to most of us that the Śabdaratna is a tough work, requiring elucidation in several places. Paṇḍita Bhāgavata Hari Śāstri, the author of the work, like others, felt the need for an exposition and has rendered a distinct service to the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra by giving the world a good and authoritative commentary. The work has no pretensions to antiquity, for the author lived between 1811-1898; but the work shows in a remarkable degree the extent to which the torch of Śāstraic learning has been kept up.

The Editor of the work, Mahamahopadhyaya Tata Subbarya Sastri is one of the few authorities on the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra, now living. That he has edited the work vouches for the accuracy of the edition. The service rendered to the cause of Sanskrit by the Maharaja of Bobbili by making a princely donation to the Andhra University, ear-marked for the furtherance of Sanskrit and Telugu learning is one, for which every one of us ought to be grateful.

T. R. C.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY SERIES NO. 9.—ANDHRA MIMAMSA NYAYA MUKTAVALI—A TREATISE ON PURVA MIMAMSA DARSANA BY K. GOPALAKRISHNAMMA M.A., L.T. LECTURER IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES, GOVERNMENT ARTS COLLEGE, RAJAHMUNDRY, PUBLISHED BY THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY, WALTAIR, pp. 244, Rs. 2. 1933.

Mr. Gopalakrishnamma is already familiar to the Andhra public as the author of the two treatises Āndhramīmāṁsāpari-

bhāṣā and Andhramīmāṁsārthaśāstramu. The volume under review is another work on the same subject. The Andhra-mīmāṁsānyāya-muktāvalī is a Telugu rendering of the famous Sanskrit manual of Apadeva, the Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśikā. The author has successfully attempted at presenting the principles of the Mīmāṁsāśāstra in a form intelligible to those that are not sufficiently familiar with Sanskrit. The explanatory notes added under technical words will be found to be of great help in understanding those terms. Mr. Gopalakrishnamma has done a distinct service to the Andhra public by this work.

T. R. C.

INDIAN CULTURE—JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE 55, UPPER CHITPORE ROAD, CALCUTTA, ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rupees 6 or 10 shillings.

This is a welcome addition to the Journals of Indological research published in India in recent years. It is a quarterly Journal; and so far, three parts have been issued, beginning with the July number of 1934. It deals, in a scholarly spirit, with a large variety of topics relating to the cultural life of ancient and medieval India. The articles that have appeared in the first three issues stand at a commendably high level of critical scholarship and justify the hope that the standard set up in the first three numbers will be maintained in the future issues of the Journal.

ED.

THE JOURNAL OF VEDIC STUDIES. EDITED BY PROFESSOR RAGHU VIRA, M.A., PH.D. D. LITT. ET. PHIL. S. D. COLLEGE, LAHORE AND FIVE OTHER DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS (VOL. I, NO. I, 1934), ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rs. 12 or 20 shillings.

This periodical is devoted to the publication, in instalments, of critical editions of important works representing the Vedic literature of India. The works to be published in this periodical are expected to be of immense value in understanding and reconstructing various phases of the cultural history of ancient India.

ED.

வன்மை மென்மை கடுமை யென்றா
முதுமை யிளமை சிறத்த லிழித்தல்
புதுமை பழமை யாக்க மென்றா
இன்மை யுடைமை நாற்றந் தீர்தல்
பன்மை சின்மை பற்று விடுதலென்று
அன்ன பிறவு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.
Vaṇṇam vaṭivē y-aḷavē cuvaiyē
Taṇmai vemmai y-acca m-eṉṟā
Naṉmai tīmai ciṟumai perumai
Vaṉmai meṉmai kaṭumai y-eṉṟā
Mutumai y-iḷamai ciṟatta l-iḻittal
Putumai paḻamai y-ākka m-eṉṟā
Iṉmai y-uṭaimai nāṟṟan tīrtal
Paṉmai ciṉmai paṟṟu viṭutal-eṉṟù
Aṉṉa piṟavu m-ataṉ-pāla v-eṉmaṉār.

They say that the ablative case denotes colour, shape, measure, taste, coolness, hotness, fear, goodness, badness, smallness, largeness, hardness, softness, ferocity, agedness, youth, superiority, inferiority, newness, oldness, source, absence, presence, smell, separation, many-ness, few-ness, absence of attachment etc.

Ex. *Vaṇṇam.*

Kākkaiyiṟ karitu kaḷam-paḻam.
(The fruit named kaḷam-paḻam is blacker than crow.)

Vaṭṭam.

Itaṉiṉ vaṭṭam atu.
(It is more round than this.)

Aḷavu.

Atu itaṉiṉ neṭitù.
(It is longer than this.)

Cuvai.

Auvaikkīnta nelli-k-kaṉi amiḻtiṉum iṉitù.
(The nelli-fruit offered to the poet Auvai was sweeter than ambrosia.)

Taṇmai.

Nīriṉum taṇṇitu putalvar toṭukai.
(Children's touch is cooler than water.)

Vemmai.

Veyiliṉuṁ kaṭitù avar col.
(His word is hotter than sun.)

J

Accam.

Kaḷḷarin̲ añcum.
(He is afraid of thieves.)

Nan̲mai.

Nin̲n̲in̲u nalla n̲an̲r̲ē (Pur̲a. 66).
(He is not at all better than you.)

Tīmai.

Ir̲anta vekuḷiyir̲ r̲ītē cir̲anta
Uvakai makil̲icciyir̲ cōrvu (Kur̲aḷ, 531).
(Forgetfulness on account of extreme joy is worse than boundless anger.)

Cir̲umai.

Atu itan̲ir̲ cir̲itū.
(It is smaller than this.)

Perumai.

Ārppel̲u kaṭalin̲um peritū (Pur̲a. 81).
(Uproar was bigger than the roar of the seven seas.)

Van̲mai.

Atu itan̲in̲ valitū.
(It is harder than this.)

Men̲mai.

Nīrin̲u m-in̲iya cāyal pāri (Pur̲a. 105).
(Pāri more tender than water.)
Malarin̲u mellitu kāmam (Kur̲aḷ, 1289).
(Sentiment of love is more tender than flower.)

Kaṭumai.

Avan̲-col urumin̲uṅ kaṭitū.
(His word is more dreadful than thunder.)

Mutumai.

Kaṇṇan̲in̲ mūttōr pan̲ai-k-koṭiyōn̲.
(Balarāma was older than Kaṇṇan̲.)

Iḷamai.

Nammir̲ porunan̲u m-iḷaiyan̲ (Pur̲a. 78).
(The warrior is younger than we.)

Cir̲attal.

Tammir̲ periyār (Kur̲aḷ, 444).
(Those who are superior to themselves.)

Il̲ittal.

Atu itan̲in̲ il̲intatū.
(It is inferior to this.)

Putumai.

Atu itan̲in̲ putitū.

(It is newer than this.)

Pal̲amai.

Atu itan̲ir̲ pal̲aiyatū.

(It is older than this.)

Ākkam.

Poruḷ vāṇikattin̲ākum.

(Property is acquired by trade.)

In̲mai.

Varunta-k-kāṇṭa l-atan̲in̲u m-ilamē (Pur̲a. 61).

(We see them suffer much less than that.)

Uṭaimai.

Avan̲ ivan̲in̲ uṭaiyan̲.

(He possesses much more than this man.)

Nār̲r̲am.

Atu itan̲in̲ nār̲um.

(It will smell better than this.)

Tīrtal.

Ten̲-pulaṅ kāvali n̲-orīi (Pur̲a. 71).

(Having been deprived of the rule of Pāṇṭiyan̲ land.)

Cir̲anta.

Pēr-ama r-uṇka ṇ-ivaḷin̲um pirika (Pur̲a. 71.)

(May I be bereft of this superior and noble lady (of mine) who has beautified her eyes with collyrium.)

Pan̲mai.

Eṅ-kō vāl̲iya.....

Nan̲n̲īr-p paஃr̲uḷi maṇalin̲um pala-v-ē (Pur̲a. 9.)

(May our king live for years greater than the sands of the river Paஃr̲uḷi with clear water.

Cin̲mai.

Avar̲r̲ir̲ cila ivai.

(These are fewer in number than they.)

Par̲r̲uviṭutal.

Avan̲ kāmattir̲ par̲r̲u-viṭṭān̲.

(He has turned his mind from love.)

79. ஆறு குவதே,

அதுவெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி
தன்னினும் பிறிதினு மிதன திதுவெனும்
அன்ன கிளவிக் கிழமைத் ததுவே.

Āṟā kuvatē,
Atu-veṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi
Taṉṉiṉum piṟitiṉu m-itaṉa t-itu-v-eṉum
Aṉṉa kiḷavi-k kiḻamait t-atu-v-ē.

The sixth case called *atu-vēṟṟumai* denotes the relation between an object and its inseparable elements or between one object and another.

Ex. Aḷitō tāṉē Pāriyatu paṟampē (Puṟa. 109).
[The Paṟampu (name of a hill) of Pāri (name of a chieftain) deserves our pity.]

Maṟṟataṉ
Tuṉṉaruṅ kaṭāam pōla (Puṟa. 94).
(Like the state of other elephants in rut.)

Note.—1. The *kiḻamai* or relation denoted by the genitive case is of two kinds:—*taṟkiḻamai* or the inseparable relation as of an object with its parts, qualities, actions etc. and *piṟitiṉ-kiḻamai* or the separable relation as between a master and a servant, a lord and his property etc. Iḷampūraṇar classifies *taṟkiḻamai* under five heads:—*oṉṟu-pala-kuḻīiya-taṟkiḻamai* or the relation of many with one of the same sort, as *eḷḷatu kuppai* (the heap of gingelly seed); *vēṟu-pala-kuḻīiya-taṟkiḻamai* or the relation of one made up of things of different sorts, as *paṭaiyatù kuḻām* (the collection of army—which consists of different things—cavalry, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers—); *oṉṟiyaṟ-kiḻamai*, or the relation of an object and its quality, or its state, as *cāttaṉatu perumai* (the greatness of Cāttaṉ) *uṟupiṉ-kiḻamai* or the relation of an object and its part, as *cāttaṉatu kaṇ* (eyes of Cāttaṉ): and *mey-tirintāya-taṟkiḻamai* or the relation of an object and its transformed state as *cāttaṉatu mutumai* (the advanced age of Cāttaṉ). Cēṉāvaraiyar repeats the same. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar quotes '*Aimpāl-urimaiyum atāṉṟaṟ-kiḻamai*' as the sūtra of Agastya in support or this. *Piṟitiṉ-kiḻamai*, Cēṉāvaraiyar classifies, under three heads:—*Poruḷiṉ-kiḻamai* or the relation of different objects, as *kapilaratu pāṭṭù* (the stanza composed by the poet Kapilar), *kāṭṭatu yāṉai* (elephants of the forest), *nilattiṉ-kiḻamai* or the relation of an object and the land occupied by it, as *yāṉaiyatu kāṭù* (the forest of elephants) and *kālattiṉ kiḻamai* or the relation of an object and the time, as *veḷḷiyatu āṭci* (the period of rule of Venus).

Note 2.—All the commentators from Iḷampūraṇar to Teyvaccilaiyār mention in their respective commentary that '*a*' should be taken as the genitive suffix if the noun governed is plural as

cāttaṉa yāṉai-kaḷ (the elephants of Cāttaṉ). Similar usage is found in earlier works. For example there is a sentence '*kaḻiṟu avara kāpputaiya kayam paṭiyiṉai*' in the 15th stanza of Puṟanāṉūṟu, which means 'you have enabled the elephants to plunge into *their tanks* which are well guarded. Here '*a*' in *avara* does not seem to be the genitive case-suffix. Strictly speaking '*avara kayam*' means 'the tanks which belonged to them', where the word '*avara*' is a *kuṟippu-viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* in the same way as '*avara*' in '*kayam avara*' is a *viṉai-k-kuṟippu*. Similarly the word *kāpputaiya* here is a *viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* as the word *uṭaiya* in *tām-uṭaiya neñcam* (Kuraḷ, 1299) (the hearts which they have) and means those who had protection. Originally *uṭaiya* was used in such cases where the noun governed was in plural number and later on by confusion it began to be used as a genitive suffix whether it is followed by a noun in the plural or singular number. There are two reasons for such confusion:—
(1) The *aḵṟiṇai* nouns like *kayam* may have the same form both in singular and plural, on the strength of the sūtra

Terinilai y-uṭaiya v-aḵṟiṇai y-iyaṟ-peyar
Orumaiyum paṉmaiyum viṉaiyoṭu varumē.
(Tol. Col. 171.)

(2) The *viṉai-k-kuṟippu* and the *viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* have the same form. For instance in the sentence '*kayam avara*' *avara* is a *viṉai-k-kuṟippu* and the final '*a*' in '*avara*' is the plural ending sanctioned by the sūtra

A ā va eṉa varūu m-iṟuti
Appāṉ mūṉṟē pala-v-aṟi collē. (Tol. Col. 9.)

So also is '*a*' in *avara* in the sentence '*avara kayam*'. Hence in later Tamil '*a*' in '*avara kayam*' was taken to be a genitive case-suffix.

Note 3.—Dāmōdaraṉ Pillai's edition of Cēṉāvaraiyam reads '*Niṟkum-ataṉāṟ-kiḷaviyiṟ-ṟōṉṟum*'. Śaiva siddhānta edition reads '*Niṟkum kiḷaviyiṟ-ṟōṉṟum*'. The latter seems to be the correct one.

80. இயற்கையி னுடைமையின் முறைமையிற் கிழமையின்
செயற்கையின் முதுமையின் வினையி னென்று
கருவியிற் றுணையிற் கலத்தின் முதலின்
ஒருவழி யுறுப்பிற் குழுவி னென்று
தெரித்துமொழிச் செய்தியி னிலையின் வாழ்ச்சியின்
திரிந்துவேறு படூஉம் பிறவு மன்ன

கூறிய மருங்கிற் றோன்றுங் கிளவி
ஆறன் பால வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Iyaṟkaiyi ṉ-uṭaimaiyiṉ muṟaimaiyiṟ kiḻamaiyiṉ
Ceyaṟkaiyiṉ mutumaiyiṉ viṉaiyi ṉ-eṉṟā
Karuviyiṟ ṟuṇaiyiṟ kalattiṉ mutaliṉ
Oru-vaḻi y-uṟuppiṟ kuḻuvi ṉ-eṉṟā
Terittu-moḻi-c ceytiyi ṉilaiyiṉ vāḻcciyiṉ
Tirintu-vēṟu paṭūum piṟavu m-aṉṉa
Kūṟiya maruṅkiṟ ṟōṉṟuṅ kiḷavi
Āṟaṉ pāla v-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Wise men say that the sixth case denotes the nature, possession, relationship, connection, action, advanced state, effort, instrument, association, document, capital, limb, collection, composition, state, residence and the rest which come under the category of the species of relation.

Ex. *Iyaṟkai.*
Cāttaṉatu iyaṟkai.
(Cāttan's nature.)

Uṭaimai.
Cāttaṉatu uṭaimai.
(Cāttan's possessions.)

Muṟaimai.
Āviṉatu kaṉṟu.
(Cow's calf.)

Kiḻamai.
Cāttaṉatu kiḻamai.
(Cāttan's relation.)

Ceyaṟkai.
Cāttaṉatu ceyaṟkai.
(Cāttan's deed.)

Mutumai.
Avaṉatu mutumai.
(His advanced state.)

Viṉai.
Avaṉatu viṉai.
(His attempt.)

Karuvi.
Cāttaṉatu vāḷ.
(Cāttan's sword.)

Tuṇai.
Avaṉatu tuṇai.
(His associate.)

Kalam.
Cāttaṉatu oṟṟi-k-kalam.
(Cāttaṉ's lease-deed.)

Mutal.
Cāttaṉatu mutal.
(Cāttaṉ's capital.)

Oruvaḻi-y-uṟuppu.
Yāṉaiyatu kōṭu.
(Elephant's tusk.)

Kuḻūu.
Paṭaiyatu kuḻūu.
(Collection of army.)

Terintu-moḻi-c-ceyti.
Kapilaratu pāṭṭu.
(Kapilar's stanza.)

Nilai.
Cāttaṉatu nilai.
(Cāttaṉ's state.)

Vālcci.
Yāṉaiyatu kāṭu.
(Forest where elephants dwell.)

Note 1.—Teyvaccilaiyār mentions that the statement *Kūṟiya-maruṅkiṟ-ṟōṉṟuṅ-kiḷavi* in the seventh line of the sūtra suggests the suffix *uṭaiya.* But this sūtra should be taken to specialise the meaning of the sixth case as the sūtras 72, 74, 76 and 78 do, of the second, third, fourth and fifth, case respectively.

81. ஏழா குவதே,
கண்ணெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி
வினைசெய் யிடத்தி னிலத்திற் காலத்தின்
அனைவகைக் குறிப்பிற் றோன்று மதுவே.

Ēḻā kuvatē,
Kaṇ-ṇ-eṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi
Viṉai-cey y-iṭatti ṉilattiṟ kālattiṉ
Aṉai-vakai-k knṟippiṟ ṟōṉṟu matu-v-ē.

The seventh case called the *Kaṇ-vēṟṟumai* denotes the place and time of action.

Ex. Kīḻ-p-pā l-oruvaṉ kaṟpiṉ
Mēṟ-pā l-oruvaṉu m-avaṉ-kaṭ paṭumē. (Puṟa. 183.)

(If one of the lower caste becomes educated, one of the higher easte serves under him.)

Iḷavēṉi l-iṟuttanta poḻutiṉ-kaṇ. (Kalit. 29.)
(When spring had set in.)

Note 1.—The expression '*viṉai-cey-y-iṭattiṉ nilattiṟ-kālattiṉ*' is interpreted by Teyvaccilaiyār as the place and time where action takes place. But Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar interpret it as the place where action takes place, place and time. The interpretation of Ṭeyvaccilaiyār seems to be correct for two reasons:—(1) If *viṉai-cey-y-iṭattiṉ* denotes the place of action, the word *nilattiṉ* which follows it is unnecessary (2) Any *kālam* or time is not meant here, but only that time when the action takes place. Hence the word *viṉai-cey-y-iṭattiṉ* should be taken as an adjunct to both *nilattiṉ* and *kālattiṉ*.

Note 2.—The significance of the word *kuṟippiṉ* in the sūtra is that the case-suffixes have to be chosen according to the wish of the speaker. For instance one may choose to say '*ūrukku vantāṉ*' (he went to the village) in place of '*ūriṉ-kaṇ vantāṉ*'. Hence the idea contained in the word '*kuṟippu*' and the principle '*vivakṣātaḥ kārakāṇi bhavanti*, in Sanskrit grammar are parallel.

Note 3.—Cēṉāvaraiyar says that the word *kuṟippu* mentioned in this sūtra suggests that the same word should be found in the sūtras 71, 73, 75, 77 and 79 which deal with the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative and genitive, case respectively.

82. கண்கால் புறமக முள்ளுழை கீழ்மேல்
பின்சா ரயல்புடை தேவகை யெனாஅ
முன்னிடை கடைதலை வலமிட மெனாஅ
அன்ன பிறவு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.
Kaṇ-kāl puṟam-aka m-uḷ-ḷ-uḻai kīḻ-mēl
Piṉ-cā r-ayal-puṭai tēvakai y-eṉāa
Muṉ-ṉ-iṭai kaṭai-talai valam-iṭa m-eṉāa
Aṉṉa piṟavu m-ataṉ-pāla v-eṉmaṉār.

They say that the locative denotes front part near the top or centre, lower portion, outside portion, inside portion, interior part, nearness, bottom, top, back, side, neighbouring part, exterior part, the different directions, place in front, middle, end, beginning, right, left etc.

Ex. *Kaṇ.*
Muḻāviṉ-kaṇ aṭittāṉ.
(He struck at the centre of *muḻā*.)

॥ चित्रपटः ॥

॥ श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितविरचितः ॥

॥ प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा धर्मोऽर्थो[1] विधिचोदितः ।
[2]तत्प्रमाणं परीक्ष्यं स्यान्नाक्षाद्यैस्तत्[स्स] प्रमीयते ॥ १ ॥

विधिस्तस्मिन् मानमेव नित्यः शब्दः पदात्मकः ।
नित्यानि वेदवाक्यानि नानित्यानि समाख्यया ॥ २ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

मन्त्रार्थवादप्रमुखाः प्रमाणानीति वार्तिके ।
[3]स्युरर्थवादाः स्तुत्यर्था विधिवन्निगदास्तथा ॥ ३ ॥
हेतुवन्निगदास्तद्वत् मन्त्राः स्मृत्युपकारिणः ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

स्यात्स्मृतीनां प्रमाणत्वं मूलवेदानुमानतः ॥ ४ ॥

न च[4] श्रुतिविरुद्धानां न च मूलान्तरस्पृशाम् ।
श्रौतक्रमविरोधेन नाचामस्मृत्यमानता[5] ॥ ५ ॥

---

1. A. धर्मोऽयं
2. G. तन्निमित्तः
   LV. तत्प्रामाण्यं
3. G. तत्रा
4. A[1], A and G. न तु
5. G. स्मृतिमानिता

अर्थो यवादिशब्दानां वाक्यशेषानुसारिणः ।
[1]आर्याविरोधे मानत्वं म्लेच्छव्यवहृतेरपि ॥ ६ ॥

न वेदाः कल्पसूत्राणि होळाकाद्यव्यवस्थितम् ।
मानं व्याकरणं नान्ये शब्दार्था लोकवेदयोः ॥ ७ ॥

शब्दार्थ आकृतिर्व्यक्तौ लक्षणाक्षेपसंभवात् ।
आ विरोधादा च [2]यवात् [3]भिद्यन्ते वार्तिके नयाः[4] ॥ ८ ॥

[5]श्रुतिस्मृत्योर्विरोधे द्राग्विस्रम्भः[6] श्रुतिबोधिते ।
[7]बाह्यशास्त्रं चानपेक्ष्यं शिष्टाचारस्य मानता ॥ ९ ॥

यद्याचारे विगानं स्यान्नादृत्यो दुष्टहेतुकः ।
[8]बलिन्यायव्यवहृतिर्म्लेच्छानां व्यवहारतः ॥ १० ॥

स्मृत्याचारविरोधे [9]च नाचारस्य प्रमाणता ।
त्रिवृदादिपदार्थश्च स्तोत्रीयानवकादिकम्[10] ॥ ११ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

प्रामाण्यमुद्भिदादीनामविशेषेण[11] वार्तिके ।
कर्मनामोद्भिदादि स्याच्चित्राज्यादिपदं तथा ॥ १२ ॥

तथाघारस्तथा श्येनो वाजपेयपदं तथा ।
आग्नेयादिर्गुणविधिर्जात्यर्थे बर्हिराज्यके ॥ १३ ॥

यौगिकः प्रोक्षणीशब्दो निर्मन्थ्योऽपि तथाविधः ।
नाम स्याद्वैश्वदेवोऽष्टाकपालादिवचस्स्तुतिः[12] ॥ १४ ॥

---

1. A and A[1]. अन्या
   LV omits आर्या . . . सूत्राणि
2. A. भावात्
3. A. सिद्ध्यन्ते
4. G. नयोः
5. A. श्रुतिस्मृति
6. T. विभ्रमः
7. T. The next ardha is read [here.
8. A. and A[1] बलिः
   G. बलन्याय
9. A[1] तु.
10. A, A[1] and T -दिकः
11. T. विशेषेण च
12. T and G. दि च संस्कृतिः

तत्कार्यकारिता[1] भक्तौ निमित्तत्वं कचिद्व्रजेत् ।
कचिदेकप्रभवता कापि तेन [2]सरूपता ॥ १५ ॥

कचित्प्रशस्तता[3] तत्र निमित्तत्वं प्रपद्यते ।
कचिद्भूमा कचिल्लिङ्गसमवायस्तु[4] केवलः[5] ॥ १६ ॥

सन्दिग्धमञ्जनद्रव्यं निर्णेयं वाक्यशेषतः ।
अवदाने स्रुवादीनां सामर्थ्येन व्यवस्थितिः ॥ १७ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इति प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

धर्मः प्रतिपदं नास्ति भावार्थेभ्यश्च[6] तज्जनिः ।
अस्ति धर्मश्चिरस्थायी गुणः [7]संयवनादिकः ॥ १८ ॥

प्रोक्षतीत्याद्यपि तथा प्रधाने[8] स्तौतिशंसती ।
ददाति यजतीत्याद्या मन्त्रस्था न विधायकाः ॥ १९ ॥

मन्त्रास्ते ये प्रयोगार्थमनुष्ठेयाभिधायकाः ।
वेदेषु मन्त्रभागान्यो भागो [9]ब्राह्मणमुच्यते ॥ २० ॥

ऊहप्रवरनामानि प्रपद्यन्ते न मन्त्रताम् ।
पादबन्धवती ऋक्[10] स्याद्गीतिः सामेति गीयते ॥ २१ ॥

यजुर्मन्त्रस्तदितरो निगदोऽपि भवेद्यजुः[11] ।
[12]यावत्साकाङ्क्षमेकार्थं तावदेकं यजुर्मतम् ॥ २२ ॥

---

1. T. कार्यकार्यता
   G. कार्यकरता
2. T. स्वरूपता
3. A. प्रशस्तिता
4. T. समुदायस्तु
5. T, A, A¹ and G. केवलम्
6. T. र्थादेव
7. T. संभवा
8. A, A¹ and LV. प्रधानं
9. LV. ब्राह्मण उच्यते
10. LV. ऋक्त्वात्
11. A. यजुर्भवेत्
12. A omits यावत् . . . वशाद्भवेत्

इषे त्वादौ न मन्त्रैक्यं [1]विनियुक्त्यार्थभेदतः ।
[2]आकाङ्क्षयानुषङ्गः स्याद्या त इत्यादिके मनौ ॥ २३ ॥

चित्पतिस्त्वेत्यादिके च [3]क्रियैकत्ववशाद्भवेत् ।
सं यज्ञपतिरित्यादौ[4] व्यवायान्नानुषज्यते ॥ २४ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

शब्दान्तरे कर्मभेदः स्यादभ्यासे च तद्भिदा ।
[5]सङ्ख्यानुवादके विद्वद्वाक्ये न त्वन्तरावचः ॥ २५ ॥

नाप्याघाराग्निहोत्रोक्ती[6] नाप्युक्ती[7] पशुसोमयोः ।
प्राजापत्येषु पशुषु संख्यया कर्मणां भिदा ॥ २६ ॥

अथैष ज्योतिरित्यादौ तद्भेदो नामभेदतः ।
गुणाद्वाजिनयागस्य त्वामिक्षायागतो भिदा[8] ॥ २७ ॥

न चाग्निहोत्रतो भिन्ना दधिहोमादयो मताः ।
दध्नेन्द्रियेति कामाय गुणमात्रं विधीयते ॥ २८ ॥

कामाय रेवतीवाक्ये कर्मान्तरविधिर्भवेत् ।
[9]हीषाद्या नियतास्तत्तत्फलार्थे साम्नि सौभरे ॥ २९ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

न रथन्तरसामेति गुणात् कर्मान्तरं भवेत् ।
यदि [10]ब्राह्मण इत्याद्यमवेष्टिप्रापकं[11] वचः ॥ ३० ॥

---

1. T and A[1]. विनियुक्ता
2. LV omits this ardha.
3. G and A. चतुर्थैकवशात्
4. A[1] and G. त्वत्र
5. G. संख्यानु
   LV. संद्या-
6. A. क्तिः
7. A. क्तिः
8. T, A and A[1]. गतोऽभिधा
9. T and A[1]. भीषा-
10. T. ब्राह्मणमि
11. A[1]. -ष्ट्यप्रापकं

वसन्तादिवचोऽप्येवमाधानप्रापकं[1] मतम् ।
स्याद्दाक्षायणयज्ञादौ गुणस्यैव फले विधिः ॥ ३१ ॥

नालम्भे स्याद्गुणविधिर्वायव्यमिति दार्शिके[2] ।
अग्निहोत्रे विधिर्वत्समालभेतेति संस्कृते:[तिः] ॥ ३२ ॥

चरूपधानवचनं न यागस्य विधायकम् ।
पर्यग्निकृतवाक्यं स्यात्त्वाष्ट्रे गुणविधायकम् ॥ ३३ ॥

अंश्वदाभ्यग्रहगिरो[3] न यागान्तरगोचराः[4] ।
अग्निं चिनुत इत्यत्राप्येवं संस्कारको[5] विधिः ॥ ३४ ॥

मासाग्निहोत्रं नित्यात् स्याद्भिन्नं प्रकरणान्तरात् ।
भिद्यते [6]रुक्कामाग्नेयो दार्शिकाग्नेययागतः ॥ ३५ ॥

सान्निध्याद्देशकालाद्यैर्न कर्मान्तरता भवेत् ।
कालद्वययुताग्नेयाद्भिद्यते नैककालयुक् ॥ ३६ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

काम्यात्प्रयोगाद्दर्शादेर्नित्योऽसौ प्रविभिद्यते ।
अग्निहोत्रादिकं कर्म शाखाभेदान्न भिद्यते ॥ ३७ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

शेषलक्षणमारभ्यं पारार्थ्यं शेषतोच्यते ।
द्रव्यादिवत् कर्मफलं पुरुषेष्वपि सा भवेत् ॥ ३८ ॥

---

1. A. माघारप्रापकं
2. T. दर्शकम्
3. T. गिरौ
4. T. रयोर्विधिः
5. T and A[1]. रगो
6. T. पौर्णिमा

अवघाताद्यौषधादौ यथायोगं व्यवस्थितम् ।
स्फ्यादिनोद्धननाद्येवं क्रय एवारुणो गुणः ॥ ३९ ॥

न विवक्ष्यं ग्रहैकत्वं ग्रहत्वं तु विवक्षितम् ।
साप्तदश्यमरत्नीनां पश्वङ्गं [1]यूपगामि सत् ॥ ४० ॥

अभिक्रामः[2] प्रयाजाङ्गमिष्ट्यङ्गमुपवीतकम् ।
पात्राणि सर्वयज्ञाङ्गं वार्तिके नास्त्ययं नयः ॥ ४१ ॥

स्याद्वार्त्रघ्नीवृधन्वत्योः कालभेदाद्व्यवस्थितिः ।
कर्तव्यं सर्वकर्माङ्गं [3]हस्तयोरवनेजनम् ॥ ४२ ॥

आग्नेयस्यैव हविषश्चतुर्धाकरणं भवेत् ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

मन्त्राणां मुख्य एवार्थे विनियोगं प्रचक्षते[4] ॥ ४३ ॥

विनियोगस्तु वचानादैन्द्र्याः [5]स्याद्गार्हपत्यके ।
हविष्कृदेहिमन्त्रस्य [6]नावघाताङ्गता भवेत् ॥ ४४ ॥

तथा विसर्जनोत्थाने व्रतमग्नीदिति द्वयोः ।
अङ्गता सूक्तवाकस्य प्रस्तरप्रहृतौ मता ॥ ४५ ॥

तस्य पर्वद्वये लिङ्गाद्विभज्य विनियोजनम्[7] ।
क्रमाद्याज्यानुवाक्यानामैन्द्राग्नादिषु संगतिः[8] ॥ ४६ ॥

आग्नेर्या प्रकृतैव स्यादाग्नीध्राग्नेरुपस्थितौ ।
लिङ्गैर्भक्षानुवाकस्य विभज्य विनियोजनम् ॥ ४७ ॥

मन्द्राभिभूतिरित्यादेर्न तृप्तौ विनियोज्यता ।
अनैन्द्रेष्विन्द्रपीतस्य नैवोहविनिवर्तने ॥ ४८ ॥

ऊहे तु मैत्रावरुणादिष्विन्द्रोऽप्युपलक्षणम् ।

---

1. T. धूप
2. T. क्रमः प्रमा-
3. T, A and LV. हस्तादेः
4. A. प्रवक्ष्यते
5. A. वै गार्ह-
6. A. न विघाता-
7. A and G add here मन्द्रा . . . विनियोज्यता
8. A. संस्थितिः

पात्नीवतग्रहे नेन्द्रवायवाद्युपलक्षणम् ॥ ४९ ॥

न त्वष्टा न त्रयस्त्रिंशन्न [1]देवानुवषट्कृतिः ।
[2]निवृत्तिर्यद्यनैन्द्रेभ्यस्तदैन्द्राग्नममन्त्रकम् ॥ ५० ॥

गायत्रच्छन्दस [3]इति स्याच्छन्दोऽन्तरवत्यपि ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

उच्चैस्त्वाद्या वेदधर्माः स्युरुपक्रमगौरवात् ॥ ५१ ॥

प्रधानवेदधर्माणो वेदान्तरगता गुणाः ।
स्यात्प्रधानविधिस्तत्र यत्र वेदेऽधिकाङ्क्षता ॥ ५२ ॥

प्रयाजानां प्रकरणाद्दब्धेस्तु क्रमतोऽङ्गता ।
कर्तारोऽध्वर्युहोत्राद्या नियम्यन्ते समाख्यया ॥ ५३ ॥

श्रुतेर्लिङ्गं ततो वाक्यं ततः प्रकरणं तथा ।
ततः स्थानं ततोऽप्याख्या दुर्बलत्वं प्रपद्यते ॥ ५४ ॥

प्रसक्त्या युज्यते प्राप्तावप्राप्तावपि बाधनम् ।
उपसद्द्वादशत्वं स्यादहीनक्रतुगोचरम् ॥ ५५ ॥

युवं हि स्थः स्वरित्यस्योत्कर्षो द्वियजमानके ।
उत्कर्षो नास्ति जाघन्याः कर्षः सन्तर्दनस्य तु ॥ ५६ ॥

भवेदाद्यप्रयोगाङ्गं [4]प्रवृञ्जननिषेधनम् ।
स्यादुत्कर्षः प्रेषणस्य चरावेव भवेत्स तु ॥ ५७ ॥

यत्रान्यसहितः पूषा भवेत्तत्र न पेषणम् ।

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

अर्थवादो निवीतोक्तिः सर्वाङ्गं नोपवीतकम् ॥ ५८ ॥
उपव्ययत इत्येष क्रत्वर्थस्य विधिर्मतः ।

---

1. T and A¹. देवो न
2. A¹. निवृत्तियजनै-
3. A. शतं तस्योच्छन्दोऽन्तरत्यपि
4. T. प्रवर्जन

यज्ञोपवीती हीत्येतद्धवेद्वास्यानुवादकम्[1] ॥ ५९ ॥

दर्भाणामुदगग्रत्वं स्मृतिप्राप्तमनूद्यते ।
विधिरेवोपरि धृतौ प्रतीचीमिति तु स्तुतिः ॥ ६० ॥

[2]तथा यदन्तरेत्यादि [3]क्रत्वर्थोऽनृतवर्जनम् ।
जञ्जभ्यमानमन्त्रः स्यात् पुंसः क्रतुमुपेयुषः ॥ ६१ ॥

पुरुषार्थतया बोध्यमवगोरणवर्जनम् ।
न संवदेत मलवद्वाससेत्यपि पूर्ववत् ॥ ६२ ॥

पुरुषार्थस्वर्णधृतिर्जयाः[4] कर्मणि वैदिके ।
अश्वेष्टिर्वैदिके दाने न स्यादेषा प्रतिग्रहे ॥ ६३ ॥

[5]प्रतिग्रहनिषेधार्थो वार्तिके नास्त्ययं नयः ।
वैधसोमवमाविष्टिः न[6] ऋत्विग्वमने भवेत् ॥ ६४ ॥

व्यवदानस्यैव यागे द्रव्यत्वमथ वार्तिके ।
कृत्स्ने हविषि यागार्थे प्रक्षेपो व्यवदानकः[7] ॥ ६५ ॥

शेषकार्याणि सर्वेभ्य एकः स्याद्यदि मुख्यतः ।
इदं ब्रह्मण इत्यादिनिर्देशो भक्षणार्थकः ॥ ६६ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ अथ पञ्चमः पादः ॥

आज्ये नोपांशुयाजार्थे[8] शेषकार्यं विधीयते ।
न प्रस्थायीयकुम्भ्यां स्यान्नापि सौत्रामणिग्रहे ॥ ६७ ॥

सर्वपृष्ठपुरोडाशे [9]नावर्त्याः प्रतिपत्तयः ।
ऐन्द्रवायवशेषस्य द्विवारं भक्षणं भवेत् ॥ ६८ ॥

[10]सोमे शेषस्य सद्भावाद्वचनाच्छेषभक्षणम् ।
होत्रादीनां भवेद्भक्षश्चमसेषु समाख्यया ॥ ६९ ॥

उद्गातृचमसं तस्य गणः सर्वोऽपि भक्षयेत् ॥

---

1. T and A. चास्यानुवादकम्
2. A¹. यथा
3. T. क्रतोरनृत
4. T and A¹. जायाः
5. A. प्रतिग्रहो
6. A. सा न र्त्विग्वमने
7. T and A¹. -दानगः
8. A. याज्यार्थे
9. A. नो पृथक्
10. A. सोमशे

मतं वार्तिककारस्य सुब्रह्मण्यं विनेति[1] तु ॥ ७१ ॥

हार्योजनस्य [2]लभते [3]ग्रावस्तोतापि भक्षणम् ।
वषट्कारनिमित्तोऽपि भक्षः सोमेऽस्ति कश्चन ॥ ७२ ॥

तथैवास्त्यपरो भक्षो होमाभिषवहेतुकः ।
उक्तानां भक्षहेतूनां समवाये समुच्चयः ॥ ७३ ॥

समवाये वषट्कर्तुः प्रथमं भक्षणं मतम् ।
अनुज्ञातैः सोमभक्षः कर्तव्यो वचनाद्भवेत् ॥ ७४ ॥

अनुज्ञानं च मन्त्रेण कर्तव्यं लिङ्गदर्शनात् ।
अनुज्ञानुज्ञापनयोर्मन्त्रौ [4]व्युत्क्रमतो मतौ ॥ ७५ ॥

एकपात्रप्रसक्तानामेवानुष्ठानमिष्यते ।
याज्यायां यष्टुरस्यैव स्याद्वषट्कृतिभक्षणम् ॥ ७६ ॥

[5]स्तिभिन्यः साधनं यागे पिबेयुर्ब्राह्मणाः शतम् ॥

॥ इति पञ्चमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ षष्ठः पादः ॥

अनारभ्य विधानं यत् प्रकृतिं [6]तत्प्रपद्यते ॥ ७७ ॥

विरुद्धं[7] साद्यदश्यादि विकृतिं प्रतिपद्यते ।
काम्यं नित्यस्य बाधेन प्रकृताववतिष्ठते ॥ ७८ ॥

नाधानं पवमानेष्टेरङ्गमग्न्यर्थमेव तत् ।
पवमानेष्टिषु न ताः पशुधर्मास्तु दैक्षगाः ॥ ७९ ॥

उभयार्था दोहधर्मा ग्रहधर्माः समस्तगाः ।
परिव्याणद्वयस्यापि सधर्मा रशना मता[8] ॥ ८० ॥

ग्रहधर्माः समाम्नाता भवन्त्यप्यंश्वदाभ्ययोः ।
एवमेवेष्टकाधर्माश्चित्रिण्यादिषु संमताः[9] ॥ ८१ ॥

स्तिभिनीनां न सोमेन स्यात् समानविधानता ।

---

1. T. विनैव
   A. विनैति
2. A. लभतां
3. T. ग्रावस्तुदपि
4. T. हि व्युत्क्रमात् कृतौ
5. T. स्तिभीन्य
   A. स्तिभिन्न
6. T. प्रतिपद्यते
7. A¹. विरुद्धा
8. A¹ and LV. समा
9. LV. संगताः

[1]मुख्येन स्यात् प्रतिनिधेः पूतीकानां तथैव सा ॥ ८२ ॥
स्वाश्रयक्रियया संस्था न समानविधानकाः ॥

॥ इति षष्ठः पादः ॥

॥ अथ सप्तमः पादः ॥

अङ्गप्रधानहविषां वेदिधर्मादयः समाः ॥ ८३ ॥

प्रधानार्थाः पुनः केशश्मश्रुवापादयोऽसमाः[2] ।
वेदिरङ्गप्रधानानां प्रचारे सौमिकी समा ॥ ८४ ॥

अङ्गप्रधानहविषां मन्त्रौ तदभिमर्शिनौ ।
सोमे प्रधानमात्रार्था[3] दीक्षा दक्षिणया सह ॥ ८५ ॥

अन्तर्वेदि बहिर्वेदीत्यन्तरालस्य लक्षणा ।
देशः[4] स्यात् सामिधेन्यङ्गं हविर्धानेन लक्षितः ॥ ८६ ॥

हविस्त्यागादितोऽन्यत्र करणीया क्रियेतरैः ।
होत्राद्यास्ते च भिद्यन्ते संज्ञावरणभेदतः ॥ ८७ ॥

चमसाध्वर्यवस्तेभ्यो भिन्नाः स्युर्बहवस्तु ते ।
दश ते शमिताध्वर्युपुरुषः स्यात्तु कश्चन ॥ ८८ ॥

ऋत्विक्ष्वेवोपगातारस्तद्भिन्नः सोमविक्रयी[5] ।
वृतेषु ऋत्विजः केचिद्ब्रह्माद्यास्ते तु षोडश ॥ ८९ ॥

स्वामिसप्तदशास्ते स्युस्तेषां कार्यं व्यवस्थया ।
अग्नयस्तुल्यवद्यान्ति होमान् प्राकृतवैकृतान् ॥ ९० ॥

प्रैषानुवचने युक्ते मैत्रावरुणकर्तृके ।
चमसानां न होतारश्चमसाध्वर्युसंज्ञिताः ॥ ९१ ॥

श्येनादिषु स्युर्नानैव कर्तारः प्रकृताविव ॥

॥ इति सप्तमः पादः ॥

---

1. A[1] omits this verse.
2. A and T. मताः
3. A, A[1], T and G. प्रधानमन्त्रार्था-
4. T and A. देशस्य
5. A[1]. विक्रयः

॥ अथ अष्टमः पादः ॥

परिक्रयो[1] याजमानः श्मश्रुवापादयस्तथा ॥ ९२ ॥

[2]तद्वत्तपो हिरण्मय्यो मालाः सर्वस्य [3]चर्त्विजः ।
सदोमानादिषु गुणैर्यष्टुरेव फलं भवेत् ॥ ९३ ॥

यजमानेन वक्तव्या मन्त्राः स्युः प्रत्यगाशिषः ।
द्व्याम्नातमन्त्रा वाजस्येत्यादयः स्युर्द्वयोरपि ॥ ९४ ॥

क्लृप्तीर्वाचयतीत्यादौ[4] भवेज्ज्ञस्यैव वाचनम् ।
वत्सं चोपावसृजतीत्यादिरध्वर्युकर्तृकः ॥ ९५ ॥

होतुराध्वर्यवं कार्यं विरोधेऽध्वर्युताजुषः ।
प्रैषप्रैषार्थकर्तारौ विभिद्येते परस्परम् ॥ ९६ ॥

तत्राध्वर्युः प्रैषकर्ता समाख्यानाविरोधतः ।
यजमानस्यैव भवेत् फलमध्वर्युमन्त्रगम् ॥ ९७ ॥

मा मा सन्ताप्तमित्यादेर्ऋत्विग्गामित्वमिष्यते ।
तन्नौ सहेत्यादिमन्त्रे ऋत्विजोऽपि फलं भवेत्[5] ॥ ९८ ॥

सामान्यं द्रव्यसंस्कारः [6]सर्वप्राकृतकर्मणाम् ।
यूपावटास्तरे[7] बर्हिर्बर्हिर्धर्मान्न गच्छति ॥ ९९ ॥

पवित्रार्थे विधृत्यर्थे बर्हिषी प्राकृतावपि ।
सवनीयपुरोडाशाच्छकलस्य ग्रहो भवेत् ॥ १०० ॥

उपांशुत्वं प्रधानार्थं काम्यास्विष्टिषु चोदितम् ।
[8]श्येनाङ्गार्थं [9]द्दतिनवनीतस्य ग्रहणं मतम् ॥ १०१ ॥

अङ्गेषु तदिदं सुत्याकालेष्वेवेति नेष्यते ।
सवनीयपुरोडाशा एव स्युस्तरसात्मकाः ॥ १०२ ॥

॥ इति अष्टमः पादः ॥

॥ इति तृतीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

---

1. G. and A[1]. परिक्रामो
2. A[1]. तद्वत्त्वापो
3. T and A[1] omit च
4. LV. त्यत्र
5. LV. लभेत्
6. G. and A[1]. सर्वं प्रकृत
7. LV. स्तरं
8. A omits this ardha.
9. A, A[1] and T. द्रुत

॥ अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

अथ प्रयुक्त्यै क्रत्वर्थपुरुषार्थविचारणा ।
क्रत्वर्थपुरुषार्थौ हि क्रतुपुंप्रीतिसाधकौ[1] ॥ १०३ ॥

[2]न विधेयं फलं च[3] स्याद्रागादेव प्रवृत्तितः ।
गोदोहनं न क्रत्वर्थं [4]न च द्रव्यस्य चार्जनम् ॥ १०४ ॥

[5]नापि नोद्यन्तमित्यन्यानूक्तिर्यज्ञायुधश्रुतिः ।
पश्वेकत्वं श्रुतं यज्ञे कारकत्वं प्रपद्यते ॥ १०५ ॥

लिङ्गमप्यस्य च पशोः शब्दार्थत्वाद्विवक्षितम् ।
त्यागांशेनादृष्टमपि कुर्युः स्विष्टकृदादयः ॥ १०६ ॥

प्रयुक्त्यर्थोपरि ग्रन्थे शेषत्वस्य विचारणा ।
वाजिनं न प्रयोक्तृ स्याद्ध्यानयनकर्मणः ॥ १०७ ॥

[6]नयनस्यैकहायन्या नाक्षस्याभ्यञ्जनक्रिया ।
नोपवापः कपालस्य न शकृल्लोहिते पशोः ॥ १०८ ॥

स्विष्टकृत् करणीयः स्यादाग्नेयाद्युत्तरार्धतः ।
प्रतिपत्तिः प्रयाजाज्यावशेषस्याभिघारणम्[7] ॥ १०९ ॥

प्रयोक्तौपभृदाज्यस्य बर्हिः प्रति समानयः ।
व्यवस्थया प्रयाजदीन्याज्यैः स्युर्जौहवादिभिः ॥ ११० ॥

अष्टावुपभृतीत्येष चतुःसङ्ख्याद्वये[8] विधिः ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

स्वरुर्यूपानुनिष्पादी[9] प्राचीमिति न दिग्वचः ॥ १११ ॥

---

1. LV. -धनौ
2. LV. फलं च न विधेयं स्याद्रागादेव
3. T. तस्य
4. A¹ and T. सकृद्द्रव्यस्य
5. T. नेक्षेतोद्यन्तं
   A¹. नापि...द्रुक्तिर्यज्ञायुधश्रुतिः
6. LV. The portion relating to vv. १०७-११९ is missing.
7. T. -घारणात्
8. A. द्वयोः
9. T. यूपादिनिष्पानि

मूलं शाखानुनिष्पादि[1] शाखायाः सहता हृतौ[2] ।
प्रतिपत्तिर्निनयनं प्रणीतानामपां भवेत् ॥ ११२ ॥

दण्डदानं प्रशास्त्रे यत्तद्दण्डस्य प्रयोजकम् ।
प्रासनं प्रतिपत्तित्वं विषाणायाः[3] प्रपद्यते[4] ॥ ११३ ॥

न भजन्त्यर्थकर्मत्वं सर्वाश्च प्रतिपत्तयः ।
नयनं सोमलिप्तानां प्रतिपत्तिरितीष्यते ॥ ११४ ॥

द्रव्यदेशादिषु विधिर्नियमात्मक इष्यते ।
तद्वद्गुणेऽपि शुक्लादौ तथावहननादिषु[5] ॥ ११५ ॥

त्यागो द्रव्यस्य यागः स्याद्देवतोद्देशपूर्वकः ।
स एव होम इत्युक्तः प्रक्षेपांशोऽधिको यदि ॥ ११६ ॥

स्वीयस्य परकीयत्वापादनं दानमुच्यते ।
लक्षणानीमानि भाष्ये प्रयोगप्रक्रियास्वपि ॥ ११७ ॥

वार्तिके त्वश्रुते यागे सौर्यादौ [6]यागकल्पना ।
यागे जुहोतिश्रवणं [7]युक्तं चेति नयद्वयम् ॥ ११८ ॥

आतिथ्येष्ट्युपसद्दीक्षाः स्युः साधारणबर्हिषः ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

अङ्गानां पर्णतादीनां फलं नास्त्यार्थवादिकम् ॥ ११९ ॥

गोदोहनादेरन्यस्याग्नित्ये प्रणयनादिके ।
दधिक्रतुफलार्थं स्यात् क्रत्वर्थं तु पयोव्रतम् ॥ १२० ॥

फलं विश्वजितः कल्प्यं तदेकं स्वर्ग एव सः ।
रात्रिसत्रं प्रतिष्ठार्थं न सौर्ये स्वर्गकल्पना ॥ १२१ ॥

---

1. A. यूपादी
   A[1]. पादिः
2. T. सहता भृता
   A. सहना हृतौ
3. T. विषणायां
4. A[1]. प्रतिपद्यते
5. T. हरणादिषु
6. A. योग
7. T. यत्किंचिदिति न द्वयम्

सर्वेभ्यः स्यात् फलविधिः[1] तेषां पर्यायतो [2]जनिः ।
नामुष्मिकत्वनियमश्चित्रादीनां फलेषु च[3]॥ १२२ ॥

अङ्गं बृहस्पतिसवो वाजपेयक्रतौ भवेत् ।
[4]दर्शे न वैमृधो नानूयाजाः सौम्याग्निमारुते ॥ १२३ ॥

[5]इष्ट्योर्न सोमः पुत्रस्य भवेद्वैश्वानरीफलम् ।
प्राग्जातकर्मणो नैषा कर्तव्या न च[6] सूतके ॥ १२४ ॥

न वाजपेयकाले स्याद्बृहस्पतिसवक्रिया ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

कर्मणां यागरूपाणां राजसूये प्रधानता ॥ १२५ ॥

सर्वस्मिन् राजसूयेऽङ्गमभिषेकावधिः क्रिया ।
तस्मिन् भवेन्न सौम्यस्य चरोरुपसदङ्गता ॥ १२६ ॥

अङ्गमामनहोमाः स्युर्नित्य एव दधिग्रहः ।
यो वै संवत्सरमिति क्रिया नैमित्तिकी भवेत् ॥ १२७ ॥

तथा षष्ठीचितिर्दर्शे पितृयज्ञस्य नाङ्गता ।
रशना सवनीयस्य यूपसंस्काररूपिणी ॥ १२८ ॥

स्वरोः पश्वञ्जनार्थत्वान्नैव यूपार्थता मता ।
प्राधान्यमिष्ट्योः[7] यागानां [8]षण्णां स्यात् कालयोगिनाम् ॥ १२९ ॥

सोमयागस्यैव भवेज्ज्योतिष्टोमे प्रधानता ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

---

1. LV omits this padā
2. T. विधिः
3. A. यः
4. A¹ and T. वैमृधः पर्वणो
5. A. इष्टेः
6. T. तु
7. A. इष्टेः
8. A omits षण्णां

॥ अथ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

श्रुतिलक्षण एव स्यादर्थानां [1]नियतः क्रमः ॥ १३० ॥

विशेषणतयार्थानां क्रमश्च विधिमर्हति ।
क्त्वाश्रुत्या दीक्षयित्वेति क्रमश्चैव विधीयते ॥ १३१ ॥

अग्निहोत्रयवागवादावर्थात् सिध्यन् क्रमो मतः ।
सर्वेषां क्रममानाना[ममन्त्राणा]मभावे नियमः[2] [3]स्मृतः ॥१३२॥

पाठक्रमाद्विधीनां स्यात् समिद्यागादिषु क्रमः ।
प्राजापत्यपदार्थेषु स प्रवृत्तिक्रमाद्भवेत् ॥ १३३ ॥

साद्यस्क्रे सवनीयस्य स्थानेन प्रथमं क्रिया ।
सारस्वते पदार्थानां भवेन्मुख्यक्रमात् क्रमः ॥ १३४ ॥

क्रमो मुख्यक्रमात् पाठगोचरो बलवान् मतः ।
विधिपाठक्रमादेवं मन्त्रपाठक्रमो बली ॥ १३५ ॥

वैकृतद्रव्यधर्माणां चोदकाधिगतः[4] क्रमः ।
प्रातर्मध्यन्दिने[5] सायमेकस्यैवाह्न इष्टयः ॥ १३६ ॥

स्यातामुत्कर्षापकर्षौ तदादिकतदन्तयोः ।
सवनीयाः सौमिकेभ्यः प्राक्स्युर्निर्वापबोधिताः ॥ १३७ ॥

यूपकर्मापकर्षे स्यान्न प्राचामपकर्षणम् ।
अनूयाजोत्कर्षणेऽपि नोत्कृष्यौ[6] दक्षिणाग्निकौ ॥ १३८ ॥

[7]दर्शे वेद्यपकर्षेऽपि न तत्प्रागपकर्षणम् ।
उत्कर्षो नाग्निहोत्रस्य भवेत् सान्तपनीयया ॥ १३९ ॥

उक्थ्येन स्यात् षोडशिन उत्कर्षस्तत्परोक्तया ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

---

1. T. नान्यतः
2. LV. नियतः क्रमः
3. A. स्थितः
4. A. दिगतः
5. T. दिनं
6. A. नोत्कर्षौ
7. LV omits this ardha.

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

स्यात् पदार्थानुसमयः प्राजापत्यपशुव्रते ॥ १४० ॥

सहस्राद्यश्वदाने च काण्डानुसमयो भवेत् ।
एकैकेनानुसमयो मुष्क्यादिषु न युज्यते ॥ १४१ ॥

अवदानं.प्रदानान्तमा·परिव्याणमञ्जनम् ।
प्राजापत्यावदानानां न काण्डोऽनुप[नुस]मीयते ॥ १४२ ॥

नानाबीजेषु मुसलोलूखलं नैव भिद्यते ।
पृषदाज्ये पात्रभेदः स्यादन्ते वैकृताहुतिः ॥ १४३ ॥

देवनाद्यपकर्षः स्यादभिषेकापकर्षणे ।
पूर्वं सावित्रहोमादि दीक्षणीयेष्टितो भवेत् ॥ १४४ ॥

[1]स्याद्रुक्मप्रतिमोकादि[2] पश्चाद्दीक्षितसंस्कृतेः ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

प्रयाजैकादशत्वादि सर्वसंपाद्यमिष्यते ॥ १४५ ॥

स्वस्वस्थानविवृद्ध्यैव षट्त्वाद्युपसदां भवेत् ।
[3]सामिधेनीष्वधाय्यानामन्त एव निवेशनम् ॥ १४६ ॥

[4]स्तोमवृद्धौ तथागन्तोरन्त एव निवेशनम् ।
[5]साम्नामागम्यमानानां गायत्र्यादिषु वेशनम् ॥ १४७ ॥

औपानुवाक्यं कृत्वग्निशेषोंऽश्वादिग्रहेष्टकम् ।
इष्टकामध्यमचितौ प्रत्यक्षब्राह्मणोदिताः ॥ १४८ ॥

पूर्वं लोकंपृणायास्तु मध्यमायामपि त्विमाः ।
अग्निहोत्रादिकर्माणि पवमानेष्ट्यनन्तरम् ॥ १४९ ॥

अग्निव्रतादि कृत्वन्ते इष्ट्यन्ते दीक्षितव्रतम् ।
काम्यनैमित्तिकेष्टीनां न पाठक्रमतः क्रमः ॥ १५० ॥

---

1. G and A[1]. स्यात्स्रुग्भ्यः
2. A. प्रतिमे कादि
3. A. A[1], T and G. सामिधेनीषु धाय्यानां
4. T omits this ardha.
5. LV omits this ardha.

अग्निष्टोमस्य निर्देशो य एतेनेत्यसौ मतः ।
संस्थान्तरगवादीनामथान्येनेत्ययं समः ॥ १५१ ॥

न चायमेकस्तोमानां निर्देशः सर्वगो [1]यतः ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

पाठः श्रुतेरर्थतश्च दुर्बलः क्रमसाधने ॥ १५२ ॥

प्रवृत्तिक्रमतो मुख्यक्रमस्तु बलवान् भवेत् ।
आधानस्येष्टिपूर्वत्वं सोमपूर्वत्वमप्युभौ ॥ १५३ ॥

ब्राह्मणस्याप्युभौ कल्पौ हविरेकं हि कृष्यते ।
ऋत्वाद्यनादरवचः सोमार्थं परिगृह्यते ॥ १५४ ॥

[2]ब्राह्मणस्य पुरोडाशमात्रमुत्कर्षमृच्छति[3] ।
[4]सद्यो विकृतयः सोमादूर्ध्वं सान्नाय्यविक्रियाः ॥ १५५ ॥

तथा सोमविकाराणां ऊर्ध्वमिष्ट्योरनुष्ठितिः ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इति पञ्चमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

संबध्यन्ते फलत्वेन स्वर्गाद्याः कामनान्विताः ॥ १५६ ॥

[5]मूकदेवतिरश्चां तु नास्ति कर्मस्वधिक्रिया ।
स्त्रीपुंसयोरधिकृतिः सहैव स्यात्तयोस्तु सा ॥ १५७ ॥

---

1. T. मतः
   G. गतः
2. T, T[1] and A. ब्राह्मणं च
3. A and A[1]. इच्छति
4. T and A read this and the next ardha thus:—
   साद्यस्कालास्तु सौर्याद्याः पर्वणो न व्यवस्थिताः ।
   अग्नीषोमीयसान्नाय्यविकारौ सोमतः परौ ॥
5. G. पङ्ग्वन्धतिर्यगादिनां

क्षौमे वसानौ स्त्रीपुंसौ [1]यावदुक्तादिकं स्त्रियाः[2] ।
[3]त्रयाणामेव वर्णानां [4]भवेद्यागेष्वधिक्रिया ॥ १५८ ॥

अधिकारी भवेद्द्रव्यहीनस्तत्समुपार्जनात् ।
अङ्गहीनोऽपि तस्यैव समाधानेऽधिकारवान् ॥ १५९ ॥

यस्याप्रतिसमाधेयं तन्न तस्यास्त्यधिक्रिया[5] ।
[6]स्याद्धानमत्र्यार्षेयस्य रथकारो न यौगिकः ॥ १६० ॥

निषाद एव स्थपतिश्चरौ रौद्रेऽधिकारवान् ॥

॥ इति षष्ठाध्याये प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

सत्राधिकारिणां कृत्स्नमेकैकस्य फलं भवेत् ॥ १६१ ॥

[7]एकोऽधिकारी दर्शादौ समाप्यारम्भयुक्क्रिया ।
[8]गृहादि न समाप्यं स्यात् फलेच्छापगमे सति ॥ १६२ ॥

भक्षणं लशुनादीनां फलाय न निषिध्यते ।
[9]आरभ्यैवोपनयनादभिवादादयः स्मृताः ॥ १६३ ॥

अग्निहोत्रादिकं कार्यं प्रदोषादिषु जीवता ।
तच्च प्रतिप्रदोषादिकालमावर्तते सदा ॥ १६४ ॥

आवर्तते निमित्तेषु स्कन्नहोमादिकं तथा ।
अभिवादाद्यपि तथैवावर्तेत[10] निमित्ततः ॥ १६५ ॥

सोमविद्याप्रजं नित्यं तत्त्रयाणामपीति च ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

---

1. T. यावदुक्तावधिं
   G. यावदुक्ताधिकं क्रिया
2. A¹. स्त्रियाम्
   LV. स्त्रियः
3. G. भवेत्त्रयाणां
4. T. भवेद्योगे-
   G. अपि यागे-
5. A and A¹. तस्यास्त्वधिं-
6. A. स्याद्धान
7. T. एकाधिकारे
8. T and A¹ गेहादि
9. G. आरभ्य चोप-
10. T. तन्निमित्ततः

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

नित्यं कार्यं यथाशक्ति काम्यं सगुणमेव तु ॥ १६६ ॥

द्रव्यभेदेऽपि यागादिक्रिया नैव [1]विभिद्यते ।
मुख्याभावे प्रतिनिधिर्देवतादिषु नास्त्यसौ ॥ १६७ ॥

माषाद्या न प्रतिनिधिस्थानमर्हन्त्ययज्ञियाः[2] ।
न स्वामिनः प्रतिनिधिः सत्रे तस्याप्यसौ भवेत् ॥ १६८ ॥

[3]न स स्वामी कर्मकृत्त्वात् स्वामिधर्मा तथाप्यसौ ।
सदृक्[4] प्रतिनिधातव्यं सति कल्पान्तरेऽपि तत् ॥ १६९ ॥

पूतीकेषु विधिः सोमसदृक्षु नियमात्मकः[5] ।
पूतीकनाशे द्विसदृङ्नयेत् सोमसदृग्भवेत् ॥ १७० ॥

प्रतिनिध्यपचारश्चेन्मुख्यस्यैव[6] सदृङ्मतम्[7] ।
[8]प्रतिनिध्यर्थिना मुख्ये लब्धे तस्यैव संग्रहः ॥ १७१ ॥

अमुख्ये संस्कृते मुख्ये[9] लब्धेऽपि स्यादयं नयः ।
नियुक्ते तु पशौ तस्मिन्न पुनर्मुख्यसंग्रहः ॥ १७२ ॥

द्रव्यसंस्कारयोर्द्रव्यमर्थोऽर्थद्रव्ययोर्बली ।
व्रीहीणां न प्रतिनिधिः [10]पर्याप्तौ व्यवदानयोः ॥ १७३ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

अवत्तनाशहोमार्थं[11] पुरोडाशान्तरं भवेत् ।
[12]न्यायेनैवं वचनतस्त्वाज्येनैव समापनम् ॥ १७४ ॥

---

1. G. न भिद्यते-
2. T, A and A¹. याज्ञिया:
3. G. न स्वामि कर्मकृत्त्वात् तत्
4. T, A and A¹. सकृत्
5. A¹. क्रमः
6. T. -पचारे च श्रुतस्यैव
   G. पचारश्चेत् श्रुतस्यै
7. G. सदृग्विधः
8. A¹ adds पूतीकानां श्रुता-नामप्यपचारे समो नयः ॥
9. A¹. लब्धे मुख्ये
10. G. पर्याप्तावावदानयोः
11. G. नाशे शेषार्थे
12. A, A¹, G and T omit this ardha.

इडाद्यर्थावत्तनाशे तत्तद्भक्षस्य[1] लोपनम् ।
कर्मप्रविष्टैः कर्तव्यमिडाशेषादिभक्षणम् ॥ १७५ ॥

भिन्ने जुहोतीत्यादिः स्यात् कृत्स्नावयवभेदयोः ।
क्षामे निमित्ते यत् कृत्स्नक्षायतावेव[2] तद्भवेत् ॥ १७६ ॥

[3]हविरार्तिनिमित्तं यदेकार्तावपि तन्मतम् ।
द्वाभ्यां भवति होमाभिषवाभ्यां सोमभक्षणम् ॥ १७७ ॥

[4]द्वयोरग्न्योरनुगतौ [5]पुनराधेयमिष्यते ।
ऐन्द्रं कर्मान्तरं दर्शादर्शं प्रत्यामनेन्न तत् ॥ १७८ ॥

सत्रायागूर्याप्रवृत्तौ विश्वजिद्याग इष्यते ।
व्रते कालविधिर्वत्सैः स्यादसन्नयतोऽपि सः ॥ १७९ ॥

कालार्थ एव संयोगः[6] प्रस्तरे शाखया त्विति ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ अथ पञ्चमः पादः ॥

[7]विधिरभ्युदये पूर्वदेवतापनये मतः ॥ १८० ॥

लुप्तस्तत्रोपांशुयाजो देवतापनयाद्भवेत्[8] ।
अनिरुप्ते निरुप्ते च प्रायश्चित्तमिदं समम् ॥ १८१ ॥

निर्वापो वैकृतीभ्यः[9] स्यादनिरुप्ते [10]यदोदयः ।
किंचिन्निरुप्ते शिष्टस्य तूष्णीं निर्वाप इष्यते ॥ १८२ ॥

स्यादसन्नयतोऽप्येषा प्रायश्चित्तिर्निमित्ततः ।
अक्रीतराजकस्यापि सत्रोत्थानेऽस्ति विश्वजित् ॥ १८३ ॥

द्वादश प्रकृतौ दीक्षा विना[11] कल्पान्तराणि वा[12] ।

---

1. A. भक्ष्यस्य
2. T. ताश्चेव
3. A¹. हविरार्तौ
4. G. द्वयोरनुगमे त्वग्नेः
5. T, A, G and A¹. पुनराधान-
6. A. स विधिः
   T, A¹ and G. संबन्धः
7. G. विधेः
8. G. नये भवेत्
9. A. वैकृतीभ्यां
10. LV. पदोदयः
11. A. सर्व
12. G. च

द्वादशाहे द्वादशत्वं दीक्षाणां नियतं भवेत्[1] ॥ १८४ ॥

गव्यदीक्षाकालविधौ भवेन्माघ्येव पूर्णिमा ।
उत्कर्षेऽवभृथस्य स्यु[2]र्नाग्निहोत्रादिकाः क्रियाः ॥ १८५ ॥

न तत्र प्रतिहोमाः स्युः [3]कर्तव्याकरणे हि ते ।
तथैवावभृथादूर्ध्वमिष्ट्युत्कर्षेऽपि नैव ते[4] ॥ १८६ ॥

भवेयुः प्रतिहोमा यद्यतिपत्तिक्रमेण ते[5] ।
भिन्ने प्रकृत एव स्याज्जुहोतिस्तन्निमित्तकः[6] ॥ १८७ ॥

व्यापन्नमित्यभोज्यं स्यात् केशकीटादिदूषितम् ।
प्रायश्चित्तमपच्छेदयौगपद्येऽपि विद्यते ॥ १८८ ॥

तत्र द्वयोर्विकल्पः स्यात् पौर्वापर्ये[7] परं बली ।
पश्चादुद्गात्रपच्छेदे सर्वस्वं स्यात् पुनः क्रतौ ॥ १८९ ॥

आवृत्तिरह्नस्तस्यैवापच्छेदोऽहर्गणे यदि ॥

॥ इति पञ्चमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ षष्ठः पादः ॥

[8]सत्रेषु भिन्नकल्पानामधिकारो न विद्यते ॥ १९० ॥

पुरोहितश्च राजा चाधिकृतौ द्वन्द्वतः सह ।
सत्रेषु ब्राह्मणा एव भवेयुरधिकारिणः ॥ १९१ ॥

तत्रापि [9]वैश्वामित्राः स्युः समकल्पैः सहेतरैः[10] ।
तत्रापि साग्निकास्तेषां पात्रं साधारणं मतम् ॥ १९२ ॥

त्रयोऽप्यध्वरकल्पादौ वर्णाः स्युरधिकारिणः ॥

॥ इति षष्ठः पादः ॥

---

1. A¹. and LV. नियतं तु वै
   T. नियतं तु हि
   G. यितावपि
2. T omits नाग्नि....स्युः
3. G. अर्थस्याकरणे
4. T and A¹. ताः
5. A. पन्नक्रमेण तु
   G. होमीया अतिपत्ति.
6. T. निमित्ततः
7. T. पौर्वापर्यपरं
8. G. सर्वेषु
9. A and A¹. वैश्वामित्राः
10. G. कल्पाः सहेतरे

॥ अथ सप्तमः पादः ॥

स्वदाने देयमात्मीयं न भूमिर्न तुरङ्गमः[1] ॥ १९३ ॥

नासत् संपाद्य दातव्यं न शुश्रूषुश्च शूद्रकः ।
यावत् स्याद्दक्षिणाकाले दातव्यं तावदेव तु[2] ॥ १९४ ॥

भृत्यर्थं सकलं देयं [3]क्रतुभुक्त्यर्थवर्जितम् ।
सर्ववेदसमेव स्यादहीने विश्वजित्यपि ॥ १९५ ॥

[4]सर्ववेदसमिष्टं यदधिकं द्वादशाच्छतात्[5] ।
भृतिभेदोऽपरिमितं तच्च पूर्वाधिकं भवेत् ॥ १९६ ॥

स्तुतिः [6]स्याद्वर्ष्णिरित्यादौ तत्तद्धोत्रादिकीर्तनम् ।
भवेद्वैश्वसृजे[7] सत्रे संवत्सरपदं दिने ॥ १९७ ॥

॥ इति सप्तमः पादः ॥

॥ अथाष्टमः पादः ॥

न संस्कृते चतुर्होता तथा नोपनयाहुतिः ।
[8]नाधानं स्थपतीष्टेः स्यान्नावकीर्णिपशोस्तथा[9] ॥ १९८ ॥

[10]कर्माण्युपायनादीनि स्मार्तोदगयनादिके ।
[11]उत्तरत्र तु पित्र्याणि कार्याणि स्मृतिचोदिते ॥ १९९ ॥

[12]सत्त्वेऽपि याच्याक्रयणं पयोव्रतमुखानि च ।
न कालनियमोऽजीर्णे[13] पशुच्छागो हि मन्त्रतः[14] ॥ २०० ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमः पादः ॥

॥ इति षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥

---

1. A^{1}. तुरङ्गमाः
2. LV. हि
3. G. प्रतिभुक्त्य-
4. T. सर्ववेतसं
   A. सर्ववेदे
   A^{1}. सर्ववेदं
5. G. शतम्
6. LV. स्या ५र
   G and A^{1} स्याद्वारकृत्या-
7. T. वैश्यसृजे
8. T, A, A^{1} and LV. नैवात्र स्थपतीष्टिः
9. A and LV. कीर्णा पशुस्तथा
   T and A^{1}. कीर्णी पशुस्तथा
10. A. कर्माण्युपनया-
11. LV omits this ardha.
12. T. सत्रेऽपि
13. T. -नियमे जीर्णे
14. A and LV. कालान्नियमो हि मन्त्रतः

॥ अथ सप्तमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

व्यवस्थातोऽतिदेशोऽस्ति श्येनाङ्गानामिषावसौ ।
पञ्चसंचरगोऽयं[1] स्यात् [2]सविधिस्तुतिगोचरः ॥ २०१ ॥

ऐन्द्राग्नैककपालस्थोऽप्येवमेव भवेदसौ ।
तत्र प्राघासिकाङ्गानां प्रदेशो वैश्वकर्मणे[3] ॥ २०२ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

रथन्तरादिसंज्ञात्वात् प्रदेशो गीतिगोचरः ।

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

अग्निहोत्रेऽतिदेशः स्यात् प्रायणीये न यौगिके[4] ॥ २०३ ॥

विश्वजित्सर्वपृष्ठेऽस्ति[5] प्रघासावभृथे तथा ।
तत्र द्रव्यं तुषादि स्यात् प्रदेशो नास्ति वैष्णवे ॥ २०४ ॥

न निर्मन्थ्याज्यबर्हिष्ष्वप्यतिदेशो गुणे विधेः[6] ।
प्राकृतं स्यात् प्रणयनं तत्तु मध्यमयोर्भवेत् ॥ २०५ ॥

[7]अन्यत्त्वपूर्वं तयोरित्येकाधिकरणं मतम् ।
धर्माप्तिः स्वरसामैककपालादिषु लिङ्गतः ॥ २०६ ॥

[8]वासोनसोः क्रयादाप्तिराज्यदोहाग्न्यसंस्कृतिः ।
न यूपकर्मोपशये नाग्नौ पृष्ठाः सधर्मकाः ॥ २०७ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

---

1. LV. गेयं
2. G. कर्मणि
3. G. य विधि-
4. G. णीयो न यौगिकः
5. A and A[1]. पृष्ठोऽस्ति
   G. पृष्ठेऽपि
6. T. देशो गुणो विधिः
   LV. गुणो विधेः
   G. गुणे विधिः
7. T and G. यद्यपूर्वं तत्तयोः
8. T. वासोनसोः क्रियानाप्ति-
   G. वासानसो क्रिया
   A. वासोः नयोः

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

सौर्यादावस्ति धर्माप्तिर्वैदिकी सा सदृक्त्वतः[1] ।
गावामयनिका ज्योतिराद्या [2]एकाहधर्मकाः ॥ २०८ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इति सप्तमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

एकस्मादेव धर्माणामतिदेशो व्यवस्थया ।
यत्र [3]यत्कर्मलिङ्गं स्यात्तत्र तद्धर्मसंक्रमः ॥ २०९ ॥

अपूर्वः सोम इष्टीनां प्रकृतिर्दर्शपूर्णिमे ।
दैक्षस्यापि पशोः सैव पशूनां दैक्ष इष्यते ॥ २१० ॥

सौत्य एकादशिन्याः [4]स्याद्गणानां सा पुनर्भवेत् ।
अव्यक्तचोदनानां तु सोमः प्रकृतिरिष्यते ॥ २११ ॥

द्वादशाहोऽहर्गणानां गव्यः स्यादयनस्पृशाम् ।
उत्तरेषामादिमः स्यात् साद्यस्क्रादिनिकायिषु ॥ २१२ ॥

फलादीनां[5] विकृतिषु न भवेदतिदेशनम् ।
[6]तथैव गुणकामानामपि नास्त्यतिदेशनम् ॥ २१३ ॥

न सौर्यादिषु होतुः[7] स्याद्व्यवस्था पर्वभेदतः ।
आग्नेयो देवतैक्येन सौर्यप्रकृतिरिष्यते ॥ २१४ ॥

आग्नेयपयसो द्रव्यसाम्यात् सान्नाय्यधर्मता ।
कृष्णलेष्वौषधा[8] धर्मा आज्यधर्मा मधूदके ॥ २१५ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

---

1. A. सदृक् यतः
2. A. एकार्थ
   LV. एकाहधर्मिका
3. A, A¹, T and LV यद्धर्म
4. A¹. स्युः
5. A and LV. -दीनां
6. A¹ omits this ardha.
   A reads this ardha after the [next.
7. A¹. होत्रा
8. G. ष्यौषधा